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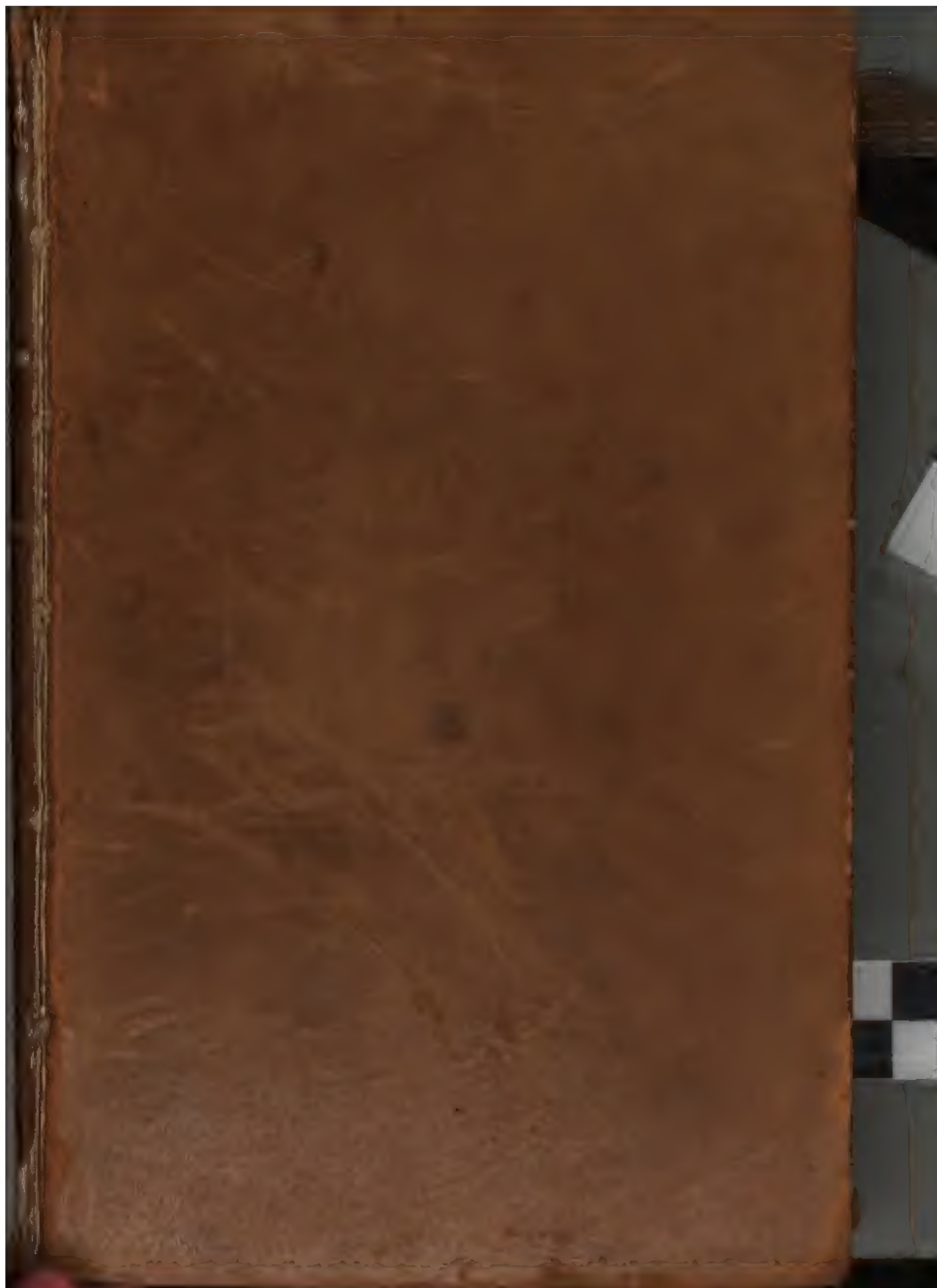
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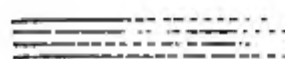
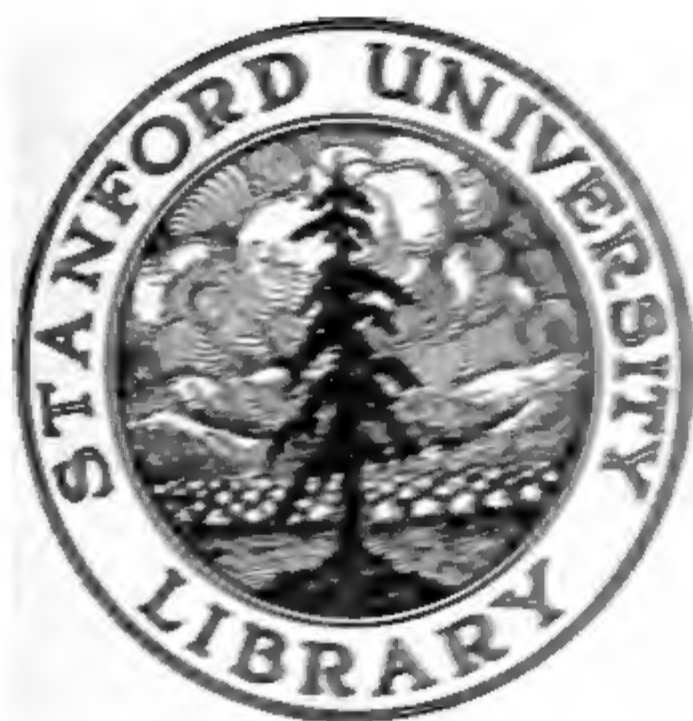
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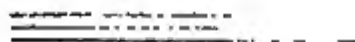






CF 3

*John Carter Paine to
Helen Paine Leach
from the estate of
the late Joseph Henry Carter*



The History of England

Jurmer, Sharon
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THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF
E N G L A N D.

PART THE SECOND.

REIGNS OF EDWARD VI., MARY, AND ELIZABETH.



VOL III.

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THE
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EDWARD THE SIXTH,
MARY,
AND
ELIZABETH.

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1835.

P R E F A C E.

THE present Volume continues the Modern History of England, from the accession of EDWARD VI. to the extinction of the House of Tudor, by the death of Queen ELIZABETH.

A new dynasty—the Stuart—then succeeded in James I.; which terminated with the reign of the last of his great-grand-daughters; and was superseded, from the national attachment to that Reformation, which Elizabeth maintained and completed, by the BRUNSWICK Line. Under the princes of this ancestry, whose throne still upholds these constitutional liberties of the nation, by which it was established, and to protect which, it was so happily appointed to its sovereignty, GREAT BRITAIN has attained the largest empire of human population, that has been hitherto accumulated under any European and Christian Ruler, since the days of Constantine the Great. For of what Western sovereign, before our present Monarch GEORGE IV., and his still revered Father, can it be said, that he has reigned over AN HUNDRED MILLIONS of subjects, united under one paternal sceptre? and tho widely disparted in their territorial localities, yet now, in this opening year of 1829, forming altogether one peaceful, prosperous, and happy kingdom;

with every appearance of subsisting for the increasing benefit of mankind, and in the continued enjoyment of their individual felicities. Fortunate are the young, who are born to witness the meridian splendor of such a national phenomenon! Happy are the aged, who cannot depart without the exhilarating view of this interesting prospect; and who have had the satisfaction of witnessing its progressive growth, and of knowing that it has not been the scheme or the usurpation of any turbulent ambition. It has been the grand evolution of the providential destiny of our Country, produced by no human contrivance or vicious rapacity. England has been impelled by causes not originating from herself, to become what she is; and as long as she exercises her sovereignty to promote the peace, the improvements, the morality, the religion, and the happiness of mankind, so long will her aggrandizement be continued,—until some other nations arise, if any ever shall, whose superior predominance will still more signally advance the future progression of our emulous, excited, and never-resting order of intellectual being. Nations and cabinets may plan and battle; but that country alone will now become paramount in their political competitions, from whose elevation, the human race will, most universally, derive the largest proportion of general prosperity and of individual comfort. At present, the BRITISH dominion appears to be transcended by no other, in the diffusion of these blessings.

The greatest founder of the progressive amplitude of our national greatness, was **THAT QUEEN** who is the main subject of the present work: and her reign

may be marked as the period, in which it emerged into a visible existence. Our commercial enterprises; the spirit of distant navigations; our colonial establishments; the consolidated and settled power of the state; its just foreign policy; its wiser internal arrangements, and its meliorating legislation, then began to arise, or to be pursued on better principles, on larger knowledge, and with more public benefits, than her ancestors had known or cultivated. But the healthful fountain of all our national vigor, was that Reformation, of which she became the efficacious supporter, and the most successful champion. The history of her reign, is the history of the perils to which it was exposed, and of the long warfare it had to endure, and of its secure establishment in those countries, which have ever since preserved it. To have thus contributed to its continuation among mankind, is the greatest glory of her lengthened and momentous reign. To elucidate this grand political conflict, in its obstructed progress and agitating vicissitudes, is the intention of the present composition.

This portion of our Modern History has been written on the same plan with the preceding volumes. Every document which promised to furnish new materials of unknown facts, or more correct views of those already known, or that could supply the deficiencies which they presented to the considering eye, has been resorted to and consulted, to which access could be obtained; and none but contemporary authorities have been used, with very few exceptions. The object has always been to construct the History from the living authorities of the

times described ; and to convey to the Reader as much as possible of the feelings and ideas of the great actors and leading personages, in their own words and representations. The desire of accomplishing this purpose, has made the notes inevitably numerous and copious ; but they will present this advantage to all who peruse them, that the public will never be called upon to rely implicitly on the writer's veracity or judgment. The authorities are every where laid before the Reader, from which he may always form his own conclusion, and agree or differ with the opinions or statements in the text, as his own discrimination may suggest. It was desirable also to insert these quotations, because many of the documents are every year perishing, from the mere course and waste of time ; and if the facts which they contain were not thus preserved, they would be soon lost from the human memory altogether. It is another effect of this plan, which may be pleasing to many, that such extracts being nearly all contemporary authorities, compose in their varied features an ampler and more faithful portraiture of the period narrated, in its existing reality, than any other mode of composition could as conveniently provide. That such notes interrupt the perusal of the text, is a disadvantage to the Author, and a trouble to the Reader ; but this may be avoided if the narrative be first read to the end of any portion or chapter, without reference to the notes, and if the eye be then turned back to their more satisfactory perusal. They could not be incorporated with the text, without the deprivation of their personal language and exact individuality, for which the more full and

fluent narration would not have been an adequate compensation. But the endeavor has always been so to construct the body of the Work, that it may be perused not unpleasantly by itself, without advert-
ing to its references, altho these are intended, as they occur, to furnish that gratifying information which original authorities can alone supply.

That to write the present history, is to walk upon the ‘*suppositos cineres*’—the unextinguished embers and still inflammable matter of angry, controversial, and disputed subjects, is a disadvantage and an evil which the Author has much regretted. Mary of England, and Mary of Scotland—Protestants and Catholics—Popes and Jesuits—Luther—Charles IX.—St. Bartholomew’s massacre—The burnings in Smithfield—Persecution elsewhere—Harsh penal laws—Elizabeth—Burghley—Leicester, and Essex—all have been the objects of literary battle, of contradictory opinions, and of keen resentments. And many may still be disposed, from the natural operation of pre-conceived opinions or wishes, to differ with the sentiments and views in the following pages. But no historian of this agitated period, can perform his duty to truth and to the public, without subjecting himself to attack or contradiction on many of its varying incidents and characters; and the penalty inflicted will sometimes be the most severe, when he has been the most impartial. When truths unpleasing must be told; when omitted facts are brought forward; when the obscuring or disfiguring veil is removed, and the real form and features displayed to the general eye, the writer must not hope to escape the hostility or

displeasure of those, to whom the recollections may be unpalatable, or the conclusions inconvenient. He must be resolute and faithful at every hazard ; or authentic history must be suppressed or falsified. Yet it is not desirable to incur the enmity, or to excite the dissatisfaction of any one ; and therefore a later epocha of our annals, and especially that rich and noble æra which flowed from the Revolution of 1688, would have been a far more delightful and welcomed occupation. But that is now in the hands of one, who is qualified by his superior talents, to display it with high interest and great intelligence. And if it had not been thus appropriated, yet as the Reigns in the present Volume are those which immediately succeeded that of Henry VIII., they could not be passed over, in wilful omission, from any personal considerations, without a discreditable intellectual cowardice, which would unfit the man who could yield to it, from doing his historical duty fully and fairly, on any other division of our national transactions. The endeavor has been, throughout the whole volume, to narrate the succession of its events with the same unvarying impartiality that would have been maintained if it had treated on the history of the Pharoahs of the Nile and their Persian conquerors ; or had concerned only the stately hierarchy of ancient Egypt, and the emancipation and improvements of its Grecian reformers. It is the Author's duty faithfully to describe the past, but not to interfere with any discussions which may now be subsisting on such subjects. He has steadily endeavored to observe a just neutrality as to these ; and having made this

principle his continual guide, all other results must be patiently risked. Angry criticism is a possibility of evil, which, in the present activity and dispositions of human nature, no precaution can avert. The right of every one is to judge as he pleases ; and each will express himself according to his own taste and choice. It is for the advantage of our individual character to judge equitably, and to write with honorable candor. But even in this respect no one can be dictated to. Society grants to no author a charter of protection, but has decided that reviewers may range and skirmish as they like. Public criticism must be therefore confronted with reasonable firmness, and all its varieties must be tranquilly endured. It must be expected to be diversified according to the talents and temper of its writers. The liberal cannot, from the generous impulses of their own nature, but be liberal. The irritable will be fractious ; the vindictive will be severe ; the self-elated will be dogmatic ; the ungentlemanly will not be courteous. We all act and behave in society according to what we have grown up to be ; and our pen obeys and displays our mental character, as expressively as our manners, our conversation, or our conduct. Hence every author must expect a diversity of treatment, according to the mental habits of those who publicly notice him. Whoever publishes, has no choice but contentedly to abide what he may dislike, and await the calm judgment of the more impartial thinkers, and the equitable decision of time ; or to abstain from committing his literary labors to the public press. But the most unfriendly censures may be made to pro-

duce some compensatory advantages. It will be a personal gratification of a lasting nature, to read them without the perturbation of comfort or retaliating animosity. This will convert a verbal evil, that soon evaporates, into a moral benefit. And if they really detect any errors of fact in the composition, it will always be an historian's best interest to know and correct such blemishes as early as he can. That work will most surely reach posterity which combines the largest portion of knowledge and truth with the fewest imperfections. Our descendants will always prefer those histories which contain the most authentic facts; the most useful sentiments; the most correct reasonings, and the most impartial spirit. Acrimonious criticisms may therefore be forgiven and even welcomed, if they should happen to assist us in the attainment of the dearest wish and hope of all literary emulation.

With these feelings the Author respectfully presents this volume to the Public, in the hope that it will be found to contain some interesting matter, which, altho by most forgotten and to many unknown, ought not to be omitted in English history. Intelligent curiosity now demands new facts, careful reasoning, and enlarged views, in every department of human inquiry, and as much in History, from extended research, as in any other. It is indeed delightful to see so many ardent minds pursuing on all subjects the inexhaustible riches of attainable knowledge with increasing success. Improvements and discoveries now flow rapidly upon us, of a nature and with an abundance that would formerly have been deemed improbable: Comets are found to be

assuming the periodical regularities of planetary orbits.—Gigantic and other animals of a perished world are becoming more fully known to our geological researches—Hieroglyphical inscriptions are decyphered, and are disclosing new monuments to illustrate the darkness of Egyptian antiquity ;—and altho human ingenuity has been baffled in its favorite toil of making the golden metal, it has within these last few weeks apparently succeeded in actually producing, by patient and skilful chemistry, the genuine diamond.* In such an age it is pleasing to live, and think, and write, and to endeavor to be one of the contributors to its information or amusement. The attempt may often fail, but it is gratifying to make the individual effort, and never can be wholly useless, whatever may be the imperfection with which it is accompanied.

* See Report to the French Academy in *Literary Gazette*,
29 November 1828.

London,
1 January 1829.

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MODERN HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

SKETCH OF THE INTELLECTUAL EXCITEMENT; SPIRIT OF NOVELTY AND INVENTION; AND GENERAL DISPOSITION TO CHANGE AND IMPROVEMENT IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

IF a new æra in the mind and history of mankind was felt by some of the most distinguished of his contemporaries to be accompanying the age and reign of Henry VIII. it is still more manifest to us, who can now look back thro the three centuries of events which have since succeeded, that an extraordinary and beneficent revolution, still enlarging in its consequences, was then advancing on Europe, and beginning to penetrate into the British Islands. A simultaneous activity; a desire of improvement, and of personal distinction connected with the progress; new directions of thought, and new facts or opinions resulting from industrious research and very varied pursuits, appeared to be rising in every department of human exertion and inquiry.

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The labors and the results were not, as in former times, partial and limited ; the mind began to act with an universality and with an emulous diversity which preceding ages had never equally witnessed. In science ; in art ; in war ; in literature ; in mechanical inventions ; in navigation ; in civil polity and in a more diffused and elaborate education, as well as on the venerated topics of religion and its establishments, individuals from every class of life, and in every region on the continent, emerged into notice by their activity, their improvements, their speculations, and their discoveries. The intellectual principle, which animates and guides the human frame, displayed in all things an excited and an investigating curiosity ; awakening from the sleep of its former contentedness, and never to be deadened or satiated again.

This great commotion and new evolution of mind began in the fourteenth century ; and in Italy and England more decidedly than in any other nation.¹ In both these countries, Literature suddenly ascending out of its former vernacular rudeness, yet deviating from ancient models, assumed original forms and topics of composition, which kindled future genius, and interested the public heart.² They

¹ No country in this century, out of Italy, could shew, at the same time, six such men as Gower, Chaucer, Wickliffe, The Black Prince, Raymond Lully, and W. Occham ; all contemporaries, and pre-eminent in their respective pursuits.

² The lettered world has not received from Greece or Rome any works like those of Petrarch, Dante or Boccacio, either in form or subject ; and if the first of these authors be in part an emanation from the Troubadours, the two last had no previous exemplar.

All three have preserved the enviable fortune of continuing to be the common classics of their country, in its more polished age, as Hesiod and Homer were in Greece. Our Brunne, Gower and Chaucer, are as

became the general study and conversation both to the noble and middle ranks; and by this happy effect diffused the taste and means of mental cultivation, and gave to society at large, improving as well as additional sources of individual enjoyment.

• In Italy, from causes not fully discernible, the genius of Painting, which had departed from the ancient world in the days of the first Cæsars,³ suddenly re-appeared, as if recalled by enchantment, in some gifted individuals;⁴ and that interesting art, which confers on the educated hand, the power of creating to the gratified eye, the finest conceptions of the imagination, attained gradually a perfection, which still moves in every spectator that interior sympathy for the beautiful and the grand, of which every bosom has been made susceptible. With

original in their qualities and style, and became as important in their public effect; but, like Ennius and Lucilius in Rome, being deficient in that correctness and harmony of verse which good taste requires, they no longer form a part of the usual reading of their countrymen.

The Roman du Rose of France, as peculiar as the others, but far less poetical, has become as obsolete as it was once attractive.

³ We learn this little-noticed fact from a passage in Petronius Arbiter, who lived under Nero. 'I inquired why the art of painting should have become lost, which had not left even the smallest trace of its ancient lustre;' he answered, 'that the insatiable desire of amassing money was the cause of the change. When virtue was valued, the arts and sciences were in their perfection, and an emulation arose among mankind, which urged them to something that could be useful to posterity. Wonder then no more that Painting has expired (deficit,) when an ingot of gold seems more beautiful to all men and their divinities, than any thing that Apelles, Phidias, or the raving Greeks, may have made.'—Petron. Satyr.

⁴ The revival of painting by Cimabuë, a Florentine gentleman, in 1300, was still more remarkable in his pupil, Giotto, a shepherd, whom he found sketching his sheep and goats upon the rocks and stones about him. The love and power of this creative art had fallen like inspiration upon this humble peasant as he was watching his flock among his native hills. The rural disciple soon excelled his generous and liberal-minded master. Both concurred to take Italian painting out of its lifeless rudeness, and to give it the first breathings of that spirit and sentiment which have since so wonderfully animated this noble product of the human talent. See Lanzi Stor. Pittor. and Roscoc's pleasing translation.

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quickly succeeding step, and as if appointed to perform its emulous part on the great theatre of public improvement, Classical Literature re-entered Europe at this period, in its richest and most attractive shape, and with all its interesting novelties; for, above fifty years before the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, Greek literature was introduced into Italy after an absence of seven hundred years.⁵ Spreading thence into France,⁶ Holland, and Germany,⁷ as that catastrophe multiplied its teachers in the exiles, whom every one pitied, and whom the great nobly cherished;⁸ and crossing in due time

⁵ It was in 1389 that Paulus Langius, who lived in the next century, dates the arrival of Manuel Chrysoloras in Italy. Lang. Chron. p. 845. 1 Pist. Tho the Mag. Chron. Belgicum states that he brought into it the Greek learning in 1398. p. 300. He was sent by the Grecian Emperor to solicit aid from the Christian States against the advancing Turks. He so generally pleased, as to be invited by the Italian princes to remain with them, and after returning to Constantinople with the result of his mission, he came back into Italy with another Greek scholar, Demetrius Cidonius, and settled at Venice. Inquiring men came to him to learn his language and see his books, and he was at length settled in Florence in 1399, as teacher of this interesting tongue, with an annual stipend of 100 florins. In 1400 he was at Milan, and in 1403 at Genoa, for the same great purpose. Tirab. Lit. Ital. T. 6. p. 781. The same valuable Jesuit notices his disciples, p. 785. A Grecian was in 1408 elected Pope, who assumed the name of Alexander V.

⁶ From him, Langius says, as from the Trojan Horse, a host with light and knowlege issued, p. 845.

It was in 1470, that George Tifernas went from his school in Italy, and first taught Greek at Paris, whom Hier. Spartiata succeeded, Meibom. Chron. Ridd. p. 380. Within fifty years afterwards, the Greek historians, and Plutarch's Lives and Morals, were translated into Latin. Eras. Ep. Botzh.

⁷ At Paris, from Spartiata, Erasmus imbibed the new knowlege, and carried it to Daventer; as Capnio did into Paderborn. While Rud. Agricola learnt it from Gaza to diffuse it also into Germany. Meib. ib. Of him, Erasmus says, that he 'first of all brought an aurulam melioris literaturæ to us out of Italy; I saw him at Daventer when I was twelve years old.' Ep. Botzhemo. Jortin. v. 3. p. 105. Erasmus translated the Hecuba of Euripides, and much of Lucan, and Gaza's grammar, expressly, 'ut plures alliceremus ad studium Grecanici Sermonis.' ib.

⁸ Cardinal Cusa, in his dedication to Nicholas V. expresses to him, 'You have acted most magnificently in causing the MSS. of all the Greek writers as well as of the Latin, which by your wonderful exertions

our Channel into England,⁹ it established every where new habits and objects of intellectual gratification. Studied even by the aged, as it had been by the half-murmuring Cato in Rome,¹⁰ it diffused a taste for elegance of style, for discrimination and delicacy of expression and meaning, and for an aspiring philosophy of thought which was too stimulating, and often too rash, not to excite the alarm of the well intentioned,¹¹ and at last the enmity of those who, for selfish purposes, wished the torpid submission of the human mind to be its unaltering condition, and its contented degradation.¹² As these

could be found, to be most accurately brought to our knowlege.' Cusa Oper. p. 1004.

Vespasiano also mentions of this pope, that with much trouble he prevailed on Chrysoloras to come into Italy, and defrayed a large portion of his expenses, and caused the Palla family to befriend him.

As there were no Greek books then in Italy, they procured from Constantinople copies of Ptolemy, Plutarch, Plato, Aristotle, and other celebrated authors. Tirab. Stor. Lit. v. 6. p. 786. Lorenzo de Medici was also a zealous patron of Greek literature. One of its earliest cultivators before the Turkish triumph was Cardinal Juliano, whom Cusa calls his preceptor, and whom he extols for his supreme knowlege of the best Greek as well as Latin authors—he marks the Greek with 'nunc etiam,' as the more recent acquisition.

⁹ Vitellius from Tuscany, his pupil Grocyn, and Linacer, who studied in Italy, and translated part of Proclus, and dedicated it to Henry VII., were the first teachers of Greek at Oxford. W. Latimer, Cheke and Ascham, became soon afterwards distinguished for their proficiency in it.

¹⁰ We have an instance of this in our bishop Fisher, beheaded with sir Thomas More. At the age of 40 he applied to it, tho he found the study of it, and of Hebrew, at that age, very difficult to him. Rud. Agricola, at the same age of 40, applied to Hebrew, to which Erasmus at 53, re-applied. Jort. Eras. 1. p. 76.

¹¹ The remark of the monk Langius on his contemporaries, shews this feeling: He says, 'This Hussite heresy, ut semper, had its beginning from the literati and philosophical men. And what else could or can Philosophy effect, that mother of heresy and parent of errors, but produce the seeds of heresy. As far as it can, it always contaminates the Catholic faith.' Chron. p. 852. It was beneficial to literature, but not creditable to its moral effects, that the notorious Alexander VI. was then a great example and promoter of it. Lang. Chron. p. 883. But the occasional union of profligacy and intellectual cultivation has often startled and disgusted the wiser mind.

¹² There is no more natural connection between Greek and Atheism,

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studies spread, they were found to occasion distinction as well as gratification. The higher clergy delighted in a variety of attainments,¹³ and abandoned their pompous ignorance to imitate in their own language the graces of Athenian elegance;¹⁴ while the powerful laity became as desirous to found and endow universities, as they had been, in the preceding centuries, to build churches and monasteries.¹⁵ These academical foundations stamped a

than between the latter and political economy, or astronomy or poetry, tho they may have been so united; but it was this combination at that time, in a few, which caused a great slander on Grecian literature, and for a while assisted the papal church to arrest and discredit its progress. Erasmus remarks, that it had led some from their Christianity into an admiration of Paganism. Ep. 207. But this was only one of the pictures of that mind-changing day—a part of that dissatisfaction with what was existing, often merely because it was existing, which was the mental fever of the period. Our Greek scholars have long since extinguished the imputation. Almost all things may be combined with each other without any natural affinity. So the study of Hebrew then made some like Judaism; Eras. ib. as it operated on Lord George Gordon in my youth.

¹³ The abbot described by Langius in 1485 is an instance of this. He was earnestly pious, but he was also *activus, manualis* and *operosus*—a *scriba velox et excellens*. He bound as well as wrote the MSS. he copied. He was likewise *ingenio acer et loquendi lepore præditus*; *arithmeticus, musicus, decretista, ac logi-historicus insignis*. He was full of moral tales, and told them remarkably well. He left some musical compositions. Chron. Liter. p. 875.

¹⁴ Cardinal Bembo distinguished himself for his emulation, and for the polished beauty of his Italian writings. His selected friends had the same taste, and great success in their refined style. Language has no where attained a softer or sweeter tone than in the compositions of this school of verbal elegance and perfect elocution.

¹⁵ Thus one duke of Saxony founded the University of Leipsic; a successor, the friend of Luther, in emulation of his taste and reputation for it, raised another at Wittemberg. Paul. Lang. p. 854.

In imitation of these, the marquis of Brandenburg about the same time built a similar one at Frankfort on Oder. Cochlæus Vit. Luth. p. 5. There were 1500 students at Wittemberg in 1503. Lang. p. 888. The emulation was as great in Spain, and many universities were erected there. Ferdinand, the son of Columbus, is an instance of the generous patronage of the great to letters. He built a magnificent edifice on the Boetis, and furnished it with a library of 25,000 books, and endowed it with an annual revenue. Metamorus de Acad. Hisp. p. 821. Hisp. Illust. v. 2. Italy equally distinguished itself in the same path. See Tirab. v. 6. c. 3. p. 75-117.

new character on the fifteenth century,¹⁶ and exhibited its aristocracy as liberal benefactors to their contemporaries, while they ensured and provided for the largeness of that intellectual harvest which electrified their posterity. It became a luxury to study, and an honor to patronize,¹⁷ and even an object of princely pride to compel the residence of celebrated talent within its palace or its states.¹⁸

CHAP.

I.

¹⁶ It is gratifying to read Zopf's enumeration of the new universities established in this century.

1405. Turin.	1460. Friburg.
1409. Leipsig.	— Nantes.
— Aix.	1464. Bourges.
1411. St. Andrew's.	1471. Pisa.
1419. Rostock.	1472. Ingoldstadt.
1426. Louvain.	1473. Bourdeaux.
— Dole.	— Treves.
1431. Poitiers.	1474. Saragossa.
1445. Avila.	1475. Toledo.
1452. Caen.	1477. Tubingen.
— Valence.	— Mentz.
1453. Glasgow.	1478. Upsal.
1457. Gripswald.	1497. Copenhagen.
1459. Basle.	

Precis. Hist. 2. p. 643-6.

¹⁷ The Medici, the Italian princes of Este and Ferrara, Francis I. Henry VIII. and many of the cardinals and prelates, became the zealous Mæcenases of their age. Galileo was appointed by the duke of Florence to teach mathematics to Cosmo II., and evinced his gratitude to the family by telling his pupil that he should call the four satellites he had discovered, the 'Medicea Sidera,' because, he says, those who do 'egregia ac prope divina facinora,' deserve that 'una cum astris ævo sempiterno fruerentur.' Ep. Dedic. Sider. Nunc. p. 4. So Kepler extols the archbishop of Cologne, as loving and promoting these studies, and remarks, that he had seen him 'mirifice delectari,' with the experiments made by his noble chamberlain with his lenses and instruments. Kepl. Diop. Dedic. p. 56. The Card. Capuanus befriended Copernicus, and induced him to publish his discoveries. Copern. Revol. Orb. Celest. The Emperor Maximilian was a great protector of science and the arts. Sextus IV. largely increased the Vatican library, made Platina its keeper, and invited Philephus to Rome, and other 'ingenia undique.' Tirab. 6. p. 73. Tiraboschi's second chapter is on the 'munificenza' of the Italian princes to letters. ib. 16-75.

¹⁸ Tasso was a severe sufferer from this effect of a meritorious ambition pushed into tyranny, of the duke of Ferrara, who put him into confinement, to deter him when he suspected that he was about to leave his court.

BOOK
II

A succession of excitements, as new circumstances emerged, impelled all who felt and thought, to new views and new paths. The unexpected discovery and astonishing effects of the art of PRINTING¹⁹ carried reasoning and knowledge, which only wealth before could purchase, to the humblest citizen, and to the poorest cottage.²⁰ ARCHITECTURE arose in greatness to an elegance and magnificence, which had been unknown in Europe since the invasions of Alaric and the devastations of the Lombards.²¹ With fraternal emulation, the finest artists of the civilized world became eager to decorate, with their beautiful and grand creations, the churches, palaces and streets of Italy, like so many intellectual magicians, making colors and outlines delightful to the cultivated taste, and eloquent to the best sensibilities of our nature;²² and that even this branch of human

¹⁹ The monk Langius, who was nearly contemporary with the first discovery, justly exclaims, 'Magnum certe ac vere divinum munus!' and remarks, that as much could be printed by one man in one day, as many would take a year to write. Chron. p. 865. The bishop of Aprutinus put this thought at that time into an hexameter:

Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur, anno, ib. Langius and Trithemias ascribe the invention to Guttemberg of Mentz.

²⁰ So Dr. Brandt of that day observed, 'qui divitibus, vix regi, obvenerat olim, nunc liber in tenui cernitur esse casa.' ib. 865. Printing spread so rapidly as to be in Italy in 1465. See Tiraboschi's list of the books printed there between that year and 1497. He enumerates 69 places in that country where books were printed during those 33 years. Vol. 6. p. 433-9.

²¹ Architecture partook of the spirit of the day. Lanzi remarks, 'The taste for magnificent edifices revived throughout Italy. Many of the finest churches, many public edifices and ducal palaces, which still remain at Milan, Mantua and Venice, in Urbino, Rimini, Pesaro, and Ferrara, were executed about this period; besides those buildings in Florence and Rome where magnificence contended with elegance.' Roscoe's Lanzi, vi. p. 104. Sextus IV. raised in Rome 'fabbriche sopra ogni creder magnifiche.' Tirab. 6. p. 73.

²² Lanzi correctly observes, 'It became necessary to ornament these buildings, and this produced that noble emulation among artists; that grand fermentation of ideas which invariably advance the progress of

skill might not be without some splendid novelty, the first discovery of OIL PAINTING accompanied the other wonders of the fifteenth century.²³ CHAP.
I.

The accidental invention of OPTICAL GLASSES,²⁴ investing the human eye with the power of extending its vision to distances almost immeasurable, and of exploring minutenesses which till then had been invisible, disclosed new regions to science; and compelling it to assume new features,²⁵ increased

art.' vi. p. 104. Ros. 'Lanzi assures us, that the whole of Italy is filled with their productions—with noble works, conceived with dignity and executed with grace, over the whole of which an ardent and lofty spirit is warmly breathed—they are every where, and may be seen by all. They cover the walls and ceilings of the churches; they fill public galleries; they crowd palaces and castles, and have even found their way to very humble abodes.' Foreign Review, N^o II. p. 390. That no age has been more richly adorned with such men a few dates will shew:—Leonardo da Vinci was born in 1452; Albert Dürer, 1470; Michael Angelo, 1475; Giorgione, 1477; Titian, 1477; Raphael, 1483; Julio Romano, 1492; Correggio, 1494; Holbein, 1498. In the next century were Parmegiano, born 1504; Tintoretto, 1512; P. Perugiano, 1524; Paul Veronese, 1532; Guido, 1575; Rubens, 1577; Domenichino, 1581; Teniers, 1582; Guerchino, 1590; Nic. Poussin, 1594; Van Dyke, 1599.

²³ Oil colors were invented by John of Bruges, about 1410. The secret was brought from Flanders, and communicated to Dominico, who, confiding it to his friend Cartagno, of Florence, is stated to have been stabbed by this disgrace to his noble art, that he might appropriate the profit of the discovery. Lanzi, Ist. Pitt. It is remarkable, that Michael Angelo opposed their use. They soon passed into England: for one Coliburne, a painter in London, about this time covenanted 'to paint in most fine, fairest and curious wise, four images of stone, for the new chapel in Warwick, with the finest *oil colors*, in the richest, finest and freshest clothings that may be made of fine gold, azure, fine purple, fine white and other finest colors.' Dugdale Warw. v. 3. Dr. Henry Hist. v. 10. p. 211.

²⁴ Salvini's tombstone, in 1317, records him, a Florentine, to have been the inventor of spectacles. The idea of the telescope occurred to an individual in Holland, probably Jans, as the sixteenth century was closing. It is gratifying to read Galileo's account of his improvements on it. As soon as he heard of it, he made one for himself, with a leaden tube and two lenses, which magnified nine times. His next effort made this sixty, but his last trial caused them to appear 'almost a thousand times greater,' and with this he discovered, to his rapture, the four satellites of Jupiter. See his Astron. Nuncius, p. 9–12.

²⁵ Kepler remarks the 'admirable effect' of these instruments, 'in proferendis philosophiæ terminis,' and applauds Pena's statement of their

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the general admiration of the human capacity, and an individual desire to be among those who would be memorialized for enlarging or enriching it. The new and just theory, half perceived by Cusa,²⁶ but fully and scientifically contemplated and reasoned out by Copernicus,²⁷ contradicting visual sense, and leading the correcting mind to believe its own world, which seems so fixed, to be whirling with inexpressible velocity, free and unsupported thro the

‘ stupendis effectibus in rerum natura detegenda,’ as he does Baptista Porta’s observation, that they were unfolding admirabiles utilitates in all human life. Kepl. Diopt. p. 64, 9.

²⁶ The name of Cusa has been dropped in this important mutation of astronomical science; but as Gassendi mentions that he was a ‘ propugnator motus terræ,’ before Copernicus, (Instit. Astron. p. 127.) I have inspected his works. He was born seventy-two years before Copernicus, and from being the son of a poor fisherman, rose to be a bishop and a cardinal. His works make a thick folio. In his treatise *de docta ignorantia*, he distinctly and repeatedly asserts that the earth ‘ non est centrum mundi,’ and that it is manifest ‘ terram moveri.’ p. 38. He adds, it is clear to us, that the earth in truth is in motion, altho it does not seem to us to be so, because we never perceive movement, unless by a comparison with something that is fixed. p. 39. He illustrates this by the usual instance of the boat passing the banks of a river. But he did not advance beyond this fact, for he says, ‘ The earth seems to be situated between the region of the sun and the moon.’ *ib.* He asserted the remarkable truth, that the sun is not light, *non ipsa lux*, but distinct from it. *De Venat. Sapient.* p. 331.

²⁷ This celebrated canon, who was born in 1473, had studied at Bologna, and been in 1500 professor of mathematics at Rome. *Tirab.* v. 6. p. 397. In his dedication of his main work to Paul III. he mentions how his great idea came into his mind. Leo X. at the council of Lateran, wished to amend the ecclesiastical calendar, but could not do it, because the astronomers did not agree in their calculations of the motions of the sun and moon, and in the application of these to the common year. The bishop of Semproniensis asked Copernicus to think about it. He did so, and found such uncertainty in the mathematical accounts of the motions of the spheres, that he resolved to read over the ancient works, and see if they had ever conceived any different opinion about them. He adds, ‘ I found that Cicero mentioned that Nicetus thought the earth moved; and I observed that Plutarch noticed others to have had that idea. This led me to think of the mobility of the earth, and altho the opinion seemed absurd, I thought I might be permitted to try whether on that supposition more stable demonstrations might not be found out, as to the revolution of the orbs.’ The result was, those scientific observations from which he deduced his triumphant system. *Copern. de Revolut. Orb. Celest.* Norimb. 1543.

ambient air, could not be heard of or meditated upon without feelings and speculations arising, which neither the scientific nor the vulgar had indulged before.²⁸ The eagerness of his contemporaries for knowledge and for novelty, would not allow this retiring student to confine, as he wished, his peculiar ideas to his own bosom; and at length obtained their disclosure from his modest sensibility, which dreaded ridicule for their apparent extravagance.²⁹

Even chimerical **ALCHEMY** contributed to multiply the intellectual excitement of this all moving period. The enthusiastic dreams of the strong and laborious minds, who were exhausting themselves in its experiments,³⁰ received such authorized and public sanc-

²⁸ One of the first great effects of the new doctrine was, as Kepler observes, the abolition and removal out of nature of the nine or ten pellucid spheres, which were before thought to encompass our mundum elementarem, like the coats of an onion. Kepler Diopt. p. 60.

²⁹ Copernicus says, 'As I thought within myself what an absurd conjecture they would think it, who knew that for many ages it had been firmly believed that the earth is immoveable in the middle of the heavens, if I should assert the contrary; I hesitated a long time whether I should give my commentaries to the public, or imitate some of the Pythagoreans, who delivered their mysteries of philosophy to their relatives and friends, not by letters, but by personal communication only, as the letter of Lysis to Hipparchus shews; but my friends the cardinal of Capua, and the bishop of Culm, of all good letters most studious, urged me till, &c.' Ded. Revol. But Capua's letter to him in 1536 leads us to infer that his reluctance, which lasted for years, may have saved the world from his more crude speculations, and kept him from publication till he had perfected his theory, for in this the cardinal mentions it as one of the great astronomer's opinions, in 1536, that the moon turned round the sun, between Mars and Venus, ib. He was earnest for his publication, 'oro vehementer, that you would communicate this thy inventum to the studious.' ib.

³⁰ The chief alchemists, tho eccentric, were men of powerful and unwearied minds, and real lovers of natural knowledge as such, and pursued it for its phenomena, far more than from avarice, from our Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus, to Raymond Lully, Villa Nova, Ripley, Basil Valentine, Paracelsus, and Van Helmont, who all lived between 1300 and 1600. It is remarkable, that most of these,

BOOK tion,³¹ as to stimulate their ardor and efforts to
II. compose the golden metal, which was then used as
 a precious medicine,³² as well as a beautiful ornament.³³ By the vain endeavors of these enthusiastic operators, who were seeking to produce what nature has reserved exclusively for her own formation, these self-cheating, yet not wholly absurd³⁴ men, were

and especially Lully and Villa Nova, were accused of heresy, or new opinions in their religious speculations. Their works show that they united strong feelings of Theism with their researches. But many were in the church. Thus Rupecissa was a Franciscan; Ripley, a canon; and Basil Valentine, a Benedictine.

³¹ Edward III. in 1329, gave the alchemists the important sanction of his order to bring before him, willingly or by force, two persons who had declared that they could make the precious metals. Rymer Acta. Reg. v. 4. p. 384. In 1476, Edward IV. granted the royal license to exercise the art of alchemy, ib. v. 12. T. Norton, who wrote in 1477, his doggerel Latin poem of Crede Mihi, on alchemy, describes in detail one of Edward's noblemen arresting Daulton, an alchemist, and putting him into prison, to extort from him the secret of his art, but the man chose rather to perish than do so. 2 Mang. Bib. Ch. 294. The art must have been favored by Leo. X., or Augurellas would not have addressed to this elegant pontiff his Chrysopœia; in which he describes his alchemy in flowing Latin hexameters. See it in 2 Manget, p. 371.

³² Ricardus Anglicus mentions in his Correctorium, that 'aurum curet infirmitates,' 2 Manget, p. 271; and Bartholomeus, whose work was printed after his death in 1488, inculcated that the filings of gold taken with meat or drink, or as a medicine, are good in leprosy, or at least in effecting a concealment of it, and with the juice of borage and harts-horn, benefits in fainting, and in the cardiac passion. So gold leaf made red hot and extinguished in wine, causes that to be useful against spleen and melancholy. A golden instrument is the best cautery, as it keeps the part free from fetor. Heated gold takes off the hairs from a limb, and prevents them from growing again. De Propriet. rer. l. 16. chap. 4. It was the Arabians who first introduced into pharmacy the use of leaf gold and silver. Friend's Hist. Phys. 2. p. 206. Innocent V. was supposed to have been cured of the plague by a tincture of gold. Ric. Ang. Correct. It was also used in the gout. Ellis Lett. 3. p. 35.

³³ Bartholomeus says, Gold is the most beautiful of metals, and therefore its beauty obtains the first and chief place among all 'picturabiles formas.' Guainerus mentions one fact which indicates the benefit done by these alchemists to medicine. He knew a hermit who had been so often disappointed from his crucible, that he at last abandoned alchemy, applied himself to the preparation of medicine, and became a physician. G. confesses that he was indebted to him for some good remedies which he had discovered in his experiments. Gain. de Parel. c. 7.

³⁴ The conversion of the earthy oxides of mercury, as calomel and vermilion, into actual quicksilver, and of red powder of lead into its

continually effusing to society unknown knowlege of material qualities³⁵ and agencies. The congenial delusion, the hope to be as fortunate in discovering that quintessence, that fifth element of things to which Aristotle had briefly alluded, from which they might be enabled to compound some elixir that would restore age to juvenility, and annihilate disease, actuated many sanguine operators to their own disappointment, yet caused them to add to the information of the inquisitive, by the unexpected results of their diversified combinations.³⁶ Greek names were

metallic substance, and of steel blade dipped into a bluish fluid, into a surface of actual copper, induced these men to think, according to the chemical facts which they then knew, that in these cases they had transmuted earth to metals, and iron to copper. The additional phenomena observed afterwards, required a new judgment to be formed on the new knowlege, and shewed the preceding one to be erroneous: but this did not make the older judgment absurd, tho wrong. They reasoned to a wrong conclusion, because their facts were too few for a right one. They were as acute and as strong-headed, in the period which is the subject of the present history, as we are now, but being less acquainted with the phenomena of things, they therefore had less right philosophy.

³⁵ In Basil Valentine we have a fair instance how men were led to take up the art and pursue it. He says, after his becoming a monk, 'When I had lived some time in my order, lest my thoughts should from idleness lead me into sin, I resolved to explore nature, and by its anatomy to investigate its secrets. After due attention to the eternal things, I found the height of my wishes in temporal studies. I read many books in our library, which had been written by philosophers who had lived long before me. I happened also to have a colleague, who was very ill of the stone, and whom no one could cure. I then for his sake began the anatomy of herbs. I distilled them, and extracted their salt and quintam essentiam; but I did him no good, tho there was no plant which during six years I did not operate upon. I then turned to learn those qualities which the Creator has hid in metals, and in the minerals of the earth. Here the more I sought, the more I found. A greater stream always was flowing out of what preceded, and I cured my friend.' B. Val. de magno lapide. 2 Mang. 410.

³⁶ Thus Raymond Lully was indefatigable in preparing an 'universal medicine,' as he also was in making gems. So John and Isaac Hollands in 1420 composed their universal elixir, and also educed many valuable facts on distillation, enamels, colored glass, gems, and aqua regia. Paracelsus loudly claimed the credit of possessing an infallible tincture of life, which he called Azoth. He was a visionary, but his extravagancies

BOOK also attached to the science, which made it more
IL. attractive to the scholar.³⁷ They pursued it, because, unlike the scholastic metaphysics, it concerned real being, and led them to know the phenomena of created matter.³⁸

To be distinguished, and to excel in some line of human action or other, was the general passion; and hence even PULPIT ORATORY practised new exertions, took new fields of display,³⁹ and ventured to attempt gigantic publicity,⁴⁰ and a style, which we

enlarged the views of the medical mind which finally condemned them, and his experiments were advantageous to medical chemistry. His opera, tho full of random matter, are yet worth inspection. They form two volumes, Geneva, 1658.

³⁷ I find 'Democritus Philosophus' quoted in some of the alchemists, and there are still some Greek MSS. existing in the German libraries, attributed to him, which have never been printed. Shaw's Boerhaave, v. 1. Some have thought these to be the compositions of later Grecians. But I observe, that Petronius Arbiter in the time of Nero, notices him in remarking that 'it was the desire of discovering something useful to mankind, which led Democritus to distil the juices of every kind of plant, and to employ his life in making a great number of experiments to find out the properties of minerals and herbs.' Petron. Satyr. These words imply, that treatises of Democritus on chemical subjects existed in the first century.

³⁸ Their best works make this distinction. Petrus Bonus, of 1330, in his Margarita Pretiosa, lays it down as one of his first principles, that 'Scientia Alchemiæ sit de ente reali,' and as such discusses it. p. 1. So R. Lully establishes it as his two first principia, that the Deity is the Creator of all things, and their mover; and his third, that matter has been created by him, and that 'every thing under the globe of the moon has been created and formed as such matter.' On this foundation he proceeds to consider the facts of alchemy as the phenomena or effects of this matter. See his Testamentum, l Manget, p. 710.

³⁹ One of the new scenes and uses of preaching was to accompany armies in their campaigns. This habit was noticed by the bishop of Modena, in his letter of May 1542: 'I have ordered M. Bavadagli to go to the camp in Hungary, where the Lutheran preachers will be, as I am assured that he may induce these preachers to relinquish their dogmas, when they exhort the soldiers to fight. There will be also many Italian soldiers there, with their Catholic preachers.' Ep. Poli. Quern. 3. p. 269.

⁴⁰ In 1452, the minor fryar John de Capistrano was sent to convert the Bohemians, and to preach in Germany. He visited Thuringia, Saxony, Misnia and Moravia, and was received every where with banners,

may call, with no intention of abuse, but merely as its descriptive character, the field preaching of Popery.⁴¹ Projects of new traffic, and of exploring new regions, if not new worlds; large views, high thoughts and high daring agitated others, as the mysterious direction of the magnet to the Pole, presented to NAVIGATION an invisible guide, which made the mariner an enthusiast, gave security to the boldest adventures, and excited a passion for remote voyages and investigations.⁴² The astonishing discoveries which

crosses and processions, like a sovereign prince. He preached at Erfurd to SIXTY THOUSAND PERSONS; the men arranged on one side, the women on the other. He only knew Latin; but a doctor interpreted as he went on. *Mag. Chron. Belg.* 2. This far outdid our Whitfield, whose clearest or fullest exertion of voice did not reach beyond 20,000 people.

⁴¹ The *Magnum Chronicon* mentions that 'more Italico he preached with his hands and feet, as well as with his voice.' p. 382. This corresponds with Henry Wharton's account of him; 'He itinerated thro the cities and towns, addressing sermons to the people, in the highways and market places, against the enemies of the Roman Church. Among the Germans and those who were ignorant of Italian, he is said to have affected the minds of his audience in a wonderful manner, by using gesticulations instead of words.' *Cave's Script. Eccl.* add. p. 98. How he managed to teach the papal faith, and to confute heresy by stage acting and dumb show, has not been recorded. Yet nothing else could have had any effect on the largest half of an audience of sixty thousand persons. The most violent exertion of manual eloquence, among the Roman orators, was that of striking the thigh. But Capistrano must have multiplied his oratorical gestures far beyond this small circumstance.

⁴² The conquest of Ceuta on the Morocco coast, by the Portuguese in 1415, under John I. began the taste for African discoveries and possessions; and his intelligent son Henry cherished the new maritime passion. He saw how effectually the magnetic compass would assist in exploring new and distant lands. His pilots soon doubled both Cape Noir and Cape Bajedor, and by 1420 had discovered the Isle of Madeira and the Canaries. The Azores and the Cape de Verd islands only stimulated curiosity to advance, and before Henry's death, in 1463, Sierra Leone was reached and passed. By 1484, they had explored and began to conquer in the kingdom of Congo, to the surprise and gratification of Europe; and twelve years afterwards, under John II. the intrepid Diaz surmounted the stormy Cape, now of Good Hope. Following his steps, in the reign of Emanuel the Great, the Greater Vasco de Gama in 1498, astonished, and delighted all the thinking world by sailing to the East

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II

rewarded their fortitude and sufferings, made all that thought and talked in society as visionary and as elated as themselves ;⁴³ a sudden ardor of imitation, new dreams of commerce and geography became the reasonings of the gravest and the pursuit of the most prudent.⁴⁴ ANATOMY, basing itself on the searching inspection of the human fabric, instead of apes and dogs like the ancients,⁴⁵—BOTANY, the largest, the most beautiful, the most essential to man, and the most inexhaustible by his curiosity, of all the king-

Indies ; thereby beginning a revolution in all the commerce of the East, and exalting Portugal to the sovereignty of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The disclosure of the West Indies by Columbus in 1492, acted like the revelation of a new world to mankind, and produced a transport and an exultation in his contemporaries, which their letters and writings largely express.

⁴³ Thus Metamorus felt and contended, that Christopher Colonus, as he terms him, had conquered a greater glory than the ancient Bacchus, who pervaded the East, or than Hercules, who penetrated to the West, or even than Alexander the Great. He exclaims with rapture, that there should be such things as the Antipodes ; ‘ He saw with his own eyes, men walking with their feet opposite to ours, and would I think have convinced both Lactantius and St. Austin of it, if they had been alive.’ p. 821.

⁴⁴ Our cautious Henry VII. whom Mariana states to have refused the offer of ‘ Christoval Colon’ (Hist. Ep. v. 9. p. 197,) became so interested by his success, that on 5 March 1496, he granted a patent to J. Cabot and his two sons, to sail at their own expense in search of new countries, giving to the king one-fifth of the profit. And on 9 Dec. 1502, a similar patent was obtained from him by two Bristol merchants, Elyot and another, and two Portuguese, to make a voyage for the same purpose. They are in Rymer, v. 12. p. 595. v. 13. p. 37. In 1481 English merchants had prepared a fleet for a trading voyage on the coast of Africa, when the Portuguese king interfered and stopped it. Henry Hist. p. 247.

⁴⁵ Sylvius, who died 1555 ; Fallopius, who died in 1563 ; and Vesalius, who, on his way to succeed him at Venice, by the invitation of the senate, perished by famine in a desert part of the isle of Zante, where he was shipwrecked in 1564 ; (De Thou, v. 4. p. 632.) enriched anatomy with discoveries which gave new features to Physiology.

This last student of it was the medical attendant of Charles V. who at his request consulted the doctors of Salamanca, whether he might with a safe conscience dissect the dead body, to learn its structure. He became acquainted with it so exactly, that he offered to be blindfolded, and yet name every bone that was presented to him, on only feeling it. He succeeded with all.

doms of the divine creation;⁴⁶—and the Mathematics, that noble science, whose principles and laws are those of the Divine mind, and were recognized and felt to be so by Plato,⁴⁷—had each their zealous votaries, emulating all the other successful inquirers, and, like them, also achieving, with a suddenness and an unaccountable felicity that looked like inspiration, discoveries of unknown facts, or of recondite truths, which became the parents of an endless progeny,⁴⁸ and obtained their proportion also of elevating celebrity.⁴⁹ New theatres and new treasures of na-

⁴⁶ The five first publishers of Botanical Catalogues, appeared in the sixteenth century; and Gesner, who first suggested the arrangement of plants by classes, orders, genera and species, was born in 1516. He, like Cesalpinus, whose birth was in 1519, made the fruit his criterion. Thompson's Hist. Roy. Soc. p. 20.

⁴⁷ Gassendi dwells with delight and eloquence on Plato's celebrated answer to the question, what the Deity was doing, ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ, 'The Deity geometrizes;' and expatiates on the geometrical science and configurations with which the world has been composed, in his *Oratio inauguralis*.

⁴⁸ Cusa mentions to Nicholas V. 'Nor would you have Geometry neglected; for you delivered to me in Greek the geometry of the great Archimedes, which had been presented to you, and which you procured to be translated into Latin. This has seemed to me so admirable, that I could not but labor to complete it, and I have done so, and send my 'Mathematices complementum' to you.' Cusæ Op. p. 1004.

In Cusa's century, the fifteenth, Leonard of Pisa travelled into the East to learn Algebra from the Arabians, and returned with it to Europe, where Purbach, who died in 1461, was improving Trigonometry, and where Regiomontanus, who died in 1476 first developed our present system of decimal fractions, and translated a great number of the Greek mathematicians, for the benefit of the studios. As he was employed to reform the calendar, his sudden death may have kept it in that state which occasioned Copernicus to be consulted about it, and led him to the imagination of his new system. Tartaglia discovered the resolution of the cubic equations. Thomps. Roy. Soc. 255-8.

⁴⁹ A. Piccolomini, in 1560, in his treatise to prove that mathematical demonstrations are not in the highest order of certainties, indicates in several passages the lofty spirit of intellect then pervading the world. He says that man is born to contemplate as well as to act, and therefore pursues the knowlege of truth as well as the acquisition of good. p. 70. So on the mechanical questions, he intimates that the wise burn with the 'sciendi cupiditate.' They do not admire the things which the vulgar dread, as earthquakes, eclipses, comets or inundations, because

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tural history opened to all, from the recently unveiled regions of Africa, America, and the Oriental oceans. Nor was the female world insensible to the love of distinguishing praise, nor without making some efforts to obtain it by literary display, by kind patronage, or by intellectual cultivation.⁵⁰ Diseases unknown to Europe before,⁵¹ and new medicines with new treatment equally strange, opposed and fanatically urged,⁵² had also their share in agitating the mind, and rousing it to new conduct.

they know the causes of these ; but what they search into and highly value, are those ‘*quorum latet causa* ;’ the causes of such things, ‘*omni conatu inquirentes philosophantur.*’ p. 7.

⁵⁰ Margaret, the sister of Francis I., and some of the high-born ladies of the court of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and Henry’s two daughters, are specimens of this new spirit in the female sex. See *Hist. Henry VIII.* v. 2. p. 187. Ascham repeatedly extols such in England.

It was at the instance of the duchess of Ferrara, a lady of Arragon, that Caraffa, in the fifteenth century, composed his work on the duties of a good prince. His other treatise ‘*de institutione vivendi*,’ was written in characters of gold, on azure and green colored parchment, for Beatrice, the wife of the celebrated M. Corvino, king of Hungary. His tract ‘*de lo optimo cortesano*,’ was dedicated to the same princess. She was also from Arragon. *Tirab.* v. 6. p. 431. The duke of Milan placed his daughter Hippolita under the instruction of Lascaris to learn the Greek language ; who composed for her his Greek Grammar, printed at Milan 1476, the first Greek book printed in Italy. *Hodii Græc.* III.

⁵¹ One of these was the scurvy, which Fabricius mentions in 1486, as a new and unheard-of malady, much dreaded, and extremely dangerous. The mariners of Saxony called it *den schorbock*. He makes it contagious. *Ann. Mis.* l. 2. p. 71. It spread gradually into most parts of Europe. The probability is, that it began and increased with the long voyages, which the discoveries of de Gama and Columbus led to. Another complaint, which at this period established itself in Europe, apparently from the West Indies, caused great anxieties and perturbations. Gonsalvo Ferrand, finding no cure in Italy, went to the West Indies, on purpose to find out how the inhabitants there treated it, and brought back Guaiacum as the great specific. *Friend’s Hist. Phys.* 2. p. 365.

⁵² Thus Basil Valentine pressed the extensive use of Antimony in his *Currus triumphalis antimonii* ; and Paracelsus vaunted his mercurial preparations with the most extravagant pretensions and tales. See Boerhaave’s notice of his life.—*Chem.* v. 1.

It was at this period that Pharmacy, which had hitherto been confined to vegetable simples, enlarged its stores by the introduction of drugs and mineral medicines, chiefly from the experiments of those who sought for their wonderful elixir.

Political events of an unusual nature, with far-extending results, and sometimes of a portentous magnitude, were also not wanting to kindle hope, fear and speculation, and to add their augmentation and vicissitudes to the social agitation. The destruction of the Moorish kingdom in Spain, and depression of its Mahomedan population; the expulsion of 800,000 Jews from the same country, to increase the power of the then recently established Turkish empire in Greece, and the East;⁵³ the destruction of the Venetian greatness and ascending power, by the confederacy procured by Julius II.;⁵⁴ and the repeated descents of the gentry and nobility of France into Italy and Naples,⁵⁵ under Charles VIII. Lewis XII. and Francis I. were among these spirit-stirring incidents. The habit of all the warring powers of Europe to recruit their armies from all

⁵³ Mariana informs us, that Ferdinand and Isabella having finished their war in Granada, agreed to expel all the Jews, and therefore in 1492 issued their edict, that they should all depart within four months, with liberty to sell their property or take it with them. The unhappy nation embarked at the different ports. Some went to Africa, others to Italy, but the great body to the regions of the Levant. Most authors computed that 170,000 families emigrated, comprising 800,000 souls. Hist. Ep. v. 9. p. 190. John of Portugal offered them a temporary asylum in his kingdom, on paying 8 ducats a head, and 20,000 families, some of them consisting of 10 persons, took the hard-bought refuge. Hieron. Conestag. de Portag. Hisp. Illust. Persecution and intolerance compelled many of them to change their religion; and from these incidents, both Spain and Portugal became spread with secret Jews in the guise of Christians, whose hypocrisy, or the suspicion of it, chiefly upheld the Inquisition.

Dr. Walsh, in his late journey from Constantinople, remarks, that these 800,000 Jews, when driven from Spain, sought refuge in the East. They settled at Salonichi, Smyrna, Rodosto and other large towns, where they at this day form an important part of the population. The Turks, who term the Greeks, Yeshir or Slaves; and the Armenians, Rayas or Subjects; call the Jews by the more honorable title of Mousaphir, or Visitors, because they sought an asylum among them, and therefore treat them with kindness and hospitality. Dr. Walsh's Narrative.

⁵⁴ Hist. Hen. VIII. v. 1. p. 90-3.

⁵⁵ Hist. Hen. VIII. v. 1. p. 79, 84, 146, 335, 373.

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parts of Germany and Switzerland, was also continually exciting the adventurous spirit, golden hopes, and the dreams of martial egotism, in the rustic hamlet as well as in the baronial castle and the knightly hall, over all the continent, from the Baltic Sea to the Genevan Lake. But the most interesting, and at times disquieting, incidents arose from the entrance of the Turks into Europe, and their determination, as victory influenced their imagination, to subject Europe to their race and Prophet. Their decisive triumph in Hungary, in the reign of their great Amurath, as the fourteenth century expired,⁵⁶ presented a danger to Christendom which the fierce Bajazet had threatened and hoped to realize, when the rapid greatness and successful attacks of the new Tartar meteor, Tamerlane, suspended the peril.⁵⁷ Fifty years afterwards every alarm was renewed, by the news flying thro Europe, first by the fall of the king of Poland in Hungary against the Mahome-

⁵⁶ It was on 28th Sept. 1396, at Nicopolis, that the Turks obtained this advantage. The king of Hungary had solicited the Christian Sovereigns for their aid, and the Duke of Burgundy, with several of the French princes and nobility, joined his forces. But the latter were too impetuous and ungovernable, and falling into an ambush, the Christian army was totally defeated. Gobelin Cosmod. p. 287. Froissart, v. 11. c. 41. p. 291. The Turks are stated to have been 300,000 men, their antagonists 80,000; Chron. Turcic. c. 82; but Froissart makes the Mussulmen only 200,000. p. 293. 'In the pride of victory, Bajazet threatened to besiege Buda, subdue Germany and Italy, and feed his horse on the altar of St. Peter's.' Gibbon, v. 6. c. 64. p. 323. The gout stopped the execution of his project; a petty agent for an important purpose.

⁵⁷ This unexpected conqueror who emerged in 1370, and aspired to the dominion of the world, actually placed 27 crowns on his head, and after subduing Persia, Turkistan, and Hindostan, took Bajazet prisoner in the decisive battle of Angora, in Anatolia, on 28th July 1402, and kept him prisoner to his death, 9 March 1403. Timour only survived him to 1 April 1405, when he died on his road to China. Gibb. c. 65. p. 331-61.

dans,⁵⁸ and then by the more agitating certainty that the Turkish crescent was floating in the long but fruitlessly resisting capital of Greece;⁵⁹ and this intelligence was in three years more succeeded by a formidable irruption into Hungary, to add that kingdom to their new empire. It was happily repressed,⁶⁰ but only to be followed by new efforts to obtain the monarchy of Europe, with an alarming perseverance which the most intelligent minds contemplated with manifest terror.⁶¹ These apprehensions and this danger, increased to those who lived near the sea shores of Italy and Spain, occasioned the pontiffs to make repeated calls on every Christian nation to

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⁵⁸ Uladislaw perished in the battle of Varna, in 1444; Ladislas succeeded, and the brave John Huniades was made governor of the kingdom. Zopf. v. 2. p. 619.

⁵⁹ It was taken by Mahomet II. on 29 May 1453. Gibbon's description of the general assault is one of the best passages in his History, c. 68. p. 492-504. The German emperor, Frederic, who died in 1493, after a reign of 53 years, is represented by the monkish chronicler, who knew him, as a *Vir optimus*, who was anxious to keep his kingdom in peace; but who, from this laudable abstinence from war, enabled the Turks to make their great progress in Europe during his reign. Lang. Chron. 884.

⁶⁰ The defeat of Mahomet's army in Hungary, in 1456, with a loss of 40,000 men, saved both Belgrade and Europe at that crisis. This victory is in a great degree ascribed to the Stentorian preacher, John de Capistrano, mentioned in note 40. When the Christians gave way to the fury of the Turkish charge, his eloquence rallied and roused them to renew the combat, and to fight till they conquered. Mag. Chron. Belg. 383. He had assembled 100,000 crusaders, and not only animated them by his words, but went into the battle at their head, with a great cross instead of a banner, fought with it most furiously in the first ranks, and slew many of the Turks. Whart. add. to Cave's Script. p. 98.

In 1475, Matthias Corvinus, the son of J. Huniades, was made by the Hungarians their king, and his great spirit and exertions kept the Mussulmen at bay.

⁶¹ Melancthon's feelings may be adduced as a specimen. 'Turkish ferocity menaces our churches, and the whole nation, with ravage and extermination. It is preparing a mighty war on the frontiers of Germany, cursing the Son of the Deity in its public edicts, and planning the slaughter of the pious. Amid so much terror and danger, it is difficult to cherish hope.' Mel. Op. v. 3.

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unite in a crusade against the common and undeterred enemy of all. Solyman the Magnificent renewed the alarms,⁶² and emulated the triumphs of his predecessors, when the hostilities of Persia operated to the preservation of Europe.⁶³ This overhanging peril of the Turkish sabre continued, until the naval power of the Ottomans was annihilated in the bay of Lepanto. After this reverse, luxury and selfish policy concurred to extinguish the daring spirit of their sultans for all land aggressions, in the voluptuous and enervating seraglio.

The irregular, the wild and the discreditable, had also their attractions. The tendency of many to join mysterious Rosicrucian societies;⁶⁴ of others, to pursue

⁶² It was on 8 October 1526, that Sir John Wallop sent to the English court a detailed account of the great battle on Solyman's invasion, in which Louis II. the king of Hungary and Bohemia fell, and his troops were totally defeated. MSS. British Mus. Vitell. B. 21. This ambitious sultan having taken Belgrade and Buda, in 1529, advanced to Vienna, but its sovereign reinforced its garrison with 20,000 men, and Solyman was baffled, and withdrew. But in 1532 he renewed his formidable invasion, and penetrated to Lintz, which successfully resisted him. Sagredo. Hist. Ottom. 151-191.

⁶³ The Persian war diverted and consumed his forces in 1535; yet in 1538 he again invaded Hungary. In 1541 he renewed his attack, and became master of its capital, and in a future year attempted Transylvania. Cardinal Pole, in his address to Charles V. thus speaks of this dangerous sultan: 'If the money you have expended elsewhere had been applied against the Turks, would Solyman have taken the two bulwarks of the Christian world, Belgrade and Rhodes? Would he have devastated Hungary, and penetrated to Buda? and have subdued all the region which the Danube washes, and the adjacent provinces? How long shall we see his fleets, every year hovering about Italy, and taking off its people as their captives? If the sophy of Persia had not been his powerful enemy, and limited his audacity, he would have enjoyed by this time universal empire.' Orat. de Pace. Quir. v. 4. p. 410. Sir Thomas Moryson, in his despatch of 4 April 1553, shews also the importance of the Persian hostilities: 'The Turks are now quiet in Hungary, by reason that the Sophy doth occupy them the other way.' 1 Lodge's Illust. p. 170.

⁶⁴ This fraternity claimed a German as their founder, who visited Damascus, and died in 1484. They called themselves les Freres de la Rose Croix, and also the illumines, the immortals, and the invisibles.

the incoherent dreams of the Jewish Cabala,⁶⁵ and of some, both to study and to vaunt of the possession of Magical powers,⁶⁶ affords a further specimen of the restless activity of the mind to deviate, at that time, from the ordinary and straight-forward paths of quiet and contented life. But useful improvements were the more general pursuits; and our most warlike,⁶⁷ as well as our most splendid, king became fond of Music; and the latter, as well as his opponent Luther, composed it;⁶⁸ and that this sweet art might exhibit also its participation of the general

They took oaths of secrecy and fidelity, pretended to great discoveries, and wrote in enigmas. Moreri, *Rose Croix*. Dee, in publishing *Friar Bacon's Epistolæ*, added a '*responsio ad fratres Rosacæ crucis illustres*.' Hamb. 1618.

⁶⁵ The Cabala was in its greatest credit in the 16th century. The Jewish literati were particularly attached to it. It was supposed to have great magical power. It was divided into two kinds; *Mercava*, or the Science of the Chariot, and *Beresith*, or that of the Creation. Moreri in voce. Kircher, *Mirandula*, and others, wrote upon it. The *Jezirah*, its most ancient book, and the other treatises in the '*Cabala denudata*,' inform us of the chief part of the published mysteries of the system. The much praised Reuchlin Capnio addressed three books *de arte Cabalista* to Leo X., which are printed among the *Scriptores de arte Cabalistica*. Bas. 1587.

⁶⁶ We can hardly now believe that a delusion so extravagant as the art of Magic should have prevailed in modern Europe. But Trithemius thought it necessary to resolve on writing a work of twelve books on the *Demoniacal sciences*, to expose '*quam vanissimæ*' they were. *Ep. Fœm.* p. 565. He particularises one man, *Sabellicus*, as professing himself in 1507 to be a chieftain of the necromancers. He gave himself this title, '*Magister Georgius Sabellicus; Faustus junior; fons necromanticorum; astrologus, Magus secundus; chiromanticus; agræmanticus; pyromanticus*.' The abbot met him at *Galenhusen*, but wishing to reason with him on his art, the impostor disappeared. He pretended to such knowlege, that if all the works of Plato and Aristotle were burnt, he could restore them from his own memory. *Ep. Fœm.* 559, 560.

⁶⁷ Henry V. was an admirer of church music, and amused himself with playing on the organ. Dr. Henry, v. 10. p. 227. from *Elmham*, p. 12.

⁶⁸ We have an anthem of Henry VIII. still remaining. Luther has also left those noble yet simple compositions on the day of Judgment, and the 100th Psalm. James I. of Scotland 'was a capital performer on the organ, and composed several pieces of sacred music.' Dr. Henry, p. 228. from Ford. Scot's Ch. l. 16. c. 28.

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progression, Counterpoint or harmony, tho not actually invented at this time, yet was so peculiarly brought into social use from its ineffective obscurity, as to be called ‘a new art.’⁶⁹ Scotland had the honor of enriching its then few but increasing treasures from her national melodies, which are so plaintive and so pleasing.⁷⁰ Other princes improved it;⁷¹ and from many cultivators, this delightful art, which beyond all others combines intellectual with popular enjoyment, acquired novelties of modulation, conceptions and subjects, which were from this period continually multiplied with the grandest and most delicious improvements. Happily, after a contest,⁷² the Council of Trent allowed its continuance in the Catholic church service;⁷³ and the English reformers, shunning the unnecessary extreme of the Calvinistic simplifiers, retained it also in their cathedral chants and anthems. These wise permis-

⁶⁹ It is John Tinctor, a writer of this period, who so terms it; ‘of which new art, as I may call it, viz. Counterpoint, the fountain and origin is said to have been among the English, of whom Dunstable was chief or head.’ Burney’s Hist. Mus. v. 2. p. 450. Dunstable, who died 1458, did not invent, but may have applied it in a more specific or new manner.

⁷⁰ Tassoni has left this memorial of James I., the contemporary of Henry V. ‘James not only composed many sacred pieces of vocal music, but also invented a new kind, plaintive and melancholy, different from all other.’ Tass. Pens. Div. l. 10.

⁷¹ Tassoni adds: ‘In this he has been imitated by Carlo Gesualdo, prince of Venosa, who in our age hath improved music with new and admirable inventions. Ib. Hawk. Hist. Music, v. 4. p. 5, 6. Dr. Henry, v. 10. p. 231. Gesualdo’s style of modulation was preferred by musicians to their preceding music. Hawk. v. 3. p. 212. Henry, 232.

⁷² Godeau mentions, that the greatest number of the bishops at the council wanted to suppress it, as injurious if bad, and as more fit when excellent, a chatouiller les oreilles qu’a elever l’esprit a Dieu, but it was at last retained. Vie de S. Ch. Borrom. p. 120.

⁷³ No formal decree was made in its favor, but the prohibition was limited to expel from the churches ‘musicas eas, ubi, sive organo, sive cantu, aliquid lascivum, aut impurum miscetur.’ Sess. 22, Plat. Canones et Decret. p. 207.

sions have provided, from the subsequent inventions of human genius, a varied profusion of the most elevating, soothing and pathetic combinations of melodized sound, to which antiquity had no parallel, and which alone exalts modern times and modern Mind to a superiority, that in the days of Orpheus neither hope nor fancy could have anticipated.⁷⁴

The new establishment of English factories on the continent in the fifteenth century, enlarged and spread the activity and spirit of the nation⁷⁵ under that king, whose continental peregrinations and adventures⁷⁶ made him most able and willing to appreciate and encourage the foreign commerce of his kingdom. The large views of Richard III. favored its adventurous ambition.⁷⁷ Nor was the fond practice of pilgrimages to Spain,⁷⁸ and of foreigners to Canterbury, ineffective to promote the general movement to the restless and the new. This humor was so beneficial to the trading part of the Romish clergy, that no heresy was more instantaneously punished than that of questioning the use or duty of what every

⁷⁴ In quantity, diversity and pathos, none can excel, though many English composers have equalled in less amount, the Catholic church music; but no part of this can parallel in sublimity the three chief choruses of Handel's Messiah. In the grandeur and full feeling of these magnificent devotional harmonies, this great musician stands yet not only unsurpassed, but also unreachd.

⁷⁵ In 1404, Henry IV. granted a charter to the English merchants residing in Germany, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and Norway, to hold general assemblies, make laws, and chuse governors; and in 1406, a similar one to the English traders in Holland, Zealand, Brabant and Flanders. Henry's Hist. p. 241.

⁷⁶ Henry IV. when exiled by Richard II. travelled thro the north of Europe, as far as Lithuania.

⁷⁷ Henry's Hist. p. 241, 7. It was not until Richard's reign, that the English merchants obtained any solid footing in Italy. ib. 247.

⁷⁸ Hist. Mid. Ages, v. 3. p. 148, 9.

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Every department of life and nature so manifestly contributed and displayed the exciting novelties, that the sixteenth century became a new æra in England, even for the beauties and blessings both of Flora and Pomona, which changed the style and taste of our domestic gardens, and of those habits which arise from their pleasing gratifications.⁷⁹ We may close our sketch of the impressive novelties of the age of our Henry VIII. and his father, by remarking, that the great romances of the genuine chivalry, which for nearly two centuries occupied and colored the mind and feelings of our own country and Europe, and on the whole with an elevating and improving effect, tho with a considerable counterbalance, were composed and published at this period.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Gardening and vegetables were introduced into England from the Netherlands, about 1509. King James I. of Scotland describing the royal garden at Windsor, in 1414, notices the green arbors, hawthorn hedges, plenty of trees, shaded alleys, and sweet juniper in the middle of every arbor, but nothing else. See his poetical remains.—Linacer introduced the damask rose; the Flemings, in 1567, planted about Norwich, as flowers until then unknown, gilly flowers, carnations, and the Provence rose. In 1578, the tulip was brought into England from Vienna. The pale gooseberry, sallads and cabbages, came from Flanders; and hops from Artois into our island, 1520; pippins into Sussex, 1525. Currants from Zant were first planted here in 1555. Several sorts of plums, and the musk rose, were brought from Italy by Lord Cromwell; and apricots by the gardener of Henry VIII.

⁸⁰ The first that was written, and by far the first in merit, for I felt when I read it, that it had much of the Homeric genius and character about it, was *Amadis de Gaul*; the production of a Portuguese; and as Mr. Southey has decisively proved, of Vasco Lobeira, who died 1403, and of which the Spanish version by Montalso was the earliest that was printed in 1526. The Spanish soldiers quoted it when they first beheld Mexico. Southey's preface. Its story of the Endriago is a fine specimen of imaginative fiction.—The *Palmerin of England*, by Francisco de Moraes, was praised and ordered to be preserved by Cervantes, but is not equal in genius or interest to the *Amadis*, tho curious. The many others that followed are still more inferior. But the more ancient

This brief review of the universal motivity of the human mind during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and of the simultaneous changes or improvements which arose in every subject of human attention, may lead us to the inference, that altho in the oriental division of our well-peopled globe, the intellect of man was assuming a stationary fixity which stopped all progression, and has never since varied, yet that in Europe it had ceased to be limited or quiescent in any of its paths of inquiry or pursuit. When Asia had been a scene of fertile and vigorous mind, our western quarter of the earth was dark, desolate and savage. The prospect was now reversed. The East revolved into a slumbering night; and Europe began to glow with all the beauty and ardor of a bright morning sun, which has advanced with increasing lustre to a splendid meridian. As if roused and guided by some invisible agency, which every where operated, Mankind emerged to a superior condition, and felt that they were actuated by a superior impulse,⁸¹ and could not and did not continue what they had been. The intellectual sovereignty of Aristotle, which the new Greek books and schools had for a while confirmed with new force,⁸² began every where to shake, from the rebel-

one, the 'Tirante el Blanco,' the work of Juan Martorel, printed 1480, was the other of the only three romances spared in Don Quixote's library, as one of 'the best books in the world.' To these I must add the long favorite of my childhood, 'The destruction of Troy,' or the achievements of Hercules, printed by our worthy and indefatigable Caxton.

⁸¹ Cardinal Casa's expressions indicate the common sentiment of his day: 'By a divine gift, we behold that there is in all things a natural desire that they should be in some better state than that in which the condition of every nature is existing, and that those instrumentalities should work to this end, which are fit to do so, in order that the appetite for it may not be given in vain.' *Docta Ignor.* p. 1.

⁸² Bessarion and others translated anew Aristotle's most important

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lion of the studious mind,⁸³ and from the decisive counteraction of the accumulating knowlege.⁸⁴ Compilations of natural facts were made by those who preferred the enriching study of nature to the barren theses of metaphysical logic;⁸⁵ nor did the inevitable and multiplying innovations depend on the rise or talent of any particular individuals. The whole intellectual world was either moved or moving, in its waves and tides, in every quarter of the great ocean of life. Scholars were infected with the

works, from their genuine Greek MSS. The scholars of Europe had before used chiefly the Latin versions from the Arabian translations of his compositions.

⁸³ This revolt began gradually in two of the newer branches of the inquiring world, the natural philosophers, and the more religious part of the clergy; who felt the Aristotelian theology of the schoolmen to be unsatisfactory to their sensibilities and moral judgment, and who found, from the perusal of the Scriptures, emotions and ideas which the dialectics of the Scotists and Thomists, the followers of Dun Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, did not impart.—Both these classes receded from Aristotle, while the great body of the clergy preferred that polemical divinity with which all the worldly distinctions of life were at that time connected. Peter Ramus, born 1515, raised a great storm of resentment against himself, by his efforts on this subject. He wrote animadversions upon Aristotle, in which he inveighed with great vehemence against his *Organon*. Brucker, *Hist.* v. 5. p. 551, 2. The wild but cruelly treated Bruno—burnt by the Inquisition at Rome—assisted to depose the Stagyrte. *ib.*

⁸⁴ Kepler remarks, from Pena's preface to Euclid's *Optics*, that the new telescopes shewed that there was no sphere of fire above us, which overthrew at once all Aristotle's meteorology, and his system on the Milky Way. *Kepl. Diop.* p. 67. Galileo also declared that he erred in both his reasons against the motion of the earth. *System. Mundi*, p. 127. Several men of science attacked other parts of his natural philosophy. He reigned longest in his logic.

⁸⁵ The little known '*Proprietates rerum*,' by Bartholomeus, an English Franciscan, which was printed in 1488, deserves to be distinctly mentioned. It is the work of an English Pliny, as the fourteenth century was ending. Taking the whole range of nature, he has collected and comprized in nineteen books, the chief facts that were known or believed of geography, astronomy, chemistry, anatomy, mineralogy, and natural history, with exact and simple conciseness, including of course some of the dreams as well as the knowlege of our ancestors, from the best authorities then attainable.

spirit of peregrination,⁸⁶ as well as knights, seamen, adventurers⁸⁷ and soldiers. The obligation of every prelate to visit Rome, for the confirmation of his dignity; the general habit of appeals to the papal tribunal; and the necessity of those who sought church preferment, to seek it from the popes, who were monopolizing all presentations; in addition to the attractions of the universities of Padua, Pavia, and Bologna, filled the roads of Europe with travellers to Italy, who never returned the same beings they went.

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From the preceding facts it seems obvious, that linked as religion was to every class and path of society, it was impossible for that to remain stable and motionless amid these general fluctuations. Luthers or Calvins might or might not emerge to concentrate the ideas, and to direct the force of the myriad minds which were in discontented agitation;

⁸⁶ Paracelsus is an instance of the migratory disposition of some, in pursuit of their favorite knowledge at that time. He was born 1493. He travelled to all the universities of Germany, Italy, France and Spain, to learn physic. After these he visited Prussia, Lithuania, Poland, Wallachia, Transylvania, Croatia, Portugal and Illyria. Still unsatisfied, he went to Russia; was taken prisoner by the Tartars, and accompanied the son of their Cham to Constantinople. He was also frequently retained as a medical man, in armies, battles and sieges, and at last died at Saltzburg in 1541. Boerhaave's Hist. Chem. v. 1. In the spirit of the antient philosophers, who travelled to Egypt for knowledge, Valerianus about 1500 went to Damascus to learn Arabic, and to study the genuine works of Avicenna; and Doglione, another physician, visited Aleppo for two years, and from thence proceeded to Tripoli; stripped and wounded by the Bedouin robbers, he returned for three years to Aleppo, and died of the plague as returning to his country. Tirab. v. 6. p. 465. Our old school friend Lilly went to Jerusalem; and thence to Rhodes, to learn Greek. Lill. Elog. p. 89.

⁸⁷ The humble blacksmith's son, who wandered an adventurer abroad, and who at last joined Bourbon's army in its sack of Rome, and then returned to England to rise gradually to be successor to Wolsey as prime minister, and to become Lord Cromwell, is an instance of the mode of life of many, tho with less signal success.

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but neither their absence or appearance could prevent or produce the revolutions in all the ideas and institutions that were connected with the church, which were evolving from these changes in the general society. Individuals could only affect the locality of the explosions, and a little their chronology; but somewhere or other new reasoning minds were sure to be formed, and no less to be governed by the animating circumstances by which all were surrounded. They would always be the creatures, not the causes, of what they would co-operate, and often without foresight or direct intention to promote. But new emanations of light and heat seemed to be darting every where on human nature; and as they actuated it, a new world of intellectual produce and of political mutability, with much disquiet and turbulence, as well as with rich beauties and permanent utilities, could not but arise in every part. The more generous spirits hailed the cheering prospect, as the evidence and the result of the never satisfied and insuppressible desire of the human soul for ampler knowlege and for superior felicity.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ 'Ad imaginem Dei facta anima exsatiari nunquam cognoscendo valeat.' Gassendi, Orat. p. 196.



CHAP. II.

REVIEW OF THE STATE AND CORRUPTIONS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ENGLAND AND EUROPE, BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

It was amid this general emotion and restlessness of society, that in the sixteenth century, its moral and intellectual movements converged into that great result, which we call 'The Reformation;' a conventional term, by which we generalize and abbreviate those numerous and extensive changes and improvements, which, in civil as well as in religious affairs, began then to interest the public thought, and to pervade human life. The mutation was the more interesting, because it was neither a random nor an useless perturbation. The Virgilian expression of the 'Mens agitat molem,' by which Anchises in his Elysium accounted to his illustrious son for the primeval production of all things,¹ may be reasonably applied to elucidate the pregnant incidents of the sixteenth century, and will most correctly designate their origin. A new spirit had descended upon Europe; while the rest of the globe, with one exception in Asia,² and a petty but lasting

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¹ Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,

Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.

Æn. lib. vi. 724.

² One of the most important incidents in the Asiatic world at this period, was the foundation of the empire of the Great Moguls in 1498, by Mohammed Baber who has so picturesquely described himself in his interesting Memoirs.

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one in Africa,³ was subsiding into that stationary inertness in some parts, that retrogradation in others, and that subordinate inferiority in all, which makes modern history so great a contrast with that of Oriental antiquity.⁴ The change was the more striking to the imagination, from the comparative darkness and destitution of the middle ages which had preceded. These, however, were not intervals of torpid inutility, but that embryo state of new formations of the human character, which, as at many former periods, suspended its previous activity, in order to evolve from it greater strength and beauty, and richer produce. While the future giant is forming, the appearance is incoherent, confused and obscure; but from the fall of the Roman empire to the æra of the Reformation, amid the absence of all literary splendor, and of the graces of civilization, a mightier and nobler Mind than human nature had ever known before, was brooding in the seeming confusion, and was secretly moulding and arranging the broken members and dilapidations of former ages, and the subsequent accessions, into figures and powers of an intellectual vigor and grandeur, which have never since diminished; and which are rapidly surpassing in their continued achievements,

³ The kingdom of Algiers under the active Barbarossa, was awhile distinguished by his exploits and by the expeditions of Charles V. against it, and has ever since been notorious for bearding all Europe by its piracies under the Dey, without any check, till lord Exmouth attacked it with equal intrepidity and good fortune.

⁴ The recollections of antient Assyria, Troy, Egypt, Babylon, Lydia, Phenicia, the Medes and Persians, Ethiopia, India, Carthage, Parthia and Arabia, compared with the present state and subjection of these countries, seem more like the dreams of one's youth, than the realities of former things.

whatever anterior Time has recorded, or can be believed to have experienced.

The intellectual state of England, from the death of Henry VIII. to the end of his last child's reign, continued to exhibit these impressive features of general talent, never abating, with an occasional emerging of individual genius that soared above the general level, and advanced every art and science to a further progress.⁵ But in pursuing our course of English history, we need not dwell further upon a subject so comprehensive in its extent and so multifarious in its details, as would open before us, if we attempted to delineate the other social improvements which marked the Sixteenth century. It is sufficient to keep the amplitude of the prospect in our recollection, to avoid erroneous conclusions and narrow-minded misconceptions. One branch only of this great theme is immediately connected with the reigns of Edward VI. Mary and Elizabeth; and to this our attention must now be circumscribed.

The downfall of the papal supremacy, and of its great monastic wings and lordly power in England, has been already noticed, as far as this event was prosecuted by its royal antagonist and undismayed assailant. The next portion of our subject will exhibit the nature and causes of our great ecclesiastical change—the continuation of the contest—the establishment of the new principles and institutions

⁵ Erasmus has shewn us how highly he estimated the intellectual merit of England at this time, when he remarked, 'I do not think there is any region, I speak from my soul, which abounds more with men signally skilled in every sort of literature, altho but few publish their lucubrations.' Op. T. 10, p. 1486. His exception is less applicable now than the introductory encomium.

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which were substituted for what was abolished—and the final defeat of the papal agents and conspiracies, that were put in action to prevent or extinguish the national improvement. It was the resolution and perseverance of the English government and people, which encouraged and enabled the Northern hemisphere of Europe to throw off the yoke of Rome, and to complete its religious independence; and it is this result which gives a lasting importance to the reigns of those princes of the Tudor line, by whom the difficult victory was achieved, and to whom this continuation of our history is devoted. It has been repeatedly the destiny of England, that her councils and conduct should operate powerfully, and for the most part profitably, on the rest of mankind. No country has less planned, or wished, to throw others into agitation; but, from the talents of the nation, from its political wealth, its emulous population, their continual improvements, their social importance and their relative position, it has seldom been possible even for its own forbearance to diminish the effects of its prosperous existence. If any one part of its history displays its influence on the state of other countries, more impressively and more serviceably than another, the completion of its religious emancipation may be selected as the most distinguishing transaction.

It is this result which has prevented sacerdotal despotism and debilitating superstitions from debasing the British people, and a large portion of the continent, to that depression of mind and loss of all former greatness, power and celebrity, which Italy, Spain and Portugal, have so largely and so long ex-

perienced.⁶ If England's efforts had failed to maintain the liberation which it had commenced within itself and promoted elsewhere, the European world would have been subjected, with un pitying rigor, to that reign and inquisitorial tyranny of a jealous papacy and its vindictive hierarchy: and to that compulsory retention and veneration of puerile

⁶ The principles on which M. Frayssinous, the bishop of Hermopolis, a member of M. Villele's late cabinet, and one of the ablest and most enlightened of the French church, of the Jesuit party, vindicates in 1825, the Inquisition, evince from what government mankind have been rescued by the Protestant reformation: 'We cannot deny to the two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the right of taking measures and of *concerting together* to oppose themselves to the fatal novelties which never compromise the repose of the church, without altering that of the state. In civil societies there are not only tribunals of justice to punish committed crimes, but also others of safety, of surveillance to *anticipate* crimes; to *prevent* des ecarts et des complots which might trouble the public tranquillity. Pontiffs and magistrates should be allowed to think that bad doctrines conduct to bad actions; that no one has a right to be seditious under pretext of liberty of opinions, and that in general violence may be repelled by violence.' *Defense du Christ.* v. 3. p. 131. Ed. Paris, 1825.

What persecutor would desire a larger latitude, or a more excusing apology?—He quotes with visible satisfaction, if the citation with the distinction of Italics in the printing may be thought to indicate such a feeling, these two passages from another congenial mind, in defence of the Spanish Inquisition: 'Our legislators saw Europe *smoking*, in the sixteenth century, and to save themselves from the general conflagration, they employed the Inquisition, which is *the political means they used to maintain religious unity, and to prevent religious wars.* - - During the three last ages, there has been, in virtue of the Inquisition, more peace and happiness in Spain than in the other countries of Europe.' *Ib.* p. 135

This is extracted from Letters to a Russian Gentleman, which seem to have been written to persuade Russia to adopt the Inquisition. There is a peace of desolation, of a desert, of a dungeon, and of the tomb,—as well as a peace of virtue, reason and piety. What sort of a peace the Inquisition produced in Spain, we may judge from a short sentence of Zopf: 'The Inquisition was introduced into Spain in 1478. Scarcely had this horrible tribunal been established, when 2000 persons were burnt by order of the Grand Inquisitor, Jon de Torquemada.' *Precis Hist.* 2. p. 624. The distinction which M. Frayssinous takes against Montesquieu, on the Jews who were burnt by it, is also very refined: 'Montesquieu supposes that the Jews were punished for the simple fact of their religion; this is not exact: the Inquisition sought only after Jews, who, after having professed Christianity, publicly apostatized to become Jews again.' *Ib.* p. 137. This distinction is certainly logically correct.

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legends, and of many mercenary rites and doctrines, which, by confounding religion with much popular absurdity, had deteriorated Christianity and the human intellect; and were continually tempting the enlightened understanding to that general incredulity, which it is one of the sins of the papal system, in its vulgar and practical form, to be ever tending to produce in a cultivated age.⁷

In presenting the English Reformation in this character, it is not intended to depreciate or deny any of the real merits of the Roman Catholic church, or the high and deserved character of its many illustrious ornaments, or to perpetuate animosities which ought by this time to have expired. Mankind have reached a stage of society, in which it is the prevailing desire that all passion and enmities should be separated from religion for ever; and in which, even the least educated feel, that with such human infirmities it has no affinity, and that it has never been benefited by their discreditable association. If the papal church had been what it was in the mind and conduct of a Fenelon, a Contarini or a Ganga-

⁷ St. Austin's description of the character and effects of superstition, with Charron's commentary, are fully applicable to those practices, which our ancestors abolished in England at the Reformation; but many of which are still continued in Ireland and elsewhere: 'Superstitio error insanus; amandos timet; quos colit, violat; morbus pusilli animi; qui superstitione imbutus est, quietus esse nusquam potest. Varro ait Deum a religioso vereri; a superstitioso timeri.' August.—'La superstition craint, tremble et injurie Dieu; trouble homme, et est maladie d'ame foible, vile et paoureuse.' La Sagesse, L. 2. c. 5.

The facts that will be mentioned in this chapter will illustrate, if not justify, Machiavel's sarcasm:

'By the corrupt examples of the papal court, Italy has lost all its religion and all its devotion: so that we Italians have this obligation to the church and to its ministers, that by their means we have become eathenish and irreligious.' Liv. c. 12. p. 284.

nelli,⁸ and what they, if unrestricted, might have made it; or if the present English Catholic gentry could be its parliamentary legislators, and could abolish what their rectitude and piety, abstracted from the selfish interests of the political part of their priesthood, would be unwilling to retain, there would have been no Protestant revolution in the sixteenth century, nor would unchristian schism and hatreds agitate or divide us now. The objectionable would be expunged; and mutual kindness and equal sincerity would tolerate in each other the intellectual differences, which the enlightened and the honorable on both sides would conscientiously maintain.

It is not to the real worth and truth which the Roman Catholic church comprises; but to the abuses and degrading appendages which the governing part of its institution has so often attached to it, and by which, whenever unrestrained, some of its leaders still seek to govern and subject mankind, that the representations in these pages apply.⁹ The imperfections alluded to, relate to the Romish hierarchy as it was over all Europe in the middle ages, and seems still to be in Spain and Italy; and not to the improved and enlightened episcopacy and more

⁸ Their actions and writings shew that two descriptions of minds exist in the papal hierarchy—the pious and the political. It was by the latter that the Reformation was chiefly resisted, and at length extinguished in France and Italy. If the influence of the former only had governed, there might have been no hostile or implacable schism.

⁹ The marble tombstone found at Salernum, with the effigy of a heathen priest upon it, has an inscription which expresses, in a few words, that spirit which actuated the Roman hierarchy so much to its disadvantage, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, and in some countries since:—*Ne gustato, quas sacerdos non gustaverit.* ‘Taste not what the priest shall not have tasted.’ Orellius Inscrip. Lat. Select. p. 430.

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liberal system of constitutional France and Bavaria, or of English Catholics, whose minds have no congeniality with most of the delusions by which the others are affected. With all its defects, the church of Europe, during the middle ages, was a venerable and splendid pile of moral and mental architecture, which had been from pure philanthropy built up in this country and in France by the Popedom itself;¹⁰ as it was in Germany and Friesland by English missionaries,¹¹ and in Switzerland by Irish coadjutors,¹² acting as the agents of their Roman chief. But the original fabric became incumbered and defaced by many additions, which enlarged its wealth and extended its dominion; but which, by also corrupting the virtue and dwindling the intellect of its rulers and order, diminished its popularity and curtailed its duration.¹³ For ages it had been the

¹⁰ The memory of Gregory the Great deserves our kindest respect, as the immediate cause of the introduction of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons in our island. Anglo-Sax. Hist. vol. 3. The abbé Bergier remarks, that for 200 years after Clovis, there were no clerici in France, but Romans. Encyc. Theol. 1. p. 191.

¹¹ Of these, Boniface, who became archbishop of Mentz, and founded the great monastery of Fulda of English monks and others, and four great German bishoprics, and converted 100,000 of the pagan Germans, was the most successful. Other Englishmen were active in Friesland, and in Westphalia. Hist. Anglo-Sax. v. 3. book 10. c. 2.

¹² Anglo-Sax. ib.

¹³ It is manifest that the Papal court, in the middle ages, was acting, and has acted since, on the derogating sentiment of Strabo:

‘Women, and the promiscuous crowd, cannot be actuated by the lessons of philosophy, nor by these be led to religion, sanctity and faith. They must be urged by superstitions. Yet this cannot be done without legends and miracles (*μυθοποιΐας και τερεταις*.) The thunder, the ægis, the trident, the torches and the serpents; the ivy-circled spears, and the fabled arms of the gods, were used by the founders of politics, as hobgoblins, (*μορμολυκας*) for infantile minds. The philosophical belongs to the few, but poetical inventions are popular deceptions, and can always fill a public theatre.’ Geog. l. 1. p. 13. That the practical machinery of Popery has been framed, and is kept in present use, on this principle, who that contemplates it can doubt? And who can observe the fact,

library of Europe, the preserver of antient literature, the friend of youthful education, and the genial home of all the learning of the Christian world. Its monasteries became the asylums of human comfort, and the protectors of social peace in many turbulent and calamitous periods, and were often the nurseries for some of the diviner virtues of our ascending nature. Its general fabric was at all times a needed and an effective bulwark of civil freedom against royal encroachments and martial aristocracies,¹⁴ because the privileges of the church and the liberties of the people were essential to each other's conservation. It has been highly beneficial to mankind, and has contributed largely to make society what it is; but its antient utilities have been long diminished by its defects, and by the changes and progression of the last two centuries.

The potent and magnificent hierarchy of the middle ages, with its pontifical emperor, was not the simple and interesting church of the two first centuries.¹⁵ They differed as much in their structure,

and the general improvement of modern wives and mothers, without exclaiming with Cícero, on another occasion, *Quousque tandem?*

¹⁴ Our Boniface, in his letter to Ethelbald, king of Mercia, shews in a few examples, how ready the sovereigns were to dispossess the church in its day of weakness. He calls Charles the Frankish Prince, the 'reversor' of many monasteries, and a 'commutator' to his own use of ecclesiastical property. So he marks Celred, the king of Mercia, as a fractor of ecclesiastical privileges, as well as a 'stuprator' of Nuns. Osred, the king of Deira and Bernicia, has the same character from him; and he accuses Ethelbald, and all his great men, of invading the nunneries. *Ep. Bonif. Bib. Mag.* Such attacks on the church may have driven it to acquire power and wealth for its own protection. They form frequent subjects of complaint in the monastic chronicles; and the more enlightened historians of the Romish persuasion admit that it was one of the evils of the wealth of the church, that its rich possessions attracted such aggressions.

¹⁵ The abbé Fleury thus describes the early bishops: They 'were usually the most experienced of the aged—chosen by the nearest pre-

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inhabitants and costumes, as they did in their founders. The primitive institutions and tuition of the Apostles had been long superseded in Italy, and in all Europe beyond the Alps and Apennines, by the gorgeous constructions of the popes and their consistory and authorised ministers. The conversion of Constantine began this inevitable transmutation.¹⁶ This distinguished sovereign, an Englishman by birth, by adopting Christianity for the religion of himself and of his empire, terminated the cruel persecutions which had threatened it with annihilation,¹⁷ and threw down that absurd paganism, their instigator, which the philosophy and incredulity that rejected a better faith, were with inconsistent perversity striving to uphold.¹⁸ But the real Chris-

lates, with the advice of the clergy and people of the vacant see. They lived poorly, or at least frugally. Some worked with their own hands; many, being taken from a monastic life, continued its habits. They thought that the clergy and prelates should not be distinguished from the people by their temporal conveniences, but by their assiduity in teaching, correcting and relieving them. Entirely occupied with their functions, they did not care how they were lodged or clothed. Their occupation was prayer, instruction and correction. They did nothing important without consulting their clergy; and they met in council to regulate their general affairs.' Fleury Disc. Histor. 43-8.

¹⁶ The discourses and the ecclesiastical history of the abbé Fleury will satisfy the intelligent reader of this fact. The remarks of N. Clamengius, in 1398, shew the same feeling at that time: 'By degrees, from its riches and flow of prosperity, luxury and arrogance came into the church. Religion began obviously to decline; virtue to be torpid; humility to depart, and poverty and frugality to be equally a reproach. But in order to raise supplies for pomps and voluptuousness, avarice increased, and, no longer contented with its rightful property, it endeavored to invade and seize it elsewhere, to oppress inferiors, and to plunder both legally and illegally.' *De corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*. p. 556.

¹⁷ Diocletian thought he had destroyed it, and proclaimed the extinction by exulting inscriptions. Those found in Spain are, 'Nominē christianorum deletō qui Remp. evertēbant'—and, 'Superstitione Christ. ubique deleta.' Gruter, cclxxx. Insc. 3, 4.

¹⁸ See the words of Plotinus, Proclus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Julian the Apostate, who vainly endeavored to reform and intellectualize Paganism into something like a supportable rival against advancing Christianity.

tianity of the heart and spirit declined, when this beneficent and enlightening religion received an imperial patronage. That effect of which Dante complained,¹⁹ and which others have intimated in the applicable language of Plato,²⁰ began from this period to take place. The converted emperor naturally allied piety and virtue with wealth, distinction and power. Nobles, kings, and later imperial potentates imitated successively his example, till prelates and abbots became peers and princes, and the bishop of Rome both a temporal and a spiritual sovereign.²¹

¹⁹ In a passage of the 19th canto of his *Inferno*, thus englished in Mr. Carey's admirable translation of a poet, whom it is not easy to translate so as to be both interesting and faithful:—

Ah, Constantine! to how much ill gave birth,
Not thy conversion, but thy plenteous dower
Which the first wealthy father gained from thee.

1 Carey, p. 82.

²⁰ The abbé Fleury thus quotes the Athenian sage, to express his own feelings: 'A laborer is useful to a state, and his profession deserves to be had in honor. Under this pretext, says Plato, give him a chariot of ivory, a purple robe, vessels of gold, and a table abounding with delicacies—he will then no longer expose himself to the sun and rain, walk in the dirt, or goad his oxen; he will cease to labor, unless for his diversion. A shepherd will cease to be such, if you dress him like his representative on the theatre. In every business, the artisan who becomes rich, will follow his trade no longer; he abandons himself to idleness, and pleasure, and ruins his art by the very means which were given him to exercise it more conveniently.'

Fleury Disc. p. 46.

²¹ The acute polemic, abbé Bergier, wishes to postpone the deterioration of the Christian church, till after the empire of the Barbarians. *Encyc. Theol.* 1. p. But that the evil began in the imperial establishment soon after Constantine the Great, we must infer from the picture which Saint Gregory Nazianzen has left us of the bishops and priests in his day:—

'They look upon this dignity, not as an employment in which they ought to be examples of virtue, but as the means of their maintenance; not as a ministry, of which they must give an account, but as an irresponsible magistracy. Ignorant men and children are brought into the pulpits. Churchmen are not better than the Scribes and Pharisees—no charity is observed among them, only anger and passion—nothing is to be seen among them but disputes—they blame or praise others, not according to their good or bad life, but according to the party they

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By him, a super-ducal order of sacerdotal aristocracy was established in his legates and in the cardinals, who were multiplied till every kingdom possessed them ²² All worldly affluence and greatness became at last sought and obtained by the ambitious members of the church, till it stood possessed, in this country as elsewhere, of more than half the landed property of the nation, in addition to its professional influence, gratuitous donations, ceremonial fees, and its disciplinarian power.

Of the Pope who first misapplied his pontifical office to agitate the world and terrify thrones, we will only mention the name, as that sufficiently points to his obnoxious spirit and usurping power.²³ But

have embraced. The chief dignity is attained as much by crime as by virtue—the sees are not given to those who best deserve them, but to the most powerful. ‘They are abhorred by the heathens, and despised by the good among the Christians.’ Le Clerc, *Greg.* 218, 46.

²² The kings favored the rise of the cardinals, in order to humble their too aspiring bishops. Godcau *Ch. Bor.* p. 343. In 1417 the pope enacted that they should not exceed 24, unless one or two should, with consent of the others, be once made for the honor of the nations which had no cardinals. Martene *Thes.* v. 4. p. 1700. This order was soon disregarded, and we may infer the reason, when we find that Leo. X. made 30 cardinals, from whom he obtained for their promotion 50,000 gold ducats. P. Lang. *Chron.* p. 897. They had become 51 in the time of Matthew Paris; or 52, as Mart. Polenus mentions them.—From that period they were greatly multiplied, and in 1562 the emperor Ferdinand desired them to be reduced to 26, or, if possible, to 12, in the capita delivered by his ambassador to the Council of Trent. Brown’s *Fascic.* p. 696.

²³ Fleury confesses of Gregory VII. That ‘il poussa la rigueur des censures au dela de ce qu’on avoit vu jusques alors.’ That he repeated without ceasing in his letters the denunciation, ‘Cursed is he that does not bathe his sword in blood.’ He attacked the bishops whom he thought culpable, without mercy. Fleury says, ‘I am frightened when I see in his letters, censures rained down as it were on all sides—so many bishops every where deposed—in Lombardy, in Germany, and in France.’ *ib.* 115. He pretended openly, that as pope, he had the right of deposing the sovereigns who were rebellious to the church. 116. This catholic abbé adds this summary of his short pontifical life: ‘Il excita des guerres cruelles qui mettent en feu l’Allemagne et l’Italic. Il attire un schisme dans l’église. On l’assiège lui-même dans Rome. Il est obligé d’en sortir et d’aller en exil à Salerne.’ 121.

after him, in the twelfth century, the misconduct of the European clergy, as well as of their venerated chief, was so notorious as to attract the indignant censures of the retired and contemplative St. Bernard, who even addressed some of his admonitory opinions to the pontiff himself, as a concurring cause of the disreputable evil. He was struck with the new costume of gilded bridles, saddles and spurs, assumed by the dignitaries of the church; their heels he remarked to be more brilliant than their altars; their tables were splendid alike with rich goblets and dainty dishes; nor were less remarkable for the gluttony and inebriety of the consecrated visitors. The harp, the lyre and the pipe, made their banquets more joyous; their wine-presses were overflowing, their larders crowded; chests filled with money, and cellars with the richest produce of the vineyard, made more delicious to their taste by sweets and spices, were their preferred objects.²⁴ They took more care to empty the pockets of their subjects, than to extirpate their vices.²⁵ For these things, men sought to become deans, archdeacons, bishops, and archbishops;²⁶ and the moral mischief was increased in its worst form, by boys from school being advanced into prelates, from the influence of their families.²⁷

Cardinal Beno composed a tract on this pope's life, which severely satirises him. See it in Browne's Fasc. vol. 1. p. 78. It ends with an accusation of heresy and perjury. p. 85.

²⁴ S. Bernard, Cant. Sermo. 33 Op. vol. 3. p. 59.

²⁵ 'Quem dabis mihi de numero prepositorum, qui non plus invigilet subditorum vacuandis marsupiis, quam vitiis extirpandis.' ib. Serm. 77. p. 125. He asks the pope, 'Who will show me pastors presiding over the churches, who are learned or holy men? if not in all, yet in several, or at least in some?' Ep. 249, ad Eugen.

²⁶ Pro hujusmodi volunt esse et sunt, ecclesiarum præpositi, decani, archidiaconi, episcopi, archiepiscopi. Cant. Serm. 33. p. 59.

²⁷ Scholares pueri et impuberes adolescentuli, ob sanguinis dignitatem

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This promotion of children, who had interest or attractions, into church dignities, peculiarly and justly excited his unsparing reproofs. He particularly pointed out to the Pope one cardinal, his official legate, who, in his then recent journey thro almost all the churches of France and Normandy, had left every where the most abominable traces of his sacrilegious conduct.²⁸

In most of the monasteries the same dissolution of life was prevailing. He wonders how such an intemperance in eating and drinking, in apparel and luxurious beds, in the trappings of their horses and in their buildings, could have grown up.²⁹ But he remarks, that instead of the Scriptures and the salvation of souls, fun, trifling and chit-chat, occupied their time. Dish after dish followed each other at their dinners; the selected varieties of fish took the place of meat on their fasting days, and with such refined cookery that its difference from flesh could scarcely be distinguished. To have devoured four or five kinds neither prevented new courses nor seemed to satiate appetite. Knight and monk were then wearing resembling cloaks;³⁰ the priestly dignitary went thro his boundary but to fill his sack; and crimes of all sorts were put to sale for that purpose;³¹

promoventur ad ecclesiasticas dignitates; et de sub ferula transferuntur ad principandum presbyteris. Bern. de mor. Epis. v. 4. p. 30.

²⁸ This was cardinal Jordan, bishop of Ostia.—Pertraxit *legatus vester* de gente in gentem, foeda et horrenda vestigia apud nos ubique relinquens. Per omnes pene ecclesias Franciæ et Normanniæ—Vir apostolicus replevit non evangelio, sed sacrilegio: turpia fertur ubique commisisse; spolia ecclesiarum asportasse.—One of his practices was ‘formosulos *pueros* in ecclesiasticis honoribus, ubi potuit, promovisse.’ From those, whom he could not visit, ‘exegit et extorsit per nuntios.’ Ep. 290. vol. 1. p. 122.

²⁹ Bern. Apol. ad Will. abb. vol. 4. p. 36.

³⁰ Bernol. Ap. vol. 4. p. 37.

³¹ --- Ut impleat saccum suum vendit homicidia, incestus, fornicationes.

his bishop claimed a share of the vile spoil, and, by threatening to seize all if it were refused, seldom failed to obtain his moiety.³² 'The church,' he tells the Pope Eugenius, 'is full of the ambitious; no den of robbers is more so with the plunder of travellers; if you be a disciple of Christ, exert your authority against this impudence and general pestilence.'³³ Does not ambition more than devotion tread the threshold of the Vatican? Does not your palace resound all day long with its voices? How long will you pretend not to hear the murmur of the whole earth? How long will you be asleep?³⁴ But you yourself go abroad a gold-covered pastor. Was St. Peter so? He never went out in jewels and silks; he was not spread over with gold, nor seated on a white horse, nor attended by a military troop, nor surrounded by shouting servants. In these things you have not been the successor of Peter the Apostle, but of the imperial Constantine.'³⁵ These abuses

tiones, sacrilegia, perjuria, and he fills his bag to its mouth.' Serm. in Concil. Rem. v. 5. p. 296. ³² Ib.

³³ Bern. Lib. Consid. ad Eugen. L. 1. vol. 4. p. 4.

³⁴ Ib. L. 3. p. 10, 11.

³⁵ Ib. L. 4. p. 15. Dante's picture of a pope in the next century, shews that his experience of what the popedom then was or could be, resembled St. Bernard's:—

If reverence of the keys restrained me not,
Which thou in happier times didst hold, I yet
Severer speech might use.

Your avarice
O'ercasts the world with mourning; underfoot
Treading the good, and raising bad men up.
Of Shepherds like to you, th' Evangelist
Was ware, when her, who sits upon the waves
With kings in filthy whoredom he beheld.

Of gold and silver ye have made your god,
Differing wherein from the idolator,
But that he worships one, and Hundred ye.'

1 Carey's Dante, p. 82.

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were not a novel phenomenon of St. Bernard's days, they had been alluded to a hundred years before.³⁶

That the last acknowledged father of the church, who was canonized after his death for his virtues and reputation, would not have recorded these defamatory representations, if they had not been prominent and contagious defects in his revered order, it is just to his character to believe. But we must still assume that they were the anomalies, and not the general body; in the same manner as the infidels whom Erasmus found in the papal court³⁷ were the disgraceful exceptions, and not the specimens of its ecclesiastical community.³⁸ But this description of self-disgracing clergymen never from this period disappeared from the Catholic church, until the Pro-

³⁶ About the year 1090, Hildebrand, the bishop of Mans, thus wrote of the Roman court: 'There are they who purchase litigations and sell intercessions, and who have no regard for any kinds of men, orders, and times. In the forum they are Scythians; in the chamber, vipers; at the banquet, buffoons; in their exactions, harpies; in their conversations, merry-andrews.' In his coarse language, he adds also, that they are 'beasts, screws and usurers.' Browne's Fascic. vol. i.

³⁷ Erasmus writes, 'At Rome, I heard some persons raving with abominandis blasphemiiis against Christ and his apostles. Many heard it as well as I did, but it was done with impunity. I knew there many, who declared that they heard horrible remarks made by some priests, who were ministers in the pope's court, and in the mass itself so openly, that they reached the ears of many.' Ep. 1175. With some feelings of this sort, the amiable prelate Guidiccioni, in 1536, exhorted his friend not to go to the Roman court. 'My mind disdains and hates it. There are such wickednesses there (sceleraggini) as are not in the rest of the world.' Let. Div. Eccel. p. 14.

³⁸ It is the author's wish to be always understood to speak of the cultivated part of the Catholic laity with the highest respect, as also of the clergy, in every thing but their political and practical system. He sees in the Catholic gentleman of Dublin, a different being from the subjected cottager of Tipperary. Their differences in mind as Catholics, are as great as those which distinguish the same polished individual in civil society, from the worthy but simple blunderer of our popular farces. The one is not what the other is, the subdued and governed slave of an enslaving mechanism.

testant increpations compelled long-resisted and reluctant emendation. They continued to prevail so perniciously during the next century, that an English bishop, Grostete, resolved that the Pontiff, who alone could correct them, should not pretend to be ignorant of their existence. With this feeling, in his sermon at Lyons, before Innocent IV. in 1250, he unhesitatingly told the Pope, that bad shepherds and the want of good ones were the cause of the corruption of the Christian religion, of infidelity, of schism, of heresy, and of vitious manners throughout the world.³⁹ They were not only dead in themselves, but were as fatal to the souls of others; they were robbers, and made the house of prayer a den of thieves.⁴⁰ Avarice was their character, from the highest to the lowest, and they were never satisfied. Luxury, profligacy, incest, gluttony,⁴¹ and every species of flagitiousness and abomination, were in practice among them,⁴² and the fountain of all this depravity was the Roman court.⁴³ Their ignorance equalled their vices. Many did not know how to

³⁹ *Mali pastores—bonorum pastorum defectio et malorum multiplicatio—sunt causa corruptionis fidei et religionis christianæ—ipsi sunt causa infidelitatis, schismatis, hereticæ pravitatis et vitiosæ conversationis per orbem universam.* Grost. Serm. printed in Browne's Fasciculus. App. p. 251.

⁴⁰ *'Fures et latrones: facientes domum orationis, speluncam latronum.'* ib.

⁴¹ *Ib. p. 252.*

⁴² *'Omni genere flagitii, facinoris, abominationis, inquinati.'* ib.

⁴³ *'Sed quæ est hujus tanti mali prior et originalis causa fons et origo. I most vehemently tremble and dread to speak it, but I dare not be silent.—Causa, fons et origo hujus est HÆC CURIA, not only because it does not dissipate these evils, nor purge away these abominations, tho it alone can do so, and exists for this purpose; but still more, because by its dispensations and provisions, and collections of the pastoral dignity, such shepherds, or rather destroyers of the world, are appointed. It commits the care of its Christian flock to some impotent, or ignorant, or negligent, or reluctant man, who will only take away their milk and wool.'* ib. 252.

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explain any one article of faith, or a single precept of the decalogue, to the people.⁴⁴ Many despised learning, and rejected knowlege; and those by chance possessing any, by involving themselves in worldly affairs and by devoting themselves to their pleasures, forgot the little portion they had acquired.⁴⁵ He portrays the bishop as more distinguished for rapacity than religion.⁴⁶—In his official letter, he desires his archdeacons to forbid their clergy from meeting in the drinking parties vulgarly called Scot ales, or frequenting the place where rams were raised on beams or wheels, to be thrown or shot at, or any vulgar sport where bravium was contended for. They should be employed only in divine things, in their duties, in their prayers; and not in games or buffoonery, which they were in the habit of using.⁴⁷ He complained also of the foppery of the young clergy,⁴⁸ of the profligacy of the monks, and of their addressing themselves to archery and hunt-

⁴⁴ Sermo ad Clerum, p. 264.

⁴⁵ Ib. He remarks, 'There are very few *prelates* who know how to explain the greatness of the mercy and justice of God, and to teach men to be in harmony with each other.' p. 266.

⁴⁶ 'What shall I say of those prelates, who, by fraudulent or violent rapine, plunder from those under them. Consider the manner of such bishops, as by deceit or force spoil the poor.' ib. 299. 'Such robbers will not hear the complaint of the injured—they turn therefore from those who supplicate, and, to prevent their access, hide themselves in their private chambers.' ib. 300.

⁴⁷ Ep. p. 315. He mentions as a frequent thing, 'ut frequenter contigit,' that mothers and nurses unwarily suffocated their babes, by having them in their beds. ib. He enjoined his chapter of Lincoln, not to permit on new year's day the 'Festum stultorum,' the feast of fools, to be played, as it was a vain and filthy thing. Ep. p. 311.

⁴⁸ 'A monk presented to me, for a cure of many souls, a deacon not tonsured, but clothed in contradiction to the statutes of the council, with red clothes, with rings; a perfect layman in dress and manners, or rather a knight, and, as far as I could judge from his answers, fere illiteratus: I censured the monk.' Ep. p. 311.

ing;⁴⁹ of their vagrancy, their living with concubines, their drunkenness and gluttony; their disregard of the appointed fasting days; their being even more earnest than secular persons in unlawful sports.⁵⁰

But this honest prelate maintained zealous struggles with the popedom itself on two great abuses of its arrogated authority: one was, its granting dispensations to hold several ecclesiastical benefices, in order to enrich its dependents or favorites, without any regard to the spiritual welfare of those who were thus sacrificed to mercenary pretenders.⁵¹ The other scandal which he reprobated, was the Pope's assumption of the right of appointing whom he pleased to vacant livings in every country,⁵² and the unhesi-

⁴⁹ 'We send you here two monks, one taken in adultery, and the other as having confessed it; both just like laymen, *venationi et sagittationi solebant intendere.*' Ep. Abb. Fl. p. 343.

⁵⁰ See his Ep. p. 382, 3. The incontinent clergy might, however, fairly ascribe some part of their vicious habits to their ruling superiors, for in the decretals of Gratian, which, tho nearly surreptitious, were upheld in credit by the papacy, it is actually laid down on the alleged authority of a council at Toledo, '*Qui non habet uxorem, loco illius, concubinam DEBET habere.*' Dict. 34. Ed. Paris. 1519.

⁵¹ He advises H. Pattishul not to be misled by the delusion of obtaining a dispensation to hold so many ecclesiastical benefices. p. 324. He resisted Cardinal Otho's request for such grants, and reminds him that spiritual appointments should not be given '*nec humana gratia, nec humano favore, seu timore.*' p. 354. He refused to license the friend of cardinal St. Eustachius to be in his service, while another priest was employed in his vicarage. 349. Erasmus complained that in his time some ecclesiastics were so heavy laden with preferments and pluralities, that they could not walk upright under them. Jortin's Eras. v. 2. p. 424. We can hardly believe what we read, of the extent to which this abuse was carried. Yet N. Clamangius, in 1398, wrote of the Cardinals, that their avidity was so great, as to become both monks and canons, to have a greater accumulation of benefices. 'They have them from all the religious orders, not only two, three, ten or twenty, but even a hundred and two hundred, nay, sometimes four hundred or five hundred, or more; and these, *non parva, vel tenuia, sed omnium pinguissima et optima.*' p. 559.

⁵² Grostete could not deny that the pope had this power, even '*non requisito prius patronum assensu;*' but he remarks that great scandal would arise if he exerted it. Yet he adds, that soon after his own

tating practice of nominating to them even children under age.⁵³

These corruptions, which the most Catholic saint of the twelfth century, and our most patriotic bishop of the thirteenth, so forcibly censured, were of those species of evils which defy vindication, and are certain to produce both self-perpetuation and an offspring more deteriorated.⁵⁴ But truth compels us to remark, that altho rooted in the hierarchy, and never expunged from it until after the English and German Reformation, they did not spring naturally from it, nor from the benign and pure religion which it was established to promote. They arose from the excited cupidity of the great laity of Europe forcing their families and dependents into church preferments,

consecration, a nephew of the pope's had been thus promoted to one of the best prebends in his diocese. Ep. Otho, p. 339. Clamangius states, that the pontiffs were taking away from all diocesans and patrons their faculty of presentation, and interdicted them, *sub poena anathematis*, from exercising their right to it. 557.

⁵³ Thus Innocent IV. in his letter to the archdeacon of Canterbury, in 1251, states, that a canonry and a prebend in Lincoln cathedral had been conferred on his nephew, by his special command; and he orders the archdeacon to put the youth in '*corporalem possessionem*' of them, altho he was '*adolescentis impuberis*.' p. 394. Grostete opposed this. See Ann. Burt. 326; 402.

⁵⁴ As we should never forget the distinction between the good and the bad of all classes, it will be just to our antient clergy to quote our Fisher's speech on such charges in the House of Lords, in 1529: 'My Lords, There are certain bills exhibited against the clergy, complaining against the viciousness, the idleness, the rapacity, and the cruelty of bishops, abbots, priests and their officials. But, my lords, *are all* vicious? *are all* ravenous and cruel priests or bishops?—Is there any abuse that we do not seek to redress?' Dr. Bailey's Life of Fisher. This prelate, tho bigoted to Rome, was an instance that all were not of this disgraceful character.

Erasmus marks this difference, 'There are many monks who have no religion, but in their dress and frigid ceremonies; some abbots and bishops, who differ little from lords and princes; but there are many also pious, temperate, learned and worthy, poor with their wealth, modest in their dignity, and meek amid all their power.' De annal. Concord. p. 458.

because the incomes of these were so large, as to give wealth or enjoyment to the unprovided; and their power so great, as to make it politic to have them occupied by their relatives or friends.⁵⁵ Hence the hierarchy became filled with men who entered it merely for its pecuniary resources and worldly consequence, and who never meant nor wished to perform its religious obligations. They were not clergymen in education, taste or purpose; they were the busy, voluptuous and fashionable men of their ruder day, seated in cathedral stalls and bearing ecclesiastical titles; but seeking only, and not hypocritically, to receive the appended revenues, and to spend them on their pleasures. They made no disguise of their characters. It was the custom to do what they did; and it was immoral only in the eyes of those who envied because they did not share, or of others who were sincerely pious, or who suffered from their exactions, or who wished to have from their pastor religious instruction and consolation.

The SIMONY against which the popes so stoutly battled in the eleventh and succeeding centuries, was against these worldly preferments of the affluent laity and their pecuniary purchase. In this counteraction the pontiffs acted as the guardians of the Christian commonwealth. It is only to be regretted, that when their exertions had prevailed to repress

⁵⁵ Several writers have remarked this desecration of religious dignities; but as the rich and great have in all ages the right and power of preferment, it must always depend upon their own rectitude how they will confer it; and upon the education of the preferred, how they will use what they obtain. In 1541, we see by Contareni's Letters, that the bishop of Fresingensis was the brother of the elector palatine, and that the archbishop of Salzburg was in the same relation to the duke of Bavaria. 3. Ep. Poli. Quir. p. 227. Such prelates were princes, not clergymen, as our duke of York was bishop of Osnaburg.

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the mischief, they should have been induced to transfer to themselves the right and habit of practising it.⁵⁶

The censures of Bernard and Grostete are reiterated, with the additions of other corruptions, by many ecclesiastical critics, from their times to the days of Luther. The popular Franciscan prophet, John de Rupecissa, whom Froissard thought a learned and gifted man, but whose lucubrations mark him to have been a visionary more honest than wise,⁵⁷ was imprisoned by Clement VI. for

⁵⁶ Grostete is another impressive instance, that every bishop was not of the immoral kind which he denounced. His feelings on religion, as he expressed them in his address to his clergy, were of the most elevated and spiritual description:—

‘ Our duty is first by the loftiness of our contemplations, and by the fervor of our affections, to penetrate into heavenly things, and to listen to what the Divine voice within us may suggest to us. Then, what we may thus receive in our secret meditation, it is for us to expand externally to others, for their edification—considering diligently that sin is the parent of death; the corruption of nature; the privation of good; the captivity of the mind. It transforms the superior loveliness of the soul, which ought ever to wear the re-formed image of the highest and ineffable beauty, into the deformity of debasing turpitude. It sinks to the similitude of the brute that interior man which ought always to exhibit the renewed image of the united Godhead.’ p. 271.

In a letter to a religious lady, he thus expresses his feelings: ‘ You have in yourself, as I hope, the treasures of true religion; but true religion endeavors to attain the height of perfection, that it may produce no evil to others, and may endure with magnanimity what they may inflict. The soul should be neither relaxed by its joy, when temporal goods occur, nor regret them if they should be withdrawn.

‘ It seeks not to draw to itself the shadowy things of the body, but perhaps would rather, with the hand of discretion, turn them away; for sincere religion renounces the world. Pious minds brave not temporal things when they are absent, and bear them as burthens when they occur, because they are afraid of being drawn out of themselves by the cares of the external world. For, unless the mind secludes itself from these, it does not penetrate the interior things. It is not induced to contemplate those which are above us and within us, unless it be studiously withdrawn from whatever would involve it in worldly concerns.’ *ib.* p. 310.

⁵⁷ We see the impression which the victories of Edward III. and his son made on the mind of Europe, in the predictions which this once

his presumptuous rebukes⁵⁸ His contemporary, Oresmius,⁵⁹ an archdeacon of Bayeux, with more emphatic detail, declaimed without reserve against the corrupt state of the Catholic church, as the fourteenth century was closing, which others at the same time as strongly reprimanded.⁶⁰

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much celebrated man issued from his prison at Avignon. In 1356, he chose to declare that the weight of the English scourge would be increased, till every part of the French kingdom was struck by it, and that an Englishman would reform the clergy, and bring on a millennium. 'Before six years are completed from the present year 1356, all the pride of the clergy will be trampled in the mud, and all the depravity of the world will be destroyed. The city of delight will be turned into mourning: but mercy will come to the desolate nation, because AN ENGLISHMAN, a Vicar of Christ, who will know all his wishes, and reduce all ecclesiastics to the apostolic manner of life, will extirpate almost all crimes, sow all the evangelical virtues in the world, convert most of the Jews; destroy the Saracens; convert the Tartars, and extinguish the Turks. All the earth will then be at peace, and the peace will last a thousand years.' *Prophetiæ I. de Rup. ap. Browne's Fascic. App. 494.*

⁵⁸ He dates his prophetic career from 1349, 'the first year of my coming to the court, ad denunciandum et dicendum.' He declaimed against the absence of beneficed men from their churches; against their pomp, sensuality and avarice; the ostentatious splendor, and private luxury of their leaders; 'prelates going to preach the poverty of Christ, followed by a cavalcade of 250 or 300 horse, as some do at this day; or to recommend us to imitate his humility, surrounded with knights and shield bearers.' He also censures the papal exactions from the ecclesiastical community, which he says were exciting maledictions against the exactor. See his *Vaticinations*, in Browne's *Fasciculus*, v. 2. p. 495-8.

⁵⁹ This ecclesiastic, in his sermon before Urban V., the successor of Clement VI., asserted that the 'Fastus' of the clergy moved few to reverence, but many to indignation; and allured others to think that they should offer an acceptable sacrifice to the Deity, if they could plunder some fat priests, 'crassos presbyteros.' *Ib.* 490.

⁶⁰ It was in 1398, that Nicholas de Clamengius composed his work on the Church. His general charge is, that the income, and not the duties of the benefice, was the universal inquiry. Spoliation was the general practice. Every sensual enjoyment was indulged, and all the appendages of human greatness and pride anxiously sought for. The popes led the march of rapacity and arrogance, by their mercenary encroachments, and stately examples. Persons were appointed by favor, from the plough, or mechanical occupations, to livings, who were as ignorant of Latin as of Arabic, and of morals as of letters, till a priest and a bad man had become synonymous, and nothing was sunk lower or more despicable than that ecclesiastical order which had once been so revered. See his *Treatise* in Browne's *Fascicul.* vol. 2. p. 556-8. *Wo*

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But while the moralizing writers were satisfied with opposing their verbal criminations, the Franciscan mendicants took the field against the established church, because its indolence and corruptions roused their ambition, or their conscience, to take upon themselves the duties, which the settled hierarchy was so generally neglecting. This new order so gratified the public feeling, that they outran their own expectations, and startled the possessed church by the reputation, wealth, preference and power which they were every where acquiring. The peril and disgrace to the existing hierarchy, whom they threatened and were laboring to supersede, became so obvious to its leaders, that, in 1357, the archbishop of Armagh made a deliberate accusation of the ambitious mendicants before the Pope and cardinals, in the consistory at Avignon, and impeached their conduct, as elaborately as they were assaulting the church.⁶¹ He charged them with seducing and abstracting youth from private families into their orders,⁶² which had so alarmed parents as

add at fuller length his charge against the Pope. Even the '*summi Pontifices plerumque se, super alios, libidine domandi extulerunt.*' They take to themselves the '*jura et collationes*' of all vacant churches, wherever Christianity has spread; and of all prelacies and other dignities which used to be made by election, decreeing all such elections to be null; and thus they fill their purses from every Christian province, and by '*sedula negotiatione congregare infinitam molem auri et argenti ad opus suæ cameræ.*' *ib.* 557. 'They have taken from all diocesans and patrons the faculty of presentation.' *ib.* 'The pontiffs strive to exalt their state, regifico luxu, super omnes mortalium magnificentias.'

⁶¹ His '*Defensorium Curatorum*' is printed by Browne in his *Fasciculus*, vol. 2. p. 466. It was pronounced by the prelate, at Avignon, on 8 Nov. 1357.

⁶² He states, that these friars having obtained from the popedom the privilege of hearing confessions, almost all the young men chose to confess to them. That they allowed these to join their order, and if they did so, they were not suffered to go till they had professed it, and were then not allowed to speak even to their father or mother, '*nisi sub*

to induce them to withdraw their children from the universities, to the great detriment of these seminaries;⁶³ with obtaining for themselves so much of the pecuniary profits of confessions and burials, as to have multiplied the numbers of their order to the diminution of others;⁶⁴ and to be appropriating all saleable books to furnish their own exclusive libraries,⁶⁵ which made other seminaries undervalued;⁶⁶ with artfully worming or boldly intruding themselves into wealthy houses, feasting there uninvited, and carrying away what provisions they could extort;⁶⁷ and with getting privileges from Rome, of preaching, of burying, and hearing confessions, to

fratrum custodia et timore. ib. 473. An English nobleman had complained to the archbishop, that his son, tho but 13, had been thus drawn away, and could hold no conversation with his father, '*nisi sub fratrum custodia.*' ib.

⁶³ 'Because they would rather make them tillers of the field than thus to lose them.' He adds this curious fact, 'Hence it is, that altho in my time there have been at Oxford for study 30,000 *students*, there are not in these days above 6,000 found there. And the greatest cause of this diminution is thought to be this circumvention of the lads.' ib. 473. The former amount of the number of the students is more remarkable than its diminution, which the prelate's alleged reason seems scarcely sufficient to account for.

⁶⁴ Ib. 474.

⁶⁵ 'There is not found in the common studies of the faculty of the arts of sacred theology and canon law, or of medicine, or of civil law, '*nisi rare,*' any very useful '*liber venalis,*' but all are bought up by the friars, that in every convent there may be one grand and noble library.' ib. 474.

⁶⁶ 'I sent of my '*subjectis rectoribus*' three or four for study; but I was told, that because they could not find there a '*Bibliam*' useful to them, or any other books of theology for sale that were suitable to them, they had returned back to their country. The aim was, that no clericus should remain in the church, but these friars only.' ib. 474.

⁶⁷ 'No great or middling person, of clergy or people, could take their meals, but some of these mendicants, not called, will be there; and not like paupers, asking humbly for alms, as St. Francis ordered, but, penetrating into the mansions, they make themselves guests without being invited, and eat and drink what they find there, and carry away what they chuse.' ib. 474.

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the disadvantage of the local parsons ; and of receiving three-fourths of all the annual benefits.⁶⁸

Their eagerness to take confessions on account of the power which resulted to them from the knowledge of the sins of their penitents, is particularly reprobated, because the old monks and canons, and pious men in general, desired not to hear these self-arraignments ;⁶⁹ but these friars courted the office, to get at the deepest secrets of the female world, from the throne to the cottage,⁷⁰ a practice which had already introduced them into the confidential friendship of the most beautiful ladies.⁷¹ He arraigned also the Dominicans for abusing their inquisitorial powers, to harass the literati and lay persons, who complained of the injuries they had inflicted.⁷² The French as well as the English clergy

⁶⁸ Browne's Fascic. vol. 2. p. 475.

⁶⁹ This remarkable fact, of the established clergy becoming averse to hear confessions in the fourteenth century, I have not seen noticed before. It is so important, that the prelate's own words should be preserved : ' Cum quisque sanctus, præter ipsos, *audire confessiones HORRESCAT* ; quoniam nimium est cuique peccata sua agnoscere, etsi aliena non ducat. Unde, *nec monachi albi aut nigri ; nec regulares canonici officium tale desiderant*, aut alii viri sancti.' Ib. 479.

⁷⁰ ' Fratres e contrario procurarunt, ut audire poterunt *consilia secretissima* mulierum, *REGINARUM* et aliarum omnium indistincte.'

⁷¹ ' Ita ut per tale consortium jam cum pulcherrimis dominibus philosophentur in cameris.' Ib. 479.

⁷² Ib. 475. ' So that through the dread of a brand of heresy, and of an unjust judgment, pecuniæ summas graves ab eis extorquent.' ib. William de St. Amour particularly accused these friars of laboring to substitute a book of their own invention, which they termed ' The everlasting Gospel,' instead of the Scriptures. He also notices the fictions by which they sought to exalt their order. Thus, one of them preached in a city, ' That before his order was instituted, the world was in darkness ; but the Virgin went and fell at the Saviour's feet, and lay there for three days, until he promised to grant her wishes, and they were, that an Order might be established, which should enlighten the whole world. The corollary was, that she appointed St. Francis to found this order. St. Amour's two sermons on this subject were reprinted by Browne in his Fasciculus. p. 51.

struggled to beat down these reforming intruders of the middle ages,⁷³ who, like Wesleys and Whitfields, were unwelcomely rousing the parochial ministers to unwilling emulation and to forgotten duty. These, however, intruded so far on the occupied ground as to preach, to bury, to hear confessions, and to receive pecuniary benefactions.⁷⁴ It was in vain the settled clergy remonstrated;—the Franciscans secured the countenance and support of the pope, who, finding the established church often more disposed to lecture than to obey him, and to be at least as unpopular as he was, wished to humble their power, and to try the effect of a new description of ecclesiastical laborers. The Franciscans were intruders and revolutionists, but they were also the most active minded and best informed of all the clergy of the day. They fought their battles sturdily; and not only stood their ground, but increased more extensively in the public favor; and soon raised from their enriched body able and successful defenders.⁷⁵

⁷³ One of their opposing efforts was the *Scriptum Scholæ Parisiensem*, about 1289, which Wolfgang printed in 1555 in his *Antilogia Papæ*. Browne reprinted it in his *Fasciculus*, 17-41.

⁷⁴ We learn from this tract, that the former monks were not allowed to preach, any more than laymen: '*Supra hoc emanaverunt constitutiones ecclesiæ, quod monachi, sicut nec laici, predicare publice, non possunt.*' p. 23. All preaching was left to the parish ministers. Hence the new orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans made it a particular point to obtain from the pope the privilege of preaching to the public; a liberty which soon gave them an immense popularity, and threw the whole church into the shade.

⁷⁵ One of these was the celebrated Thomas Aquinas, who was a Dominican. He wrote what has been called his '*Opusculum aureum contra impugnantes Dei cultum*,' against the attacks which, in its epilogue, he entitles the *detractionibus malignorum*. In this he repels the observations of W. St. Amour, and defends the new orders for teaching religion, p. 9-24; for being of a college of secular masters, p. 25-37; for preaching and hearing confessions, although not having cure of souls, p. 38-73; for manual labor, p. 74-91; for devoting them-

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They triumphed against the existing hierarchy which they assailed; but it was by convincing all men that that hierarchy had become inefficient and corrupt; and, as they made the conviction more general, that it ought to be reformed,⁷⁶ no men more effectually contributed than they did, tho without intending the full results, to bring on the day-spring of the Protestant revolution. They roused the mind of Europe to desire such an event; they made it even reputable to project it; and they exerted themselves for their own purposes, and, to a certain extent, to produce it.

As the fifteenth century revolved, the moral censures of the public judgment became more animated against the vices and abuses of the papal court and its official administration;⁷⁷ and thus before Henry VIII.

selves to poverty, p. 92-115; for living on alms, p. 116-156; for their coarse garments, p. 157-165; for contending in courts of law, p. 193-201; for seeking to punish their persecutors, p. 202-6; for pleasing men, p. 202-9; and for frequenting the courts of princes, p. 213-217. Yet he describes them in his conclusion as those 'qui sunt in Christo Jesu: qui non secundum carmen ambulant; sed crucem Domini bajulantes, operibus spiritualibus insistunt, carnalia desideria contemnentes.' It was their avidity for worldly things which alone drew down upon them the hostility of the established catholic church.

⁷⁶ See Hist. Middle Ages, vol. 3. pp. 203, 4.

⁷⁷ One of the most accusing works of this sort, was that of Matthew de Cracow, de Squaloribus Romanæ Curiae, written before 1440. He gives the moral display of Rome at that time: 'Concubinatus in clero, tam publice et solemniter: et Meretrices illic tam pretiose vestiuntur, et tantum honorantur, quasi sic vivere, utrique sexui non sit vitiosum et inhonestum. Ita ut *curtesani* sic vivere consueti infect other parts.' Of its ordination of the clergy, he says, 'Vix est aliquis tam sceleratus aut scandalosus qui ad celebrandum Divinum officium non admittatur. Vix est aliquis tam sceleratus et miser cui sacri ordines denegantur.' Browne's Fascic. 585. He remarks, that for any to urge the correction of these things, was to bring down upon him derision. He was reckoned 'ut fatuus et pro irrationali.' He blames the pope for *usurping* the provision of all bishoprics, abbeyes and other dignities; and the presentation of all benefices, against the right of the patrons. ib. This 'usurpation' was the cause of 'multorum rebellionum et irreverentiarum' against the

r Luther was even born, two of the great points for which the latter afterwards contended, had become fixed in the wishes of mankind, tho no one stirred to put them into effectual execution. These were, that the popedom and the Catholic hierarchy were in a corrupt and immoral state;⁷⁸ and that for the sake of true Christianity and of the public welfare a general reformation ought to be commanded and enforced.⁷⁹ But Luther no more originated the desire of the amelioration, than he produced the

only see. The abuse of it was so great, that there was scarcely a ‘stabularius,’ or any person so vile and miserable, but obtained favor ‘tam proprio motu papæ;’ as also to ‘incompatibilia plura et alia beneficia.’ . 589. He says, that these usurpations were defended on the ground, that if the pope had nothing to give, he would not be cared for; ‘si papæ nihil haberet conferre, nihil curaretur, nunquam quæreretur; et nulla reverentia haberetur,’ and would not sometimes even have anything on which he could himself subsist, ‘aliquando non haberet, unde viveret.’ ib. 589.

⁷⁸ The ‘Aureum Speculum Papæ,’ which was finished, as its termination states, in 1404, was as emphatical in its censures of the papacy: ‘Totam Romanam curiam erroneam et in statu damnationis laborantem re verissimis fundamentis declarabo.’ p. 63. He says, the whole world is scandalized, ‘per ea quæ fiebant in Romana curia continue et nunc fiunt’—that no one was there appointed to benefices, however learned and holy, ‘nisi dederit pecunias.’ p. 71. Hence bishops were promoted who were ‘inutiles, idiotæ, scandalosi, ambitiosi, subditi, violenti.’ And to church livings even ‘lenones, coci, stabularii equorum, et pueri,’ were appointed. ib. The work even mentions a full century before Luther, the ‘indulgentiarum concessionēs,’ as among the ‘gravissimos errores’ of the Roman court. p. 67.

⁷⁹ In 1449, Jacob de Paradiso, a Carthusian, in his *de Stat. Eccl.* urged the extreme necessity of a general reformation of both the pope and church: ‘Reformationem autem generalem ecclesiæ *extreme necessariam* fore nostris temporibus, mores corrupti totius orbis prænuntiant.’ p. 105.

Of the pope he wrote, ‘ipsam ejus curiam maxime indigere reformatione,’ and adds, ‘if he cannot or will not reform that court which he covers with his wings, how is it to be believed that he can reform the church so widely diffused.’ 106. ‘To place himself above the whole church, or above general councils, non est aliud quam totam spem reformationis Ecclesiæ auferre et uni homini *peccabili* se committere, who may lead himself and the church thro the devia erroris.’ 107. He says, ‘no nation can make so great a resistance to the reformation of any church as the Italian nation now.’ p. 108.

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degeneracy which needed the correction. The evil had been so striking, and so universal, that it could not, when the mind was enlarging on every subject of human thought, continue to exist so glaringly and so offensively, without exciting some sensitive and intrepid spirit to be an active public leader in obtaining that reformation, which all but the deteriorated and the interested felt to be indispensable.⁸⁰

The encroachments of power by which the popes, during the middle ages, sought to convert their antient authority into a paramount and universal domination, injurious to good government, and corrupting both themselves and their order, are stated and acknowledged by the intelligent Catholics.⁸¹ Their origin was sufficiently iniquitous, for it was based upon fraud and forgery.⁸² But the conscien-

⁸⁰ Hermannus Ryd de Reen, in his *Tractatus de vita et honestate Clericorum*, printed at Magdeburg 1467, strongly arraigns the vices of the church at that time. Several others, between the years 1400 and 1500, enforce the same subject ; and of these P. de Alliaco, cardinal of Cambray, composed his work *de Reformatione Ecclesiæ* in 1415. His 1st chapter is on the reformation of the whole body of the church, the 2d on the pope and Roman court, 3d on the prelates, 4th on the religious, 5th on the other ecclesiastics. He then proceeds to the lay Christians, 407-16.

⁸¹ The abbé Fleury notices these usurpations to have been, That no council should be held without the order or permission of the pope. *Disc.* p. 141. That bishops could be judged definitively, by the pope alone. p. 143. That the pope only had the right of translating bishops from one see to another. p. 145. That the pope alone could erect bishoprics and extinguish them. p. 146. That every one might appeal to the pope, and thus make him the final judge and determiner of all things. p. 149. That the clergy should in no case, and for no crime, be tried or judged by lay tribunals. p. 154.

⁸² Fleury expressly refers the origin of all these assumed powers to the 'fausse decretales attribuées aux papes des trois premiers siècles. p. 140. He calls these 'les plus pernicieuses' of all the false documents that had been made for interested purposes, they inflicted 'une plaie irreparable à la discipline de l'église par les maximes nouvelles qu'elle ont introduits, touchant les jugemens des évêques et l'autorité des papes.' *ib.* p. 82. Gratian, by his 'decret, acheva d'affermir et d'entendre l'autorité des fausses decretales ;' and he did this 'pour

tious clergy being ignorant of the deception, and the interested part being too much benefited by it to desire its detection, the assumed powers, however censured or disliked, were submitted to ; altho their burthensome injustice perpetuated the opposing criticism, till an extensive desire was created for their abolition,—a desire that must have been increased by the extravagant demands, that were made for the allowance of its unlimited despotism.⁶³

The SUPREMACY OF THE POPE was a favorite theory of many eminent members of the church, during the middle ages. Altho as an innovation unknown to the first period of the church, the assumption of it may be justly called an usurpation ; yet it was not so much a power extorted by the possessors of St. Peter's chair, thro their own ambition, as a superiority and right conferred upon them by the wishes and opinions of their general hierarchy. That the popes could depose kings and emperors, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance, was not merely asserted by the first pontiff who unshrinkingly exercised it,⁶⁴ but was declared by many writers,

ctendre l'autorité du pape, soutenant qu'il n'étoit point soumis aux canon.' ib. 153. The forged donation of Constantine to the pope, was another of those surreptitious pieces by which Rome enlarged its power. Tho 'sa fausseté est plus universellement reconnue que celle des decretales,' (p. 158.) yet it was so supported, that St. Bernard accredited it. ib.

⁶³ Erasmus informs us, that some were teaching, that however wicked and impious a pope might be, he could not be disgraced, and ought not to be blamed—That if the whole church were to decree one thing, and a single pope, even an Alexander VI. were to contradict it, all others would be heretics and schismatics, fit only for Tartarus, while Alexander would go up to the skies. *Er. Op. p. 9. c. 1087.*

⁶⁴ Gregory VII. in his letter to the bishop of Metz, calls it the '*insaniam*' of those who prattle with a '*nefando ore*,' to say that the apostolical see could not excommunicate the German emperor, Henry V. '*nec quemquam a sacramento fidelitatis ejus absolvere.*' *Ep. l. 8. ep. 2.*

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apparently from their conscientious judgment, down to the death of our Elizabeth.⁸⁵ The English clergy favored the idea before the reign of Henry VIII.;⁸⁶ and the admissions of the patriotic bishop Grostete indicate, that warmly as he attacked the pope for many of his abuses, yet that he strongly favored the theory of the pontifical superiority.⁸⁷ He broadly states, that all power remains with the heads of the church, and that from their power flows, to the princes of the world, whatever authority even these possess:⁸⁸ tho no one opposed the pope when he

Before this our German missionary, Boniface, in the eighth century, had taught a similar subjection.

⁸⁵ Cardinal Bellarmin, in his book *de Potestate Papæ in temporalibus*, against Barclay's attack, cites the passages of 21 Italian writers, 14 French, 19 Spanish, 9 German, and 7 English, between the era of St. Bernard and Sanders, who asserted the temporal powers of the pope. The sentiment of the cardinal bishop St. Bonaventure, one of the strongest, nearly corresponds with that of our English Carmelite, John Bacon, as to the pope, but going beyond it, by ascribing the same power even to priests. The saint's words are, '*Jam vero possunt Sacerdotes et Pontifices ex causa amovere reges et deponere imperatores sicut sæpius accedit et visum est, quando eorum malitia hoc exigit et respublicæ necessitas sic requirit.*' Eccles. Hier. pars 2. c. 1.

⁸⁶ These earlier English friends of the popedom, were, Alex. Hales, the preceptor of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure, R. Holcot, J. Bacon and Thomas Walden.

⁸⁷ His language is as strong as the most ambitious pontiff could desire: 'Whatever power or dignity the princes of the world possess, they receive from the church; but the princes of the church receive none of their ecclesiastical power or dignity from any secular authority, but immediately from the ordination of God. Princes ought therefore to know, that the material as well as the spiritual sword belong to St. Peter. The chiefs of the church, who now hold Peter's office and place (the popes,) use the spiritual sword themselves, but they use the material sword by the hand and ministry of secular princes, who ought to unsheath and sheath the sword they bear, according to the nod and disposition of the princes of the church. Both the temporal and the spiritual peace and law are committed to the government of Peter, and of those holding Peter's place. Peter and his vicars hold and move the reins of temporal peace by the ministry of secular princes.' Grostete Ep. p. 320, 1.

⁸⁸ 'The princes of the church ought not '*actualiter*' to exercise cruel temporal judgments, '*potestatem tamen omnem penes eos remanere; et ex eorum potestate actum talium in principes seculi transire.*' p. 321.

deemed him wrong, more strenuously as a churchman than he did.⁸⁹ This was not peculiar to the English prelate; others, who vigorously denounced the corruptions of Rome and the hierarchy, yet upheld the system of their superiority to all temporal potentates, and the pope's rightful lordship over all christian people.⁹⁰ Such were the delusions of able and well-meaning men in behalf of the order to which they belonged.⁹¹ The probability is, that the clergy of the middle ages, in upholding the rightful superiority of the pope over all human sovereignty, were actuated by a double motive: the less avowed and perhaps less self-perceived one, was the fact, that in exalting the popedom to this paramount dignity, all the planets and satellites of the ecclesiastical system would move with it to a higher orbit of social existence, transcending every lay competitor: the more public and poetical reason was, the seductive fancy, that if the world could

⁸⁹ Hence Card. Bellarmin would not even give him a place in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, because he had heard that he had attacked the pontiff. Brown, the editor of Grostete, remarks, that if Bellarmin had seen these passages of Grostete's writings, he would have loved instead of hating him. p. 322.

⁹⁰ Thus, Matthew of Cracow says, 'I grant the pope is lord of all, nor do I mean of clergy and benefices only, but of all Christians, nay, 'de vero jure,' of all men who have only heard that they ought to be Christians, and that they should be under the pope as the vicar of Christ.' *De Squal. Rom. Cur.* p. 598.

⁹¹ Others however were less self-deceived. Peter, the Cardinal of Cambray, in 1415, shakes the great foundation of the papal power that was taken from the scriptural words, 'On this rock I will build my church,' by denying that the words meant Peter, 'non tamen videtur quod in Petra, Petrus; sed in Petra, Christus sit intelligendus.' p. 509. So he defines the 'church' to mean 'omnis homo fidelis,' and not its hierarchy. p. 521. So Greg. Heymburg published, half a century before Luther, his '*Confutatio Primatus Pape*,' for which Pius II. by his bull in 1460, excommunicated him. See it in Browne's *Fascic.* 117-126, with Gregory's appeal from the Pontiff to a Council. 126.

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be made subject to one great religious imperator; and cardinals, prelates, councils and priests should become the governors and legislators of mankind, instead of kings, peers, parliaments and knights, a golden age of piety and virtue would return, and the grand aspirations of mortal hope, and of our impatient speculations would speedily be realized. But the Age of Gold was the age of simplicity, not of luxury—of cottages and rural plains, not of palaces and metropolitan cities—of flocks and herds, not of armies, retinues and states—of honey, milk, and crystal streams, not of crowded tables, scientific cookery or gorgeous banquets. The members of the existing hierarchy, in their use of the wealth and power they had attained, manifested what they would be if they could monopolize them more largely; and therefore all suppositions that the morality or intellect of the world would prosper under their monarchy, was an unwarranted dream of self-flattering enthusiasm.

Wolsey was the last church dignitary, of the antient system, who exemplified to the dullest mind in England the corruptions and evils of the pope's permitted supremacy. By obtaining the Legantine authority, he possessed the full papal power in his own country, and he used it as it was used elsewhere. His oppressions and peculations by it were made leading articles of his impeachment;⁹² but he pre-

⁹² The charges were, that under this legantine power he had usurped on the jurisdiction of all the bishops; had given away the benefices of both spiritual and temporal patrons; had extorted money from religious houses by his visitations, and for making abbots and friars; had taken as legal to his own use, the property of spiritual persons who died, from their executors; had compelled all the English prelates to make him every year a pecuniary compensation, under the threat of usurping the

cluded all punishment by two irresistible answers. The king and parliament had consented to his taking the dignity of legate a latere from the pope; and he had not exceeded the papal privileges and exercised rights. His offensive exertion of them against the established church of this country reconciled its prelates to the abolition of that supremacy, which was principally applied to pecuniary extortions. We can hardly take a safer guide to the feelings of the English hierarchy of that day, as to the papal oppressions and usurpations, than the too celebrated Bonner, who became under Mary their most remorseless champion. Yet he declared that the pope exercised in England ‘an atrocious and bitter tyranny, and while he was called a servant of servants, was but a rapacious wolf in the clothing of a sheep.’⁹³ Bonner’s phrase is severe, but does not go beyond the declared experience of the mild and cautious Erasmus.⁹⁴ That neither time nor criticism, nor the general reprobation of society, could extinguish the immoralities which disgraced the antient

half or the whole of their jurisdiction, so that there was not a poor archdeacon but paid him yearly a portion of his living; and had visited most of the religious houses and colleges, and taken away a part of their livelihood. Articles of Imp. Hist. Herb.; Coke 4 Inst. 89; Parl. Hist. 42–51.

⁹³ It is in his preface, when archdeacon of Leicester, and the English ambassador at Denmark, to the book of Gardiner, a congenial spirit both then and afterwards, against the pope, that he has inserted these sentiments. He says, the pontiff could no more ‘tyrannidem, olim heu! nimirum truculentam et acerbam, exercere’ in England; ‘Interim etiam dum Lupus rapax ovis vestimento palliatus servorum servum appellabat, to the great detriment of the Christian republic.’ Browne’s Fascicul. p. 801.

⁹⁴ He says, ‘He presses me to say, if I ever saw a pirate made a bishop at Rome. I omit what I may have seen. But he will not deny, that sometimes there are promoted to the highest dignities, if not pirates, yet murderers, poisoners, simoniacal persons, and those who are familiar with vices that are not here to be named.’ Er. Op. t. 9. c. 1180.

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did the main subjects that were agitated in the great discussions which ensued, equally affect the interests or passions of all. A great diversity of views and motives, put different portions of the community into action; and this variety of objects and the frequent intermixture of private selfishness with public benefits, delayed the progress of the Reformation in some places, prevented it in others, and made it everywhere an angry and a combated transaction. It became in each country a political perturbation as well as a grand religious improvement. Its various branches may be thus distinguished:

I. The diminution of the church property, and the violent transfer of it from its ecclesiastical professors to the lay nobility and gentry of the kingdom, had become the steady and rapacious object of many or most of the higher orders of the nation, from the time that the wealth of the religious bodies became prominent to the national eye.¹ Altho their possessions, if they had been equally divided and impartially distributed, would not perhaps have excited either covetousness or envy, yet some benefices, abbacies, preferments and prelacies, were so exuberantly affluent in their revenues, and their possessors, from the natural effect of worldly abundance, became so fond of using and displaying their wealth, in imitation and emulation of the secular nobles, that the mind of the laity was provoked to inquire, if their riches were not only unnecessary to their religious duties, but also incompatible with the performance of them.

¹ See Hist. Middle Ages, v. 3. p. 106.

It was clear that this inconsistency had arisen. Some foundations were as opulent as the greatest of the great.² Several clergy died with accumulations of property, which proved that they had been enjoying an unneeded superfluity.³ Others amassed pluralities, which no favor or charity could defend;⁴ and foreigners obtained from the pope a donation of English church preferments, without the least performance of sacred duties, which took large sums of money annually out of the kingdom.⁵ That the church had become too affluent in the most conspicuous members of its establishment, for its virtues

² It is truly remarked in one of our antient homilies, that notwithstanding the vow of poverty of the religious orders, yet, 'in possessions, jewels, plate and riches, they were equal or above merchants, gentlemen, barons, earls and dukes: but by the subtle, sophistical term *proprium in communi*, they mocked the world.' Hom. on Good Works. This logical evasion was effected by their considering their wealth as the property of the whole body, and not of any individual.

³ Thus of three archdeacons mentioned by Matthew Paris, one, of Lincoln, left many thousand marcs with many silver vessels; another, of Bedford, died '*abundans pecunia maxima*;' and the third, of Northampton, taken off suddenly, was found to have 5,000 marcs, 30 gold and silver cups, and jewels '*in finitis*.' p. 706. The knowledge of these '*opulenti clerici*' roused the pope's eagerness to have some of these good things. *ib.* And therefore he directly afterwards called on them for 6,000 marcs, *ib.* p. 707. which the king, for his own sake, forbade them to pay. 708. But the pope persevered, and in the next year demanded 6,000 marcs from the bishop of Lincoln, and forty from the abbot of St. Alban's, p. 722. and soon afterwards sent in his collector for more.

⁴ In 1367 some were holding 20 *ecclesias et dignitates* by the pope's authority. Ant. Brit. p. 249. In 1343, Clement gave two cardinals benefices in England to the amount of 2,000 marcs, in addition to the bishoprics and abbeys they were enjoying. Walsingh. p. 161.

⁵ Innocent IV. outdid all his predecessors in this respect. The incomes of the foreign clergy drawn from England, on the benefices he had conferred, exceeded 70,000 marcs. Matt. Paris, p. 859. In 1248 the parliament complained of the '*Italici*' being enriched by these corrupt grants, who took no care of the souls, who did not know their sheep nor were known by them, but who only acted like '*lupos rapacissimos*.' *ib.* 667. In 1240, Gregory IX. sent his precepts to three English bishops, to provide for 300 Romans, '*in primis beneficiis vacantibus*.' *ib.* 532. And afterwards demanded other exactions, 533.

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and utilities, was therefore an undeniable fact; but it was not less so, that to divest it of its superabundant possessions, in order to divide them among the craving laity, would be as complete an act of violent spoliation, as for the church to have extorted, and distributed among its members, the hereditary estates of the chief nobility.

Yet in no way could the pecuniary superfluity be separated from the ecclesiastical body but by force. The pope, its central, ruling and protecting head, drew too much booty from it, to its continual dissatisfaction,⁶ for him to consent to any amicable diminution. The possessing clergy were as unwilling as the other classes of society, to relinquish any part of the incomes and gratifications they were enjoying; and all the unprovided and aspiring members of the ecclesiastical body were equally hostile to the abstraction or abolition of any of the beneficiary preferments, for which they were expectantly waiting or soliciting. This branch of church reformation therefore never could be accomplished, but by the arm and compulsory exertion of the lay sword and power; and notwithstanding the long impatience of

⁶ Thus in 1256, the next pope, Alexander IV. chusing to have from England 2,000 marcs, ordered the convent of Durham to send him 500, Bath 400, Thornia 400, Croyland 400, and Gisburne 300.

The king also demanding money, the prelates found that they were between two grindingstones, '*in ambiguum rotabantur et quasi inter duas molas conterebantur.*' Matt. Paris, 933. So in 1241, the pope suddenly demanded of the Peterburg convent, a church living of 100 marcs, or to appoint to it themselves, provided they sent him yearly 100 marcs. In the year before he had required all the English clergy to pay him one-fifth of their goods; and the archbishop of Canterbury was obliged to pay to the papal exacters at once 800 marcs; and the other prelates had no choice but '*similem ruinam.*' ib. See Matt. Paris. The pope even ventured so far with his encroachments, as to claim the goods of all those who should die without a will. ib.

the great laity, this violence never could nor would be applied, until circumstances arose to make the crown and government the voluntary and leading actors to effect it. These circumstances arose in England, from the pope's refusing to Henry VIII. the requested divorce, and from his precipitated excommunication of the irritated and then seriously endangered king.

II. To correct the corrupt morals and conduct, and gross ignorance which were disgracing all the orders of the antient clergy, was another object of the public wish: resisted indeed by the self-indulging offenders, but which continual satire and invective were daily making a more imperious requisition.

The numerous exceptions of worthy characters which every where appeared, were not sufficient to alter the character of the general surface, nor to abate the universal criticism. Every principle of virtue and piety, which any bosom retained or understood, and all the impulses of common sense and conscience in the rest of society, as earnestly desired a termination of these degrading abuses, as the papal court was reluctant to oppose or curtail them. Tho every eye perceived, and every right mind lamented them, from the time of St. Bernard, yet till Luther and his coadjutors and successors had shaken the papal system to its centre, no pope had exerted his full authority to diminish the nuisance. Its continuance gave the greatest portion of its popularity to the Protestant Reformation.

III. An evil as offensive and improper, which raised an increasing spirit of dissatisfaction, subsisted in

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those exactions and usurpations of the popedom, which its long admitted and not unwelcomed supremacy had caused and was multiplying.

The power of the pope is always but a word, unless as the clergy in every country chuse to enforce it. It arose from their concurrence and co-operation, and could not have continued but from their desire and willingness to diffuse and support it. But they had zealously taught for their own benefit, as well as from their belief of its use to society, the superiority of their order to all lay power and dignity.⁷ They made the church the primal source of all political power,⁸ and the king and his government but its officers, its derivatives and its inferiors.⁹ They claimed the right not only of conferring, but of taking away the ruling authority,¹⁰ and even justified putting those, whom they called tyrants, to death.¹¹ A term

⁷ See before, p. 62, 63, notes 87-90.

⁸ In addition to the authorities mentioned in p. 62, we may remark that our John of Salisbury, as early as the reign of Henry II. in his applauded work, declares that 'the prince is the minister of priests, and their inferior. The prince receives the sword from the hand of the church, as that cannot hold the sword of blood, but uses it thro the hand of the prince, on whom it confers the power of coercing the bodies of men. Est ergo princeps acerdotii minister, and exercises that part of the sacred offices which seems to be unworthy of the hands of the priesthood.' *De nug. Curial.* l. 4. c. 2. p. 113.

⁹ Our Polycratius represented the civil power in the inferior light of the executioner to the ecclesiastical. 'Illud tamen inferius, quod in pœnis criminum exercetur et quandam carnificii representare videtur imaginem.' *ib.* p. 113.

¹⁰ 'Juris ejus est nolle, cujus est velle; et ejus est auferre qui de jure conferre potest.' *ib.* 114. It was on these principles that our author's patron, Thomas à Becket, maintained his contest against Henry II. But the English lawyers and statesmen so steadily resisted these doctrines, that, as he states, in the reign of Stephen, when an attempt was made to introduce the Roman laws into England, the legislature ejected them.

¹¹ This subject is discussed by John in eight chapters of his eighth book. In one he contends 'sicut ergo damnatum hostem licet occidere,

which not being limitable by any unchangeable definition, is applied by every one according to his individual humour and construction.

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But as the hierarchy consisted of a multitude of scattered individuals, in different and distant countries, who had no command beyond their immediate province, it wanted a monarchical concentration of power in some one whom all would recognize and obey. This individual occurred in the Roman Pontiff; and for the common advantage of the hierarchical world, his universal supremacy was admitted and maintained; as, for the greater impression on all secular authority, it was based on a divine origin, by that species of ingenious extension and explication of some figurative expressions, by which any words may be argued to mean what any party wishes. But the clergy found that as their affluence, pomp, luxury and worldly power excited the competition and jealousy of the great laity, it was essential to them to maintain the power and dignity of the pope, in order that he might uphold them. The popedom soon became, by their adhesion to it, their most efficient and ever-formidable protector. If any one prelate was attacked by his sovereign, the pontiff could if he pleased raise the whole priesthood of Europe to support their endangered brother.

sic tyrannum. p. 348. In his next chapter he contends that it is not only lawful, but '*gloriosum est publicos tyrannos occidere.*' p. 349. But tho he calls a tyrant an '*imago diaboli,*' he has the candor to admit that many were found in the priesthood who deserved this character, and he strongly describes them, p. 337, 338. Four centuries afterwards, Mariana, the celebrated Spanish Jesuit, favored the same doctrine of tyrant killing, in his book '*de rege,*' which he wrote after the assassination of Henry III. of France by the Jesuit Clement, which will be cited in a future chapter.

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The papal power was thus repeatedly exerted in their behalf, and checked and frequently overcame the attempts of kings and nobles and parliaments to lessen their wealth or their power. The power and resistance of the popedom on their behalf were the only effectual preservatives of their privileges and property: and if their pontifical sovereign had never molested them, they would never have deserted him. But as the power of the papacy became consolidated, it soon shewed that it expected a remuneratory equivalent: protection demanded the reciprocity of taxation; and in the thirteenth century it became severely felt, that if the pope saved the rich clergy from the attacks and exactions of governments and of the great, it was but to make pecuniary demands of a similar nature for himself. He averted the greedy hands of the lay powers from their property, to grasp what he chose of it for himself.¹² He alarmed, dissatisfied and injured all, by repeated demands of money; by claiming the right of nominations and investitures; by demanding large sums on all his appointments and confirmations, and still

¹² Matthew of Paris gives many instances of these extortions, and the remonstrances against them, as in p. 623; of which one specimen occurred in 1244, when the pope sent his clericus, Martin, to exact money from the English clergy, with the full power of excommunicating those who resisted. p. 613. This agent required at once the immediate payment of ten thousand marcs, p. 641, and then demanded every where of the different abbots and priors that they should send him '*munera pretiosa, palfridos desiderabiles, et in esculentis et poculentis sumptuosa xenia et vestimenta adornativa.*' They did so, but he returned messages to all, that these were insufficient, '*ea esse insufficientia,*' and he ordered them to send him better ones, '*meliora sub poena suspensionis et anathematis;*' and he suspended all the profits of their benefices of 30 marcs value until he should be satisfied. *ib.* 645. Matthew adds this strong lamentation, 'Hence the miserable English complained that they were enduring in British Egypt a more bitter servitude than the children of Israel were formerly subjected to.' *ib.*

more by arrogating the right to present to all vacant benefices and to other preferments, and by granting them to followers who never saw either England or the flock with whose fleeces they were enriched.¹³

These usurpations in time made the encroachments and spoliations of the laity the lesser evil, and indisposed the clergy to uphold longer in England that supremacy of the Roman See, which had sunk its benefits in its accumulated oppressions. Hence their favorite dream, of vanity more than of piety, became dissipated: and they preferred a domestic sovereign of limited and constitutional power, to the actual and mysterious despot, whose claims were unbounded, whose rapacity was unsparing and undisguised, and whose tyranny, if opposed, was as vindictive as irresistible.

But all these abuses concerned worldly objects, and might have been corrected without any revolution in the great Christian establishments, whenever the pope and hierarchy should concur in their emendation. And so might the other great branch of the superstitious practices, which were performed and encouraged chiefly for the purpose of obtaining money or influence from their popular use.¹⁴ Pec-

¹³ See before, p. 64.

¹⁴ The most material of them are thus enumerated in the antient homily on good works: 'So many pilgrimages to images—so much kneeling, kissing and incensing them—keeping in divers places marts or markets of merits ready to be sold—all things they had were called holy, holy cowls, holy girdles, holy pardons, beads and shoes. What could be more superstitious than that men, women and children should wear a fryar's coat to deliver them from agues or pestilence, or to have it cast on them when dying or being buried, in hope to be thereby saved?

'Other kinds of papistical superstitions and abuses were, beads, Lady Psalters and rosaries, the fifteen O's, St. Bernard's verses, Saint Agatha's letters, purgatory, satisfactory masses, stations and jubilees, feigned relics, hallowed bells, bread, water, palms, candles and fire.' Hom.

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niary interests, not piety, mainly upheld these, and they were at all times removable by the papacy, whenever it should become wise enough or virtuous enough to do so.

But amid these competitions and inventions for the gratification of worldly passions, the more virtuous and reasoning minds of the Christian community had for some time doubted of the truth and propriety of many theories and doctrines, which had become gradually interwoven with the creed and fabric of the papal church, as well as of many of its consecrated ceremonies, which were asserted to be imitations of antient paganism.¹⁵ Objections of this sort multiplied, till the conscience became dissatisfied with the established faith and appointed worship: and unless these were removed, a mental schism and a personal separation from religious communion, were every year becoming more certain and more unavoidable.

It was in England that the spirit and determination of effecting a religious emancipation from the elaborate system of the Roman religion, gradually

¹⁵ On this derivation, M. Frayssinous has justly remarked in his 'Defense du Christianisme,' which I would rank as the best general defence of our common Christianity, both in style and matter, that the French church has produced, 'Our worship has many things which belong to a discipline that is variable—what tho des parfumes brulés, des flambeaux allumés, des genuflexions, des prostrations, des vases et des vetemens sacrés, des statues, des images; des aspersions d'eau lustrale—tho all these should have been in use in the rites of many people who were not Christians; of what importance is that—Is it a crime for Christianity to have a priesthood, temples, and altars, because Paganism also possessed them?' v. 3. p. 109. This is a fair position of the question. It is no fault to adopt what others may have used, but the use creates no obligation on any to retain them. They are as he says, 'des choses qui appartiennent à une discipline variable,' and may be therefore relinquished or imitated without blame for either conduct.

assumed a visible form and became most active. No clergy or parliament made greater efforts than had been repeatedly exerted against all the popes who were contemporary with Henry III.¹⁶ Edward I. began a steady system of curtailing the papal power in his dominions, and precluded the church from all additions to its landed property.¹⁷ Larger encroachments were made on the exerted rights and exactions of the pope, and on the assumed privileges of the hierarchy, during the splendid reign of Edward III.;¹⁸ England then became distinguished in Europe for the freedom of its opinions, and for the intrepidity of its government against that sacerdotal despotism, which at this critical period was extending every where its unresisted domination,¹⁹ and seeking to absorb the property and the government of the world.

This new spirit in the policy of the crown pervaded the heads of the aristocracy and the more active characters in the metropolis, as the fourteenth century was closing; but it found a peculiar home in the mind of the humble rector of Lutterworth, John Wickliffe. From their contemporary coincidence, we may infer that it was the papal rapacity

¹⁶ Matt. Paris details these in various parts of his *Historia Major*. And see *Hist. Middle Ages*, v. 5. p. 142-5.

¹⁷ *Ib.* p. 146.

¹⁸ *Ib.* A striking instance of the increasing desire to lessen the wealth of the clergy, appeared in a bill from the Commons in the reign of Henry IV. to take the temporal lands out of the hands of the spirituality, alleging that these might suffice to find to the king 15 earls, 1,500 knights, 6,200 esquires, and an hundred houses of alms to the relief of the poor, and over all these charges would put into his coffers yearly 20,000*l.* Henry V. himself accepted from his Parliament, in grants, of the property of 110 monasteries that belonged to aliens regulars, (*Rym. Fœd.* v. 9. p. 280) which were 'disordinately wasted by the church.'

¹⁹ *Hist. Mid. Ages*, v. 5. p. 146-150.

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at the period of his mature age, which excited his mind, and obtained for him the patronage and encouragement of competent power, to investigate and oppose the venerated chieftain of his order, and the doctrines and system in which he had been educated or was living.

No man could be more unimportant as an individual, nor less formed to be a leading public character, than a country clergyman with a very moderate preferment. Yet no individual had before that time existed, who had conceived and concentrated in his intellectual personality, so many and such formidable objections to the whole structure and practice of the papal church; or who had expressed them with greater sarcasm, variety and effect.²⁰ But the visible, new and daring enormity of the abuses that the popes now sanctioned and exercised, gave point and impunity to his criticisms. It was the spirit of the government and country in the last years of Edward III. which spoke in his voice and animated and protected his exertions. He attacked the conduct, the wealth, the system and the doctrines of the Roman hierarchy in a scholastic form, for the conviction of the learned,²¹ and in a popular one by his simple and easy expositions,²² and still more effectually by his English translation of the New Testament, which always has had and

²⁰ Two hundred and forty-six heretical conclusions were selected out of his books by the 12 inquisitors who were appointed to examine them. Walden. Fascic. Zizan. Wick. Foxe 1, p. 513. The University of Oxford denounced 267 of his conclusions as 'guilty of fire.' Wilk. Conc. 3. p. 339-49.

²¹ In his *Triologus*. See Hist. Mid. Ages, 177-190. The council of Constance particularized and denounced this book.

²² Ib. 193-4.

ever will possess the effect, of inducing and enabling the hearer or reader, to compare the practical system with the written authority.²³ An old chronicle tells us, that this vernacular version made the sacred volume more known to illiterate laymen and women, than it was even to the educated clergy.²⁴ His opinions infected the aristocracy of the land, its parochial clergy and the university of Oxford,²⁵ and produced an extensive effect on the public mind;²⁶ but this was chiefly on detached and scattered individuals: it led to no social combinations, nor occasioned any political concussions or ecclesiastical changes. All submitted to what many were criticising and secretly laying aside. Yet an extensive harvest appeared from his labors after his decease, which he could not have anticipated, and in a country so remote and so little connected with his own, that he knew it more by the fact of its sovereign having

²³ See Mr. Baber's re-publication of this valuable relic of the primitive of the English Reformation.

²⁴ Hist. Mid. Ages, v. 5. p. 192. This is not surprising, as in the year 1828, the Eighth Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland states, that among 160 Divinity students in the Roman Catholic college at Maynooth, there are not above half a dozen or a dozen copies of the Old or New Testament, and that very few students ever refer to the original text. It corresponds with such an education, to read in the *Courier François*, of 14 November 1825, that a prosecution had been instituted by the public officer against 16 women, two children, and one man, for reading the New Testament in a private house at ten o'clock in the forenoon. They were all, including the children, fined in the *mitigated* penalty of 50 francs each. As this occurred when the Jesuit party in the cabinet, which has been since removed from it, took the command of French education, it will probably not be imitated now.

²⁵ Hist. Mid. Ages, p. 191. He had been preceded by John Ball in 1366, whose exertions in churchyards and market-places may have been among the causes that excited his own mind to take up the subject.

²⁶ Hist. Mid. Ages, p. 196, 7. The St. Alban's history characterized the Londoners in 1392, as '*Male creduli in Deum et traditiones avitas: Lollardorum sustentatores, religiosorum detractores, decimarum decimatores.*'

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fallen in the battle with his own king at Cressy²⁷ than from any other cause. But it happened that Richard II. selected the princess of Bohemia for his queen; and, adopting the feelings of the English court at that moment, she imbibed, valued and befriended the opinions of Wickliffe,²⁸ who was alive when she became his sovereign. Her household imitated her example. She lived only ten years after Wickliffe;²⁹ but one of her countrymen, having studied at Oxford and learnt these new doctrines, took the writings of this enlightened censor with him, when he returned to Bohemia.³⁰ The university of Prague had been founded in 1347, and the nation had become so eager for knowlege, that several thousand scholars were studying at it; from which, part moved to escape oppression, and established a similar seminary at Leipsig.

Huss and Jerome of Prague were among the students in that city; and eagerly embraced, defended and propagated the opinions of Wickliffe,³¹ which thus became rooted in Bohemia, while the knowlege of them and some regard for them were carried at the same time into Saxony. The arch-

²⁷ Foxe, 1. p. 473. Hist. Mid. Ages, v. 2. p. 201.

²⁸ Ib. v. 2. p. 332, and v. 5. p. 198.

²⁹ He died in 1384, and she in 1394. Mid. Ages, 5. p. 196, and v. 2. p. 332. She was married to Richard about the fifth year of his reign, and lived with him eleven years. It is curious that Arundel, the prelate of York and lord chancellor, who afterwards took the lead in persecuting such opinions, preached a funeral sermon, which was formerly in the Worcester library, and in this commended her above all other women, because, tho an alien, she had the Gospels in English, with the doctors upon them. He stated, that she had sent them to him to examine, and that he had found them good and true; and he added a reprehension of the prelates and others for their negligence. Foxe, 1. p. 467.

³⁰ Hist. Mid. Ages, v. 5. p. 198.

³¹ Ib. v. 5. p. 198, 9.

bishop of Prague opposed the intruding ideas, and burnt such of Wickliffe's manuscripts as he could meet with. But as new opinions which have any foundation in truth are diffused by persecution, so most of those of the English reformer became nationalized in Bohemia.³² They were so far welcomed in Saxony, that Luther read a copy of the sermons of John Huss in his convent's library at Erfurd.³³

Thus the seeds and spirit of a new mind against the hierarchy, on all the four topics we have mentioned, were planted in three commanding positions in Europe, as the fifteenth century opened, in England, in Saxony, and in Bohemia ; while a branch of the Waldenses were cherishing similar ones in Hungary, and their parent body also, amid the Alps of Switzerland and Savoy.

They declined in England as to their publicity, while they were vegetating on the Germanic continent. The house of Lancaster wrenched the crown from Richard II. by the invitation and the aid of the English hierarchy, avowedly for his personal misconduct, which had been most culpable ;³⁴ but apparently on the secret compact, with the church for suppressing its Lollard opponents.³⁵ Henry IV.

³² For the principal opinions of the Bohemians, which chiefly offended their pontifical historian, see *Mid. Ages*, v. 5. p. 200. The pope Pius II. who was Æneas Sylvius when he wrote, refers them to Wickliffe, and calls them also the ' *impiam Waldensium sectam et insaniam.*' *Hist. Boh.*

³³ *Ib.* 200.

³⁴ *Ib.* v. 2. p. 305.

³⁵ This is inferred from the facts, that the archbishop of Canterbury went in disguise to Paris to invite Henry IV., and seconded it by declaring a remission of sins to all who would assent to his invasion, *Mid. Ages*, v. 2. p. 306, 7 ; and also, that he and his line became a persecuting dynasty.

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performed his part of this nefarious engagement, by pledging himself to destroy all heresies and heretics, and by assenting to that disgraceful statute of murder and impiety, which ordered heretics to be burnt. He promised also in parliament to punish all who should preach, teach, or write against the faith or determinations of the church, or have conventicles or schools, where such opinions were encouraged.³⁶ Henry V. became a still more cruel persecutor; for he personally witnessed the burning of a poor man who disbelieved transubstantiation, after failing in a kindly meant endeavor to procure his recantation. He enforced severe prosecutions; and after personally upbraiding the gallant soldier and sincere Christian, sir John Oldcastle, for his religious sentiments, allowed him at last to be consumed at the stake.³⁷ Yet altho he supported the clergy in their system and doctrines, that is, in all which lay between them and the people; he desired to abridge that power which they maintained and exercised against the crown and aristocracy of the country, and those habits which most offended the public judgment: He therefore instructed his ambassadors at the council of Basle to obtain some important modifications in this respect, and to recommend a general reformation of the most obnoxious corruptions.³⁸

The pope John complained in 1414 to the king of Bohemia, that persons in his dominions were follow-

³⁶ Hist. Mid. Ages, v. 2. p. 353. W. Sautre, a chaplain, was immediately burnt. *ib.*

³⁷ Mid. Ages, v. 2. p. 448-53. Foxe has preserved a full detail of Oldcastle's, or Lord Cobham's opinions and examinations from Walden's Fasciculus, who may be considered as a contemporary of the sufferer. 1. p. 513-520.

³⁸ Hist. Mid. Ages, v. 3. p. 118.

ing the errors of that arch heretic Wickliffe, whose books had been condemned; and exhorted him to root out this blot.³⁹ At the Council of Constance, the doctrines of Huss were condemned as those of the English reformer.⁴⁰ This council has made its name repulsively memorable, by causing Huss to be burnt, tho he came to explain his opinions under the safe-conduct of the emperor; and afterwards Jerome of Prague: a species of human sacrifice, which, being aggravated by the wilful and tyrannical perfidy of violating the legal protection to which Huss had trusted, in order to make him a victim, had its natural results of fixing an indelible stain on the hierarchy, of whose chief members that synod consisted, and which still vindicates the deed;⁴¹

³⁹ Foxe, 1. p. 544.

⁴⁰ The council's *sententia damnationis* calls Wickliffe the 'Dux et princeps' of the Bohemian heretics, and condemned 44 of his opinions, and Huss as his disciple, and classes Jerome with them.

See the *Sententia*, printed by Orthuinus, and reprinted by Browne in his *Fasciculus*, v. 1. p. 299, 303. The 44 opinions, with their reprobations, are in p. 280-295. A larger quantity of Wickliffe's opinions, between two and three hundred, condemned at this council, occupy 14 folio pages. 266-280.

⁴¹ I regret that, being one of the heads of the existing Roman Church in France, and possessing an enlightened mind, M. Frayssinous should in 1825 extenuate this abominable deed. He says the council '*ne viola pas la foi publique.*' Why? because '*le sauf conduit n'étoit que pour garantir la personne de Jean Huss sur la route.*' That Huss had sought and obtained it as his protection at the council, and that he stood before the prelates there with his own and the public belief that he had his personal safeguard in his pocket, and that the emperor, when he gave it, meant it to be so, there can be no doubt.

It was only the more atrocious to find out a verbal distinction after he was in their power, which, in order to put a fellow-creature to a cruel death, would evade its general purpose. M. F. adds, that he was punished less as 'heresiarch,' than as 'perturbateur.' The burning disproves this. Mary beheaded Wyatt as perturbateur, but she burnt Latimer as heresiarch. So her father on this express difference hung the traitorous priests, while he burnt Ann Askew. Huss was burnt in July 1415: as John Clayton was in our Smithfield in the same year for analogous opinions. 1 Foxe, 588.

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and of rousing the Bohemian nation into a vindictive and sturdy war, which lasted, with great calamities and vicissitudes, till they obtained in 1436 a general amnesty, and a confirmation of some of their most important privileges.⁴²

While this struggle was fiercely raging, the new Pope, Martin V., emulous of imitating the precedent and horrors of the Albigensian crusade, having in the first year of his pontificate issued his bull denouncing Wickliffe, with Huss and Jerome, as an arch heretic,⁴³ called also on the sovereigns of Europe to march their armies to reconvert or extirpate the formidable reformers.⁴⁴ A great English prelate, of the house of Lancaster, disgraced himself, his order and his country, by leading out of the land which had given Wickliffe birth, a military force to assist in executing this unchristian mandate.⁴⁵ But no persecution suppressed the advancing spirit of religious reformation, which this rural rector had so strongly excited, not only in his own country, but in Europe. The house of York arose in political

⁴² Their most distinguished commander was the celebrated Zisca, who, after several times defeating the imperial force, remained master of Bohemia till he died, in 1424. But his successor, Procopius, ably supported his patriotic cause. An interesting account of the actions of Zisca, out of *Æneas Sylvius*, will be found in *Foxe*, p. 593-6; who also narrates the actions of his successor.

⁴³ See this in *Foxe*, 596-600; ordering inquiries on the 26 articles which it enumerates, and whether the arrested party 'knew John Wickliffe of England,' or the others, or ever *prayed* for them. Procopius and the other captains of the Bohemians in 1430 circulated an animated exhortation against this papal mandate. *Foxe*, 600-2.

⁴⁴ This pontiff's bull declares it to be necessary '*vel ipsi heretici reducantur in rectam semitam vel de terra radicitus extirpentur.*' See it in *Brown's Fas. App.* 611.

⁴⁵ *Hist. England, Mid. Ages*, 2. p. 487. It was one of the articles for which a priest was condemned to perpetual prison, that he affirmed it to be unlawful to make war against the Bohemians. *Foxe*, 590.

competition against that of Lancaster, and received the support of all who wished a better system, until it was seated on the throne of England; to be succeeded, on the downfall of Richard III. by the House of Tudor, which again allied itself with the papal church; especially after Henry VIII. had made Wolsey, a cardinal aspiring to be pope, his prime minister, with a power that no directing counsellor of the state had exerted in England before.

The progress of altering mind in its religious belief continued to advance in the English public: and new inventions and new pretensions of state by the prelates, only multiplied the criticisms against them,⁴⁶ altho the church had several stout defenders.⁴⁷ From the examinations of Thorpe, in 1407,⁴⁸ and of Dr. Purvey, in 1421,⁴⁹ and from the occasional burning and persecutions of other persons during the rest of the century,⁵⁰ we learn that the spirit and

⁴⁶ Thus the archbishop Arundel granted 40 days pardon to those who would repeat their Aves on the sounding of the morning curfew; and laid on a church in London an interdict against using its organ, because its bells had not rung in honor to him as he passed with his cross. 'While we pass, every parish church in their turns ought in token of special reverence to us to ring their bells.' See his order taken from the Reg. Arund. in Foxe, 510, 511. The prelates were then exacting this new appendage of their state, for the bishop of Worcester complained against the prior and convent for not ringing the bells at his coming to the church. So Arundel's successor, Chicheley, quarrelled with the abbot of Canterbury in 1425, for not ringing the bells, and 'meeting us with processions when we passed.' Foxe, 511. Reg. Chich. 365.

⁴⁷ The answer of W. Wodford, or Wydfford, in 1396, to 18 of Wickliffe's articles, was printed by Orthuinus in his Fasciculus, and in his Brown, v. 1. p. 191. On others, see Mid. Ages, v. 3. p. 149, 150.

⁴⁸ Foxe gives it at length, 485-500.

⁴⁹ See this in Foxe, from Walden, 500-3. See also Hist. Mid. Ages, v. 3. p. 137-57.

⁵⁰ For William Tailor's apprehension, a priest, in 1421, and his abjuration and burning in 1422; for the persecution of numerous others, in Norfolk and Suffolk, in 1424-1428; for the burning of Hoveden in 1430

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principles of Wickliffe could not be suppressed, by the ever-revived severities which the Romish church then mercilessly enforced, to its increased disadvantage from their use, against those whose consciences could not accredit the dogmas, which by her dreadful executions she was forcing upon mankind.

The examinations, in 1479, of Dr. Wesalia, of Worms,⁵¹ the opposing sentiments, in 1490, of Weselus, of Gröningen,⁵² and the pitiless destruction in 1499, of the eloquent priest, Savanorola at Florence,⁵³ prove that the expressed divergencies from the papal church were not confined to England or Bohemia, or to private sentiment elsewhere. The expanding feelings assumed a public form also in Hungary, while Luther was living a contented monk and eager papist, when, in 1508, the Waldenses petitioned the Hungarian king to allow of their dissent from the Roman see on the doctrinal points which they respectfully stated.⁵⁴ Their apology anticipated and argued most of the tenets for

and the forced abjuration of Canon in 1431, in which year Bagley, a priest, and Craw, a Bohemian, were burnt as disciples of Wickliffe, see Foxe, 1. p. 605-613. Wiche, a priest, was burnt in 1439. *ib.* 644. In 1494, lady Young's mother was burnt for holding eight of Wickliffe's opinions; and nine others afterwards were made to carry faggots; while in 1498 a priest was burnt at Canterbury and another person in Norfolk; and an old man so perished in 1499 in Smithfield. *ib.* 671. Those who suffered between 1509 and 1527, are noticed in v. 2. p. 734.

⁵¹ See these from Orthuinus, in Browne's Fascic. 1. p. 327-334.

⁵² Foxe, 670. In his conversations with Rod. Agricola, he foretold a coming change.

⁵³ Foxe has given a brief summary of his opinions, and notices him, 672, to have been highly praised by Mirandula, Mars. Ficinus and Commines. Tiraboschi has inserted some passages from him, in his *Stor. Let.* 6. p. 1160. He was a very eloquent preacher. His works were so numerous as to fill three folio columns in Warton's *Supplement to Cave's Script. Eccl.* p. 130, 1.

⁵⁴ Browne has printed their 'Oratio excusatoria' in his *Fasciculus*, v. 1. p. 163.

which Luther and his religious co-operators afterwards contended. They made faith their great principle,⁵⁵ and the Scriptures its foundation. They desired the main sacrament to be administered in the exact words of our Saviour, without any addition, to preclude all controversy; and they stated that purgatory was but the invention of the well known Thomas Aquinas, and that it had been not thought of, or used as a formal doctrine, before he conceived and suggested it.⁵⁶ Analogous dispartings of opinion from the papal creed were spreading so largely in Switzerland, that Zuinglius started there simultaneously with Luther, and with equal effect.⁵⁷

The human mind was thus moving onward on all sides, to changes in religion as well as to other improvements. It was a vain hope of the papal court, that mutation was impossible: and therefore no criticisms led it to emendation. But it is not with man as with animals, that his mental costume, or course of life, should never alter. The lion is the lion, and the eagle is like the eagle, in all places

⁵⁵ Their Oratio thus expressed it: 'Viva Fides is the universal foundation of human salvation; it is the gift of the Holy Spirit, and is principally bestowed by the merit of the grace of Christ.' v. 1. p. 163.

⁵⁶ On its foundation on a passage in the Maccabees, they remark that this book had been placed 'inter illos non receptos ab ecclesia,' and that Purgatory would not have then existed, 'nisi Thomas Monachus de Aquino hoc cogitasset in inferno.' ib. 179.

On the worship of Mary and the saints, they say, 'We yield honor, power and piety to God and the Lamb alone; to no creature; to the Deity only, and so expect only help from him.' p. 176.

⁵⁷ Zuinglius began to teach at Zurich in 1519, and fell in battle Oct. 1531, after his opinions had contributed to overturn popery in Zurich, Berne, Constance, Geneva, Strasburgh and Basle. Œcolampadius, who soon died of grief at his loss, Bucer, and Capito, were among his assistants. Foxe Mart. 791-7. 'Zuinglius, in his book of Articles, recordeth, that Luther and he both at one time, one not knowing nor hearing of another, began to write against the pope's pardons and indulgences.' ib. 775.

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and circumstances, and thro every generation; but the human species are at all times excitable to new progression, and at various periods, circumstances evolve which impel them to it. In many countries, religion has been frequently the subject of solicitous improvement; even Romulus endeavored to purify his ancestral faith,⁵⁸ before Numa, pursuing his footsteps, inserted also his ceremonial novelties. But no reformer can operate successfully, unless congenial ideas or consenting sympathies are existing in those by whom he is surrounded. He rather concentrates and personifies what they also feel and think, than invents his proposed improvements. It is in the great civil concerns of life as in the fine arts: criticism abounds and circulates; men become conscious of the imperfections in the state and figures of their ordinary experience: and some who have the power of justly imagining what would be better, by omitting what all allow to be objectionable, and by uniting the excellencies and utilities that are within their reach, and that will be deemed by others to be such, realize, to the general satisfaction, the more perfect forms of the improving judgment.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ It is from Dionysius Halicarnassensis we learn that Romulus was a religious reformer. The historian says that he took from the Greeks what he thought best for his new colony, 'but the fables which had been handed down concerning their Gods, of which some were impieties and others criminating accusations, representing them to be evil or useless or profligate, unworthy even of men, and much more of Deity—all these he cut off and cast away, and taught his people to speak and think more nobly of them, and to associate with them nothing that was unworthy of their blessed nature.' L. 2. c. 18. p. 90. Altho the Vatican may have disregarded the advice of its alleged founder, Saint Peter, not to follow 'cunningly devised fables,' Ep. 2. c. 1. v. 16, it may yet take a lesson from its earlier predecessor, to retrench what in darker times it thought fit to patronise.

⁵⁹ Socrates expressed this principle to the celebrated painter Parrhasius:

There is, as cardinal Richlieu remarked from the Stagirite, a tendency to good about human things,⁶⁰ which is ever operating with a forward effect ; and it is the peculiar principle of Christianity to give to the mind this meliorating direction. Other religions leave men as they are, or only seek to profit from them as such ; but the Founder of our sacred faith placed the perfection of the Creator as the object of human emulation ; and fixed it as the constant duty of his adherents, to strive continually to be better than they naturally were, or than the usual world around them. The result invariably has been, that while mankind have declined, both in conduct and in intellect, under every other system of theosophy, there has been a constant ascendancy of the Christian countries to superior knowlege, wisdom and virtue, wherever an arbitrary priesthood, dissimilar to its apostolical prototype, has not fettered the freedom of the improveable spirit, and violently crushed its natural force and produce. Hence, as the new Greek literature, and the publication, by Erasmus, of the Greek Testament, made it a pleasure to the scholar to contemplate his religion in the actual language of its first teachers :⁶¹ as the speculations of

‘ You give youth and old age to bodies, and when you would represent a perfect beauty, as you cannot find any person but who has some defect, your plan is to look at several, and by taking what is beautiful from each, you make one figure of the whole, which is accomplished in all its parts.’ ‘ We do so,’ was the acknowledgement of Parrhasius. Xenoph. Mem. L. 3.

⁶⁰ The cardinal, after remarking that it is with our ideas as with our feelings, that they are never bad if they be common to every one, adds, ‘ Aristotle teaches this, when, in the beginning of his morals, he says in express terms, *Que toutes choses tendent au bien.*’ Perfect. Chret. p. 428.

⁶¹ The Grecian language, and the Testament, became so popular in England, that Henry VIII. established a Greek lecture at Cambridge

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Plato, becoming suddenly known to Europe, gave fresh energy and lofty aspirations to many for the *το καλον* and *το πριπον*, the bonum and the pulchrum, the good and the beautiful;⁶² as the newly printed classics made the graceful ease and pleasing amenity of Terence,⁶³ and the varied and rich discussions of Cicero's intellectual curiosity,⁶⁴ the delight of the educated; and as all the other improvements and excitations before enumerated continued to operate, it was as impossible for the mind of Europe to remain longer under the imbecilities and corruptions of the papal system and its hierarchy, as that system was then worked, without some effort to diminish them, as it was for the same public to hear with indifference of the Columbian discovery of America, or of Galileo's vision of the moons of Jupiter.⁶⁵ The popedom had grown up gradually

in 1540, with a salary of 40*l.* a year, and made Cheke its first professor. Strype's Life of Cheke, p. 13.

⁶² An Academy of Platonic scholars was established in Florence. Cardinal Bessarion began the taste for the works of this admired Athenian. Lorenzo de Medici and his family favored it; and Mars. Ficinus devoted his mind and publications to diffuse this elevating philosophy. See Tirab. Stor. Ital. v. 6. p. 351-379.

⁶³ Clement VII. as one of the Medici, had patronized letters; but when he saw them operate so powerfully against the papal system, he called the lovers of classical studies, with contemptuous depreciation, 'Tarentianos.' Mem. Bellay, note, v. 17. p. 499.

⁶⁴ On the Ciceronian school, see the Letters of Erasmus, and Jortin's Life of him. 'Their principle was, to confine their Latin compositions to words taken from Cicero, or from authors who were contemporary with him. This restriction left them no suitable expressions on a multitude of subjects relating to divinity, natural philosophy, politics, and other sciences, which the antient Latins had never thought on, and had therefore left no convenient words to describe.' Jortin, l. p. 154. Erasmus would not thus curtail his mind, and the new ideas of the age, by limiting himself to the expressions of the Augustan times.

⁶⁵ Long before Luther, the Franciscan Nicolas de Lyra, the author of Postilla, or little Commentaries on the Bible, had diffused so many

to its mighty influence and triple diadem⁶⁶ from the time when the investiture of the prelates was finally conceded to it.⁶⁷ But the very greatness of its dominion lessened its security, by bringing it into collision with every worldly interest, which the rest of society were pursuing. And yet, altho it was certain that its sceptre would be broken, no eye could then discern on which part of its objectionable system the fatal blow would be struck, nor the arm nor the quarter from which this would descend. The topic of plenary indulgences had nothing in it, which then seemed likely to cause the commotions which ensued : for altho they were a great abuse in the estimation of the more rational, yet they had become such, only from the great eagerness of the far larger portion of mankind to believe and to profit by them. Nothing presses the mind that thinks of futurity or approaches its earthly grave, more painfully, than the apprehensions or uncertainties about the pardon of its conscious sins ; and the anxiety is the greater, the less they have been cared about

corrective opinions on the prevailing doctrines and practices, that it was said of him,

‘ Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Lutherus non saltasset.’

Zopf’s *Precis.* v. 3. p. 589.

⁶⁶ We may notice briefly the origin of the pope’s triple crown. Nicholas I., elected 858, first assumed a diadem as a mark of his sovereign power. Boniface VII., appointed in 1294, made it two crowns, representing his spiritual and temporal authority ; and Urban V., who was elected in 1362, introduced the present cap, adorned with three crowns, which is called the Tiara. Zopf’s *Precis.* v. 2. p. 584.

⁶⁷ It was in 1122 that the emperor Henry V. abandoned this important source of wealth and command to Calixtus II., which made all the great and all the aspiring clergy of every country seek and consider the pope as their real sovereign, and most effectual patron and actual appointer.

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before. Hence every accredited means of obtaining on earth an exoneration from their ulterior consequences, have always and every where been popular. Nor does the world willingly hear that the anodyne to which they have trusted is a deceiving or serviceable fallacy : and therefore these instruments of official superstition had the prejudices of purchasing public strongly on their side.

Their great foundation was the much favored theory of purgatory ; which seems to have been rather a benevolent invention, than a superstitious fancy, of some of the early fathers of the church. The broad line between affectionate and adoring piety on the one hand, and palpable wickedness on the other, was easily discerned and universally allowed ; and no one hesitated to allot the heavenly promise and the dismal regions of our guilt a terror, correspondently with these visible distinctions. But the great body of mankind were always seen to be such, as could not be arranged under either of these classes ; and to suit their state of imperfection without consigning them to hopeless evil, the system was devised of an intermediate state of purgatory efficacy. The interval which extends between the present life and the awful period of the judicial consummation, allowed ample time for all the purification and improvement that seemed wanting ; and hence, at some period of the antient church which cannot now be exactly defined, the supposition spread, that the intermediate condition of the human soul, between the dissolution of its body and the day of judgment, would, if it were not taken to the paradise of the blessed, or to the ‘citta dolente’

of the condemned, be the scene of a purifying or purgatorial discipline; and it was also conceived that fire, in some modification, would be the instrument of effecting the desired melioration.⁶⁸ The Greek church admitted the doctrine, but without attaching to the state the name of Purgatory,⁶⁹ by which it became distinguished in the Roman hierarchy. On this notion the efficacy of prayers for the dead principally rested.⁷⁰ The priesthood incul-

⁶⁸ Macrina, the sister of St. Basil, thought that the soul, which was made in the image of God, must return to him, but could not be so returned until purified, and this purgation would be by fire, prepared after this life. 4 Bibl. Mag. Patr. p. 1285. St. Gregory, about 600, in his Dialogues, declares, that whether all the righteous would be received into heaven before the resurrection of the body, he could neither affirm nor deny, because the souls of some are carried into mansions different from the celestial kingdom, which implies that they had not the perfect righteousness. Dial. l. iv. p. 326. 'Therefore it was to be believed that there would be a purgatorial fire before the judgment, for lighter faults, ib. p. 337. This would be more severe than any temporal pain. Op. v. 2. p. 639.

Cæsarius, the bishop of Arles in 670, remarked, that it was an error to suppose that actual sin could be thus purged; it was not the capitalia sed minuta peccata, which were so obliterated. Bib. Mag. v. 2. p. 282. Our Bede taught, that even those preordinati to the lot of the elect would have to go to be severe castigandi for aliqua mala in the purgatorial fire, and to remain in the cleansing process until the day of judgment, unless they could be liberated by prayers, alms, fastings, or the oblations of the mass. Homil. Martene Thes. v. 5. p. 236. The doctrine was grounded by all on a peculiar construction of a passage in St. Paul, 1 Cor. c. 3. v. 12. The Albigenses, and the poor of Lyons, in the thirteenth century, denied the existence of such a place. Reiner, Summ. Bib. Mag. v. 5. p. 1762, 80.

⁶⁹ Innocent IV., who became pope in 1241, instructed Card. Otto, that 'because the Grecks say that the place of a purgation of this kind has not been indicated to them by their doctors with any certain and appropriated name,' he ordered, (volumus) that it should be called Purgatorium; but remarked, that it meant that not capitalia, but only parva et minuta purgantur by it. Ep. Ad. Ott. Du Chesne Gloss. 3. p. 474.

⁷⁰ The foundation of their efficacy was laid on an inference from the Apocrypha, in two verses of 2 Maccab. c. 12, v. 44, 45, that unless there was to be a resurrection, 'it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead; whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin.'

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cated, that the term of the soul's suffering in purgatory could be shortened by ecclesiastical masses or prayers in their behalf. These were therefore encouraged by the church, and were liberally paid for by the people; but for many ages, no further use or abuse of their credulity was attempted. No one who first devised or sanctioned the notion of purgatory, prognosticated the mercenary practices to which it became perverted.

Indulgences began from a different origin. We read with surprise of the enormous degree of penance, to which the Romish clergy of the middle and earlier ages subjected the sinning laity.⁷¹ The moral efficacy or intellectual wisdom of such arbitrary discipline, is not so evident as its personal and oppressive tyranny; but it became a doctrine that was peculiarly serviceable for its pecuniary and political use to the church, because the habit arose, of the prelates granting indulgences to relax the severities or the duration of the appointed penance,⁷² and money or

⁷¹ The abbé Fleury, the fullest and best historian of the Catholic church, shall state for me the nature of these ancient penances: 'But to keep persons for a single penance for 15 and 20 years, and sometimes for an entire life!—to make them remain for whole years outside of the church door, exposed to the eyes of every one; then other years prostrate inside the church: to make them wear sackcloth, with ashes on their head; their hair and beards to grow unshaven; to fast on bread and water, and to be shut up, and renounce all intercourse of life.—Was not this to render sinners desperate, and religion desperate? I should say so, if I judged on ordinary ideas; but I am restrained by the facts I have related. I have not invented them. They have not jumped of themselves into my head. Ils sont constants, vous pouvez les vérifier vous même.' Second Disc. Hist. Eccl. p. 53. ed. Paris, 1763.

⁷² Thus in 1295 several bishops granted 40 days relaxation of the enjoined penances, to those who would give to a monastery then building. 1 Martene Thes. p. 1271. So Clement IV. who refused in 1266 to the king of Sicily the indulgences he asked, because 'they must not thus be granted to all, lest what is appointed in salutis remedium should be converted into fabulam et ludibrium,' 2 Martene, 409—a wise foresight—

money's worth was the usual means of obtaining these. Hence indulgences, as to the penances enjoined to the living on earth, and prayers for the dead, to abridge their purgatorial state, became popular and accredited practices, which all orders of society sought and applauded, and to which few any where objected. They were too convenient and pleasing to be disbelieved or unacceptable.⁷³

But the success of these two machines of government and profit, tempted the ingenuity of the papal see to contrive or adopt a new theory for the unbounded enlargement of their pecuniary productivity.

The Waldenses, as we have seen, ascribed the new invention to Thomas Aquinas,⁷⁴ and it certainly appears in that part of his work which was published from his papers after his death.⁷⁵ But the

yet in the next year gave them to those who would contribute to build a bridge over the Levi, p. 461 ; and to those who would support the credit of St. Damian, by visiting the church on his festival, p. 460 ; and also relaxed one year and forty days of penance to those who would attend the conveyance of the body of St. Majolus, p. 453. Eugenius IV. in 1431 extended them, with the remission of their sins, to those who would give alms to build a church at Tours. *ib.* v. 1. p. 1780. In 1338, a bishop relaxed 40 days indulgence *de injunctis penitentibus*, to those who would assist in the dedication of a church. *Trithem.* p. 315. And in 1503 the cardinal legate pushed their application so far as to grant them for 80 days to all who would repeat a prayer or rosary made by Trithemius in praise of St. Ann. *ib.* 418.

⁷³ Luca Tudensis, about 1200, made this ingenious distinction, by way of apology for their pecuniary use : ' As it is not for money, but by money, that a church is built ; so it is not for the money, but by the money, that an indulgence is obtained.' *Bib. Mag. Pat.* v. 4. p. 827.

⁷⁴ See before, p. 87.

⁷⁵ His conclusion is thus stated on the 25th question in the supplement to his *Summa*. ' As indulgences have their virtue from that *infinito ecclesiæ thesauro*, in which, for the benefit of the whole church, the accepted works of supererogation of Christ and the saints are deposited, they not only remit *pœnam* here, *satisfactionis loco*, but also in *purgatorio resolvendum*.' p. 31. ' And as the abundance of these merits exceeds all the *pœnam debitam hominibus*, indulgences are not

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first pontifical enactment of it was made by Clement VI., and it was impossible for human avarice or acuteness to have invented a more unlimited and inexhaustible organ of voluntary revenue. It was formed at once to last as long as the world, and to be applicable to every individual who should inhabit it. It therefore came boldly forward with universality and eternity stamped upon its existence.

The theory was, that the merits of our Saviour and of the saints composed a spiritual treasure, which might be applied to relieve every soul that was suffering in purgatory; that this treasure was committed wholly to the disposal of the popedom; that every pope, by the official indulgences which he should grant on this spiritual bank or fund, would liberate the individual who received them from his purgatorial state, which is distinguished from that of hell by being termed a temporal or temporary punishment, either entirely or for such term as the paper instruments expressed: that as our Saviour's merits were infinite, to which those of the saints would be always adding, so was this treasure; and therefore, that it would be for ever inexhaustible, altho all the generations of mankind should apply for the papal remissions and receive them.⁷⁶ To this

unavailing, as much as they may be preached.' p. 32. 'And it is lawful to grant them for a temporal aid ordained for spiritual things.' ib. p. 31. 'The pope alone can at his pleasure make plenary indulgences on a legitimate cause.' ib. p. 33.

⁷⁶ On this important subject it may be right to present the reader with the pope's own words from his *Decretalia*. It is the bull *Unigenitus*. After reciting our Saviour's incarnation, it proceeds:—'He acquired a treasure for his church militant, wishing to lay up one for his children—which treasure he did not wrap up in a napkin nor hide in the ground, but he committed it to be dispensed salubriously to the faithful by St. Peter, the key-bearer of heaven, and by his successors, the Vicars

doctrine the further opinion became added, that all mankind, even the hierarchy themselves, must go into purgatory, and would therefore need these indulgences, as none but very few of the greatest saints would pass directly from their grave to heaven.⁷⁷ The pains of purgatory were also represented to be such, that a day in that state would seem like ages elsewhere.⁷⁸

Clement VI. made rather a moderate use of his

on earth ; and for pious and reasonable causes to be mercifully applied, generally and specially, now for a total, now for a partial remission of the *pœnæ temporales*, due for past deeds. To the amount of this treasure, the merits of the blessed Virgin, and of all the elect, from the first just person to the last, are known to afford their aid ; nor should there be any fear whatever of its consumption or diminution ; as well from the infinite merits of Christ, as because the more that are drawn by it to righteousness, so much the more will the accumulation be augmented by their merits also.' Clem. Const. p. 56. Ed. Paris, 1524.

⁷⁷ Cesarius had taught that none of the saints are free from the minuter sins, to which purgatory was applicable, but he placed redemption from them in charitable deeds. 2 Bib. M. p. 282. Innocent IV. inculcated that if they were not 'relaxata' in the life, they would 'gravant' after death. 3 Duch. 474. St. Teresa asserted, that of all the virtuous souls she knew, only three would go to heaven, *senza purgatorio*. Vita, c. 38. And as a greater alarm, it has been intimated, that even cardinal Bellarmine has been subjected to it. He had declared in his *Amis. grat.* c. 13, that *vix ulli justi* would escape the *pœnam purgatorii acerbissimam* ; and on his death-bed he is stated to have said to the general of the Jesuits, 'Ego hanc spem non habeo.' Med. S. Ignazio, p. 227. As I read this, I felt it, to use Shakspear's language, to be the unkindest cut of all ; for that the most wholesale defender of the pope's arrogated power should not be allowed merit enough to escape purgatory, seemed to me to be either the most impartial, or the most ungrateful thing I had ever noticed. But the inference was obvious ; who, then, could expect to avoid it, unless, &c.

⁷⁸ This was based on St. Austin's 'In Purgatorio erit dies unus tanquam mille anni,' in Ps. 37. To illustrate this, the Meditations of St. Ignatius adduce a story from St. Antoninus. A sick man, in great agony, was asked by an angel, if he would rather endure his bodily pains for a year, or those of purgatory for half an hour ? He chose the latter, as by far the best bargain ; but when he got there after his death, he cried out, 'You have cheated me, O Angel ! you have cheated me.'—'How so ?' was the answer. 'You agreed I was to be only half an hour, and you have let me be here 20 years.'—'Twenty years ! why, your body is not yet cold.' Medit. Ignat. p. 225. 4th Ed. Venez. 1761.

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new financial organ; but Boniface IX., who soon succeeded to the tiara,⁷⁹ exerted it audaciously and outrageously. He was an illiterate, but clever man of business.⁸⁰ Rapacious of money beyond all former precedent, he perceived what a productive engine of profit the Clementine doctrine of the spiritual treasury and its ingrafted indulgences was meant and could be used to be, and he coined and sent his legates with his papal bank paper to various parts of the Christian world.⁸¹ He poured his relaxations out and sold them, till they brought down contempt upon the holy see,⁸² and provoked animadversion and resentment from those, who had never thought before of censuring the popedom. He added another extension directly on the church itself, as an obligatory exaction, which was the annates, or first fruits of all the benefices which became vacant.⁸³ He obtained the money he coveted,⁸⁴ but the spirit

⁷⁹ He was a contested pope, on a schism, from 1389 to 1404.

⁸⁰ Paulus Langius thus describes him: 'Pene illiteratus; in conciliis tamen et ecclesiæ negotiis acutus et providus.' Chron. p. 845.

⁸¹ Erat pecuniæ avidus; ad quam colligendam plures legatos per diversas partes mundi ad negotiandum cum indulgentiis misit. Fuit maximus simoniacus. ib. Paulus gives an instance as to his own convent. '1395, Boniface, by his legate, gave in Magdeburg plenary indulgences, on condition that pilgrims and others who wished to obtain them should remain 14 days in the said city, and visit seven churches, of which the church of our monastery, situate in the suburbs, was one.' ib.

⁸² 'Indulgentiæ plenariæ ita passim vendebantur, ut jam frequenti usu vilesceret clavium et literarum apostolicarum auctoritas.' p. 845.

⁸³ Langius remarks: 'In 1404 Boniface died, qui primus annatam ecclesiæ beneficiis imposuit.' Chron. 847.

⁸⁴ 'By these indulgences, the pope squeezed out and extorted maximas pecuniarum summas, quite sufficient for an expedition to the Holy Land against the Saracens; but what became of the money? O Heaven! we must be silent—but not for ever. Dies enim Domini revelabit.' Lang. Chr. 845. He adds afterwards of this pope, 'He made many exemptions for money, to the perpetual evil of the church, for by things of this kind the bonum obedientiæ sleeps, and the body of the militant church is confounded and destroyed.' ib. 847.

of human nature rose into insurrection against such claims and conduct in the pretended representatives of their Divine Master; and by these actions of Clement and Boniface, Wickliffe, Huss, and others became stimulated and enlightened into zealous and popular reformers.⁸⁵

The revolt of the Bohemians from the popedom occasioned a new issue of these indulgences, for their extermination; but the agents differing about the handling of the spoil, they were ineffective, and were recalled.⁸⁶ The council of Lyons condemned loudly their abuse.⁸⁷

The third pontiff who impaired the sanctity of the papacy was Innocent IV. whose rapacity peculiarly dissatisfied the English clergy, whom he plundered with reckless insolence and frequency.⁸⁸ But his

⁸⁵ Langius marks the coincidence, p. 846. And as Wickliffe finished his *Trialogus* after 1372, and died in 1384, and wrote, the first of the English, against the kinds of indulgences, and their theory; we may refer to Clement VI. the cause of his opposition. But the conduct of Boniface gave new wings to all our old reformer's writings.

⁸⁶ It was in 1468 that plenary indulgences were sent down to a German monastery, for *semel in vita et semel in morte*, to every one who would give, for the extirpation of the Bohemian heresy, as much as he consumed in a fortnight's maintenance of his family; but the differences arising, only one lady contributed. *Chron. ap. Pistor. v. 1. p. 753.*

⁸⁷ They declared in 1449, 'that by the execrable abuses of the quest makers and indulgence bearers, incredible evils had occurred, to the great ignominy of the whole clergy; to the profanation of sacred things; to the enervation of ecclesiastical discipline; and to the intolerable de-colorationem of the church.' *Martene Thes. v. 4. p. 379.*

In 1417, the pope John declared that he would take care (*cavebit*) in future of the *nimiam indulgentiarum effusionem, ne vilescant. ib. 1707.*

⁸⁸ *Matt. Paris* abounds with instances and complaints of this pope's extortions. The remonstrance of Edward III. with Urban V. on the pecuniary rapaciousness of the popedom were so effectual, that the pontiff engaged to be more moderate in future in his collation of benefices in England; to grant a reasonable time for elections to be made; to admit the elected, if proper; and to confer benefices only on those who would

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namesake, Innocent VII., ensured the destruction of all its piety of character and conduct, by causing the municipal authorities of Rome to surrender to him and his successors, the sovereignty of the city.⁸⁹ From that time the pope became a real temporal prince, and ever after acted as such. It is recorded by the honest German chronicler as the termination of his spiritual character.⁹⁰ From that time, the pontiffs negotiated, intrigued, schemed and fought

reside in the island. On the statement, that he had given a great number of the higher benefices to persons not Englishmen, he declared that his donations had only been to his cardinals. Being told that the cardinals, by this means, took more revenues from England than from France, altho France was three times larger, he said he would be more moderate in future; he could not give up his annates, but he would find some means to lessen them, and would be more reserved as to expectancies and provisos. See the document in Rymer, v. 7. p. 135. In 1389, the archbishop of Canterbury suspended the levy of an imposition made by the pope on the English clergy. *ib.* p. 624. In 1390, Richard II. and the parliament complained to the pope, Urban VI., that he had learnt to be so familiar with avarice, that when one see became vacant, he purposely made five or six translations; and that he conferred the ecclesiastical dignities and fatter benefices of England on foreigners, sometimes even on those who were mortal enemies to the government; many never resided, or if they did, were ignorant of English, and could not be understood by the people. All English who were in Rome soliciting benefices were ordered to retire home. Mandate of 3d May 1391. *ib.* p. 698. Yet the government occasionally granted licenses to make these solicitations, as in Rymer, v. 7. p. 672. This pope granted indulgences to those who should assist John of Gaunt against the king of Castile, who adhered to the anti-pope, Clement III. *ib.* p. 507. Thus princes derived worldly benefit from this superstitious abuse.

⁸⁹ 'This year (1405) the Roman citizens gave the keys of Rome to Innocent VII. and granted to him the temporal dominion of Rome, but not justly or laudably.' Lang. Chron. 849. Boniface IX. had repaired the castle of St. Angelo, and fortified his palace and capitol. Mag. Chron. Belg. 333.

⁹⁰ See the remarks of Langius, Chron. p. 849. He cites Theodore Uric's Latin verses on the popedom in 1414, as coinciding with his own opinion, and they are as criminating as language can decently express. See them, p. 848. Gobelin, who lived in 1388, says, 'He that paid most money to the pope, obtained a bishopric. Some seeking an archiepiscopal see, gave him 40,000 florins, and others 60,000, and others 80,000.' Gob. Cosmod. 1 Meib. p. 317.

for the acquisition of territory and power, for worldly pomp and aggrandizement, to the increasing loss of all their official influence, personal reputation, and individual virtue.

CHAP.
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The corruptions of the clergy and the sense of the papal misconduct were as strong in England as elsewhere,⁹¹ even in the reign of Henry VIII., and were largely spreading the desire of reformation,⁹² which

⁹¹ See the attacking works of Dr. Paulus in 1404, and of Ullerstone in 1408, mentioned in Hist. Mid. Ages, v. 3. p. 117. In 1515, Dr. Standish endeavored to subject the English clergy to the criminal jurisprudence of the country. They resisted, but the abuse became so palpable, that in the same year Leo X. was prevailed on by the English government to issue a bull, declaring, that as he learnt that some persons in England assumed the monastic tonsure, merely to be exempted from lay jurisdiction, no one for *the next five years* should have the tonsure without the order of subdeacon also; or he might be tried in the courts of law as if not a clerk. Rym. Fed. 13. p. 559.

⁹² It was in 1511, six years before Luther thought of writing or opposing, that the dean of St. Paul's, and the founder of its public school, in his sermon to the convocation of the clergy, stated, 'We wish that ye would mind the reformation of ecclesiastical affairs, for there never was more need of it. I come hither to-day, Fathers! to warn you, that in this your council ye think with your whole mind upon the reformation of the church.' Knight's Colet, p. 239.

He assumed this task by the command of the archbishop their president, 'who hath laid upon me this burden, because nothing has so disfigured the face of the church as the fashion of secular and worldly living in clerks and priests.' p. 240. Thus the evils of which he complains, represent to us, from the highest authority, the state of the Roman Catholic church in England, in the reign of Henry VIII., and the desire of its upright chiefs for its reformation, sixteen years before this king became acquainted with Anne Boleyn.

He classes what he censures, under the four heads of 'devilish pride, carnal lust, worldly covetousness, and secular business: these same things now are, and reign in the church and ecclesiastical persons: all that is in the church is either the lust of the flesh, or of the eyes, or the pride of life.' p. 241.

His first topic is their 'greediness and appetite of honor and dignity. How run they ever out of breath, from one benefice to another.'

His second. 'In this most busy age, the *far greater* number of priests (*maxima parte*) mind nothing but what delights and pleases the senses. They give themselves to feasts and banquetings; spend their time in vain chit chat, give themselves up to plays and fun, and are addicted to hunting and hawking; drowned in the delights of this world.' p. 241.

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would have become efficiently active if its prime minister, from 1515 to 1530, had not been a cardinal, raised from social obscurity to his greatness, by the very system which he was making more offensive to the public eye, and who, aspiring till he fell, to

‘ Covetousness : this abominable pestilence hath so entered into the minds of *almost all* priests (*ferre omnium*) that we are blind to every thing but what seems to bring unto us some gain. What other things seek we except fat benefices and promotions ; yet he that hath many great, minds not the office of one small one ; O covetousness ! of thee cometh this heaping of benefices upon benefices ; and so great pensions assigned from many benefices resigned. Of thee, so much suing for tithes, for offerings, for mortuaries, for dilapidations ; for which things we contend as eagerly as for our lives. Of thee, the corruptness of courts, and those daily new inventions wherewith the poor silly people are so vexed, and the wantonness of officials. O covetousness ! mother of all iniquity ! of thee cometh this fervent study of ordinances to enlarge their jurisdiction ; their peevish and raging contention on the insinuation of testaments, the untimely sequestrations of fruits, the superstitious observation of all those laws which are gainful, and the setting aside and despising of such as concern the amendment of manners : all the corruption and ruin of the church, all the scandals of the world, arise from the avarice of the priests.’ p. 242.

‘ The fourth evil that deforms the face of the church, is continual secular occupation, wherein priests and bishops in these days so busy themselves. Under the garment and habit of a priest, they live plainly after the lay fashion ; they see nothing but earthly things.’ He also quotes St. Bernard, to say that ‘ the naughty lives of priests is the most perilous kind of heresy ; these men are worse than heretics.’ p. 244, 5.

He then proceeds to detail the reformatiions he recommends ; beginning with advising them not to admit persons so indiscriminately into holy orders. ‘ Hence springs up and flows out all the crowd of untaught and evil priests. It is not enough to be a priest, to construe a collect, to put forth a question, or to answer a sophism. An honest, pure, and holy life is more necessary ; approved manners ; moderate learning in the Scriptures ; some knowlege of the sacraments, and above all things, the fear of God, and love of heavenly life.’ ‘ It happeneth now-a-days, that boys and fools and bad persons reign and rule in the church, instead of old men, and wise and good.’ p. 246. He advises the canons to be enforced, ‘ which forbid a clergyman to meddle with merchandize, to be an usurer, a hunter, a common gainer or player, to bear weapons, to haunt taverns, to be familiar with women, or to spend the goods of the church in costly buildings ; in sumptuous apparel and pomps ; in feasting and wantonness ; in enriching kinsfolks, and in keeping of hounds.’ p. 246. Dr. Colet’s sermon, printed in Latin, in Knight’s Life of him ; p. 239–250, with an old English translation, p. 251–264. Another version is in the Phenix, v. 2.

be pope himself, would not suffer any part of its political machinery to be disturbed. Hence the antient system rolled awhile heavily on with its creaking wheels, altho Wolsey saw such a rising spirit about him, that he pretended to be meditating the reformation that was wished for.⁹³ The public hope waited in quiescent expectation, and none of the new opinions which arose were connected with any social turbulence. Some of these were the highest feelings of the purest piety,⁹⁴ others the calm decisions of rational judgment. Objections against images, pilgrimages, masses and offerings for the dead, relics, fastings, auricular confession, penances, transubstantiation, begging friars, saints' days, processions, holy water, consecrated wax tapers, and what may be called the drapery and theatricals of popery, were the alleged offences of the greater number. Denial of the pope's supremacy or power in England, reading the New Testament, the possession of proscribed books, and opinions hostile to

⁹³ It was in 1523, that Wolsey, as legate, summoned the clergy to meet in April, *ad tractandum de reformatione*; and Fox, bishop of Winchester, wrote to him, that this was a day he had earnestly longed for, and hoped it would be a reformation of the whole hierarchy of England, as all that belonged to the antient integrity of the clergy, and especially the monks, were depraved by licentiousness and corruption. See his Letter in Strype's Mem. v. 1. p. 72. Skelton's Pictures of the English Clergy at this time may be read as a poet's comment on the facts alluded to by Dr. Colet, tho with the recollection that all poetical satire tends too much to caricature instead of faithful delineation. It exaggerates for effect, and therefore makes large deductions necessary, if we wish to see the simple truth. See Chalmers's Poets, v. 1. p. 237, 285, 6, 282.

⁹⁴ So we must deem those of Taylor, who was burnt for expressing his belief, that no human person is to be worshipped; that God only is to be adored; and that prayer should be directed to him alone; and therefore that saints should not be worshipped or invoked. Foxe, 1. p. 605.

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monachism and the celibacy of the clergy, caused the persecution of many; while a few censured the property of the church, and fewer objected to tithes.³⁵ The dislike of the religious worship paid to saints, and the union of their names with the Divinity by the close and equalizing association of the immediately connecting particle, dissatisfied more and more the cultivated mind.³⁶ The apprehended and destroyed persons were mostly priests, and the others were private and obscure individuals; but all were peaceable and unoffending as subjects.

From the accession of Edward IV. to the death of Henry VIII. no reforming spirit attempted to realize its wishes in England by conspiracy, insurrection or warfare. It was the Roman see and its partisans,

³⁵ See the opinions of those who are noticed with the references in the preceding note 36.

³⁶ The canonization of saints in the Catholic church seems to me to have been taken from the Roman custom of deifying their friends and sovereigns. Cicero gives us in his own conduct a remarkable instance of this practice, which is so analogous to the Papal beatification of saints, that it deserves our recollection. His daughter Tullia died in child-bed. He rejects the common mode of perpetuating her remembrance by a sepulchral monument, and resolved to build a temple to her, and erect her into a sort of deity. In his fragments on Consolation, he says, 'As we see many men and women raised by men among the number of the Gods, and venerate their most august temples in cities and fields, the same honor shall be devoted to her. I will consecrate thee, O best of all, with the approbation of the Gods themselves; and place thee in their assembly, for the reverence of all mortals.' To Atticus, he writes, 'I will have a fane made and finished this summer. It shall be of Chian marble, with columns by a Chian artist. It shall be a fane, not a sepulchre, that I may effect her apotheosis. Groves and remote places are proper only for deities of an established name, but for the deification of mortals, public situations are necessary, to strike the eye, and attract the notice of the people.' Therefore he wished to buy some public gardens, to attract a resort of votaries to his new temple. See his Letters to Atticus, 12, 18, 19, 22, 35, 36, 37, 41; and Midd. Cicero, v. 2. p. 174-6. If we substitute shrine for fane, we have a Catholic saint. Cicero was also a priest and augur.

which made revolt and civil violences their instruments, to embarrass and overthrow the governments which resisted its domination ; as our own experience has seen its priesthood repeating lately such practices in Portugal, Spain and elsewhere. Its moral code appears to omit treason from its catalogue of social crimes, whenever it chooses to be in hostility with any sovereign or with his administration.

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CHAP. IV.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF LUTHER, AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORMATION INTO ENGLAND.

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WHILE the mind was thus every where ripening for some great religious revolution, which could not be averted, tho it might be delayed, an obscure man of literature imperceptibly grew into an intellectual activity and influence, which made him an unexpected precursor and promoter of the advancing change, without having any direct or distinct intention, or foresight, of producing it. This individual, who, while Luther was a contented monk and academical preceptor, began to open the public eye to the perception of the errors and absurdities in its most venerated order; and whose improved opinions had a rapid and extensive, tho tranquil and noiseless, operation in England, was the humbly born, the mild, the acute and persuasive ERASMUS. A keen perception of the moral incongruities in the cloisters,¹ and of the depravities in the general hierarchy, became united in his mind with a gradual conception of better characters and doctrines. He listened to imbibe the most enlightened notions and criticisms of his contemporaries; he enlarged them so much by his own reflections and studies, and expressed his cultivated ideas with such taste and elegance, and easy yet eloquent fluency, that no lettered mind

¹ See Hist. Hen. VIII. v. 1. p. 26.

in any part of Europe, from the king on his throne, or the pope in his tiara, to the reclusest scholar in his poverty, could read them without an approving sympathy and personal admiration, which no one sought to conceal. Both Henry VIII. and his Spanish Catherine were delighted by his works, as well as the English court and clergy. No man of literature has in any age gained a wider fame among the great and cultivated of all orders, or, without proposing to himself any revolutionary effect, has acted with more convincing influence, than this mild, unambitious and unostentatious scholar.² Kings, cardinals and prelates were emulous to become his patrons.³ His edition of the Greek New Testament was received as an invaluable present by the piety, which loves to add exact knowledge to its devout sensibility.⁴

To the monks, from personal disgust and youthful

² Such was his popularity, that it has been said, 'If Erasmus had favored Luther, all Germany would have revolted from the church of Rome.' 2 Jortin's Eras. p. 174. But Erasmus shrunk from Luther's violence of temper, and repeatedly felt its coarse invectives on himself. He also wrote to a friend, 'Si Lutherus omnia vere scripsisset, mihi tamen magnopere displicuerit, seditiosa libertas.' Ep. 26. l. 17. p. 769. His opinions were not in many points so sound, but his spirit was more Christian than Luther's when he said, 'Ego vel falli malim in nonnullis, quam tanto orbis tumultu pro veritate *digladiare*.' ib.

³ Charles V. Henry VIII. and Francis I. then befriended Erasmus and archbishop Wareham; and on 1st December 1516, the bishop of Baiusa wrote from France, 'I have offered Erasmus, that if he will come to live with me, I will give him yearly 200 ducats, and the expense of two horses and two servants, and as much leisure for study as he wishes.' Lett. Princ. 1. p. 18.

⁴ Until Erasmus published it with a Latin translation in 1516, it had not appeared in a separate form. It had only been printed in the Polyglot of Ximenes in 1514. It was this work which drew Luther's praise of Erasmus as the reviver of good literature, by means of which the Scriptures had been read and examined in the original. 1 Jortin's Eras. 316. Before this edition, a MS. Greek Testament in Germany was worth its weight in gold.

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experience, he had contracted an early antipathy; but without premeditating any other innovations, his gentle and benevolent wisdom began that reformation without clamor or contest, which others afterwards pursued and often injured by both.⁵ His unoffending voice penetrated to the interior heart, and raised a desire to amend what his moderate representations evinced to be improper. As the natural progress of this silent improvement was intercepted, by the turbulent commotions which arose after Luther took the field, he has lost the full credit of what he really effected.⁶ By his three visits to England, and by his residence at Oxford and Cambridge, as well as by his valuable works, he increased largely the number of those able, wise and good men, in England and elsewhere, who were quietly and privately withdrawing their minds from all the papal superstitions,⁷ which his own spirit disliked and pri-

⁵ See his *Christian Soldier's Enchiridion*, published in 1501, on the whole, the best book on the Christian morality and devotion which had then appeared. He states, that he wrote it 'to *cure* the vulgar error of those who placed religion in ceremonies, and in the observance of bodily things.' 1 Jortin, p. 18. Every thing he afterwards published contained some valuable ideas, which became the parents of others in the minds of his readers.

⁶ Bishop Stillingfleet justly says, 'It was not Luther or Zuinglius that contributed so much to the reformation, as Erasmus, especially among us in England. For Erasmus was the man who awakened men's understandings, and brought them from the friar's divinity to a relish of general learning. He by his wit laughed down the imperious insolence of the monks, and made them the scorn of Christendom; and by his learning he brought most of the Latin fathers to light, and published them in excellent editions, with useful notes, by which means men of parts set themselves to consider the antient church from the writings of the fathers themselves, and not from the canonists and schoolmen. So that the most learned and impartial men were prepared for the doctrines of the Reformation before it broke forth.' *Second Confor. of Idolatry*.

⁷ He reached Dover at the end of 1497, and soon went to Oxford, where he continued his Greek studies. Vitellius, an Italian from Tuscany, first taught Greek at Oxford. Polyd. Virg. l. 26. Grocyn was his

vately discontinued.⁸ Yet he only gave the general stream of renovating mind a wider diffusion, and a more rapid impulse. The German States were then deeply imbued with notions and feelings, that were continually becoming more refractory to the papal government. Satirists began to increase, and were always popular;⁹ and by the time that Luther became decided in his hostility to his spiritual chief, his countrymen had felt the burthens of the Roman

pupil, and went to Italy, where he and Linacer studied this language under D. Chalcondylas and Politian. Lili, elog. p. 91, 92. Erasmus remained at Oxford till some part of 1499. In 1506 he was at Cambridge, and in 1509 returned there again, and became the first preceptor of Greek in that university. Knight's Colet, p. 16. He tells Servatius, 'I have taught several months together Greek and Divinity at Cambridge.' He speaks highly of Henry's attentions to him. 'Every time I salute him, he embraces me most kindly. The queen endeavored to have me for her preceptor. If I would but live a few months at court, the king would give me as many benefices as I could desire.' Ep. in Jortin, l. p. 30, 1.

* His own words will best express his general sentiments. After remarking that it would benefit the Roman church 'not to decide so dogmatically upon so many speculative points, and to make them articles of faith; but to require an assent only to those doctrines which are manifestly laid down in the Holy Scriptures, and are necessary to salvation,' and that 'these are few,' he proceeds:

'Now Christian philosophy, or theology, may be fairly reduced to this; that we ought to place our whole trust in Almighty God, who graciously gives us all things by his son Jesus Christ; that we are redeemed by the death of the Son of God, to whose body we are united by baptism; that being dead to worldly lusts, we may live conformably to his precepts and example, not only doing no harm to any, but doing good to all; that, when adversity befalls us, we patiently submit to it, in hopes of a future recompence at the coming of the Lord; that we make a daily progress in virtue, ascribing nothing to ourselves, but all to God. These things are to be pressed and inculcated till good habits are formed in the heart. If there be persons of a speculative genius, who want to search into abstruser points concerning the divine nature or the person of Jesus Christ, or the sacraments, with a view to improve their understanding, and to raise their minds and affections above earthly things, be it permitted to them; provided always that their Christian brethren be not compelled to believe every thing that this or that teacher thinks to be true.' Jortin's Erasmus, vol. 1, p. 184.

⁹ The works of Ulric Hutten had a great circulation and effect. Their chief object was to expose the corruptions of the Roman court and church with sarcastic jocularities.

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domination, and had meditated on their serious remonstrances against it.¹⁰ The highest ranks elsewhere had become observant censors of the papal court;¹¹ and indeed if such characters as Poggius and others have described in high stations, were common, the mind must have renounced both its judgment and its conscience, not to have called for some reform.¹² Yet on no part of Europe can we fix our eye in the reign of Henry VIII. but we meet in the ecclesiastical order, the same picture of

¹⁰ The one hundred grievances of the Roman see which the German nation sent to Adrian VI. in 1523, evince the deep feeling that had been fostering against its abuses. See Plat. 2. p. 164–207. As the Constitutio of the legate in the following year, p. 226, shewed the pope's convictions that reform could not be safely denied. Many friends of the Romish hierarchy suggested emendations; as Wicelius, in his *Elenchus abusuum*; in Browne's *Fascic.* 732–50; Methodus, in his *Concordia*, 751–80; the bishop of Ruremond, 671–82; and the emperor Ferdinand, *ib.* 696, 7. Charles V. strongly wished a corrective revision of the existing system, till he found his Spanish throne endangered by it, from the virulent feelings which had at last been engendered.

¹¹ Thus Lorenzo de Medici wrote to his son Leo X. when only Cardinal de Medici, that Rome, to which he was going, 'e sentina di tutti i mali,' and that he would not find wanting there both 'incitatori e corruttori;' and that in the sacred college there he would then see 'manco virtu.' Tho Lorenzo could remember the time when it had many good and learned men. Lett. Eccel. Huom. p. 299.

¹² The description of Poggius reminds one of some characters in Dryden and Gil Blas. 'Antonius Fanensis was a fat man, with a long beard, an Augustinian, who was often sent by pope Eugenius as his ambassador to the king of Arragon. He obtained the name of a saint by his crafty ostentation. He declared that he could fast eight days without any food but the sacrament. As a trial, he consented to be secluded in a solitary place, without either meat or drink, asking only the Eucharist for his diet. He came out of his confinement not only no thinner for his abstinence, but even more plump, and drew the admiration of all for the visible miracle. But a little before his death, a companion in his fraud revealed the secret: He used to take with him into the cell, under his garments, an oblong leather bag, full of the best wine, and another with crusts and biscuits. His candles, which he had with him for lights, were made of sugar, smeared over with wax; and on these he secretly fed, dipping his bread in the wine. I was myself astonished how his face could be so rubicund, after so long a fast, till I heard this explanation. He got great celebrity for this miraculous sanctity.' Poggius, Dial. 2 Browne's *Fascic.* 579.

arraigned depravity.¹³ It was in Lombardy so bad that its sainted archbishop satirized it by a contemptuous hymn ;¹⁴ and when he visited the Grisons, he found the pastors of their snowy mountains no better.¹⁵ The more enlightened nation of France was as reprobable as its surrounding neighbors.¹⁶ The hierarchy, enraged at the merited reprehension it was every

¹³ The bishop of Vence says it had become a common proverb in the Milanese, ' Si tu veux te damner, fais toi Pretre.'—Pref. to Vie Saint Charles Borromée. His picture of the clergy in general at this period corresponds with our preceding representation: ' It could not be more corrupt. Scarcely could a priest be found who was capable of teaching the elements of his religion. Neither the Scriptures nor the Fathers were read. We have only to read the most eloquent preachers of the time, to pity the deplorable condition to which the ignorance of its doctors had reduced the church. The corruption of their lives calls still more for our indignation and our tears.' Pref. ib.

¹⁴ Bayle, in his critique on Maimbourg's Hist. Calv. has quoted some stanzas, the effusion of Saint Charles Borromée. The first four lines may be read as a specimen :

“ Les sacres ministres des temples
Y dishonorent les autels
Et des crimes les plus mortels
Y donnent des plus noirs exemples.”

Litt. 9. v. 1. p. 150.

As I do not find this hymn in the edition of Godeau, Paris 1684, I presume that after Bayle's quotation they were omitted in the subsequent editions. These remarks justify Machiavel's sentence, ' We have this especial obligation to our church and priests, to have become irreligious and wicked, (senza religione e cattivi.)' Tit. Liv. l. 1. c. 12.

¹⁵ Godeau, in his Vie de Saint Charles, fully describes it, p. 311; as he does the immoral state of all the Milanese clergy, p. 81–155. In reward for Borromée's attempt to reform the order des humiliez, three provosts de cet ordre formed a plan to assassinate him, which the bishop details, p. 169. The ball from their arquebuss struck him, but his thick dress saved him from all mischief but a contusion. p. 171.

¹⁶ Mezeray may be taken as a fair Catholic authority for this fact. After noticing, at the end of his Abregé Chronologique of the Sixteenth Century, generally, that ' les dereglemens et les vices des ecclesiastiques monterent au plus haut point, et devinrent si public qu'ils les rendirent l'objet de la haine et du mepris du peuple,' he says of the French clergy, ' les eglises etoient sans pasteurs ; les monasteres sans religieux ; les religieux sans discipline ; les temples et les maisons sacrées en ruine, et converties en spelonques de voleurs. Les eveques fuyoient leurs dioceses comme des solitudes affreuses. Les divertissemens de Paris et les servitudes de la cour faisoient leurs exercices ordinaires.'

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day receiving, and the danger of the overthrow of its worldly grandeur, decided to crush all censors and impugners, and to deter their increase by making the stake their mode of execution. This practice of burning alive those who opposed the papal system, was a mode of punishment which fixes on the Roman church an indelible condemnation. Even the dreadful Mexican superstition only tore out the heart of its victim. In the worship of Moloch alone, were living human creatures consumed in the flame. That the priesthood of the kindest and most beneficent Being that ever claimed the veneration of mankind, should doom their fellow creatures to perish in slow agony by fire, was such a contradiction to his precepts, and to that benign character which he requires in all his followers, that the fact would seem incredible and almost impossible, if its chronology had been more remote, or its perpetration less frequent.¹⁷ But altho the papal church was as corrupt as it was cruel, it was clear, even to its own members, that it would not forego or purify its corruptions.¹⁸ Hence it made the name of re-

¹⁷ The itinerant preacher before mentioned, p. 14. note 40, I. Capistrano, was made a papal legate and inquisitor, and went forth 'ad hereticos ferro, flammaque excidendos.' In Campania, he burnt 86 oppidula of those whom he persecuted for their opinions. Cave's Script. See Whart. add. p. 98.

¹⁸ The bishop of Modena confessed this to cardinal Contarini, even after Luther's success, in his letter of 21st May 1542. 'We cannot hope reformation among the prelates, because they have not the spirit of Christ, and are too much grown old in their vices; and if any one be sometimes suddenly excited to it, he is 'spento' extinguished by the multitude of the bad, and becomes ashamed of living like a Christian. He is reviled as an innovator, as one who wants to alter their bad habits, and thus they extinguish the spirit; as they did to the good bishop of Spira, who did not venture to persevere.' Ep. Poli. Quir. 3. p. 268. An amusing instance of the attention of the prelates to their Christian duties occurs in the Dominican Badia's letter to Contarini, from Worms, in

former a brand, which those who sought worldly respectability or advantages, endeavored carefully to avoid.¹⁹ The long-resounding voice of incrimination and reform seemed therefore to be uttering merely school declamations and impotent chit-chat, when Leo. X. to finish the splendid pile of St. Peter's, was advised, in imitation of his predecessors, to send his indulgences into Germany for sale. The Swedes called their sheep, the animals with feet of gold. It was calculated that these pontifical papers would be still more transmutable into the minted metal; and there was no more prospect at that time than there had been before, that these cabalistical nothings, which the officers in the Vatican must have laughed over as they prepared them, would have become like the minotaur of mythology, who with his golden feet was found also to have nostrils which breathed flame and ruin.

Much invective has been penned against Leo for these merchantable protections against imaginary evils, as if he must have had some peculiar profligacy of mind for issuing them; and with this feeling, it has been suggested that he was an atheist. But there is no reason to impute to him this lamentable and discreditable depravation of the human

Dec. 1540. He says, the bishop of Capo d'Istria had written to two of the cardinals who presided at Trent, to request that a pension which had been charged on his see might be taken off, and 'he has sworn upon his breast, that if it be so, he will go to his bishopric to govern his flock of 20,000 souls.' *ib.* 261.

¹⁹ The same prelate added, 'I have sent P. Fabio to Spire, warning him that 'si guardi dall' odioso nome di Reformatore.' I have written to Dr. Scotto to remain at Ratisbon, 'fuggendo il nome di Reformatore.' *ib.* 268. He says he was 'infinitely afflicted' to find his own city to be 'Lutherana.' *ib.* 269. But he confesses that among the friars there reigned 'grande ignorantia, congiunta con molta audacia e con poca charita.' *ib.* 269.

mind, on account of these emissions. By them he only repeated the circulated precedents of the last century and an half, and for the more creditable purpose, worthy of his family name, of completing a magnificent temple for the admiration of posterity, in the finest style of human art. His name, his character, and his object were alike distinguished; and no man had less reason to anticipate the consequences which followed.

The attack of Wickliffe on them in England,²⁰ and of grave doctors in Germany,²¹ and of poets and troubadours elsewhere,²² had not destroyed their credit.²³ If they were still popular, they would be profitable, and safe from their popularity. If they

²⁰ The 41st article of those opinions of Wickliffe which were condemned by the council of Constance, was, that 'Fatuum est credere indulgentiis Papæ.' Browne, Fasc. 294. In other articles he declared the 'papales indulgentias vel absolutiones a pena et a culpa,' to be 'novitates' and 'phantasmata.' ib. 275. After him, others in England decried them. Foxe, 591.

²¹ In 1479, Dr. De Wesalia, of Worms, admitted on his examination, that he had written a treatise against them, and that he believed the treasure of the merits of the saints could not be distributed by the pope to others, for the satisfaction of their 'pœnarum debitarum;' but he did not think that, because they were not 'remissiones a jure,' he had therefore called them 'piæ fraudes fidelium.' See his Exam. in Browne, p. 330. Weselus, who died in 1490, had written, and Savanorola, burnt in 1499, had declaimed in vain against indulgences. See their opinions in Foxe, 670 and 672.

²² The troubadour, Pons de la Garde, sneered at the church for 'offering at a paltry rate the pardon for every crime.' See Hist. Mid. Ages, v. 5. p. 161. Chaucer's satirical picture of a Pardonnere, or a person travelling about to sell 'pardons come from Rome all hot,' may be seen in that work, p. 160; and also the criminations of Wickliffe on the Franciscans, for granting indulgences like the popes on their own super merits, p. 165.

²³ They were still so coveted, and therefore so profitable, that Card. Bembo mentions that those which Alex. VI. granted to the Venetians, to raise money upon against the Turks, produced 790 pounds of gold in the territory of Venice; (Bembo, Hist. Venet.) a sum which, if bullion were then of ten times the comparative value of the present day, would amount to half a million of our sovereigns.

were treated with contempt, they would be unproductive, and be recalled. No other results could have been in the contemplation of any one, at the hour when they received the fiat of the pontiff, and the counter-signet of his grand penitentiary. Two coincidences were wanted for any fatal disturbance, which had never effectually united on such a subject; a man bold enough to dare the flames to which he would be consigned, like Huss and Savanorola, for preaching or writing against papal privileges, and an adequate protector of earthly power to save him from this catastrophe. No prince or people had hitherto supported the assailants of the popedom or its doctrines, who had not been ultimately overwhelmed, or made to suffer grievously for such liberal conduct.²⁴

But there is something, however variously we name it, which governs the world independently of man, and which all ages and nations have felt to do so. Even Lucretius, amid his sturdy denial of a providence, could not avoid remarking a mysterious force, unaccountable to himself, but perceptibly operative, which alters and overturns human affairs

²⁴ Before the war on the Bohemians, a papal crusade had been effected against the humble population of the Stadingences in the north-western district of Germany, which I will state in the words of the old Chronicler:—‘1234, Gregory IX. preached a crusade against these; living on the confines of Frisia and Saxony, surrounded with inaccessible marshes and rivers, who, for their disobedience and excesses and subtraction of tithes, had been excommunicated by the apostolic see many years before, but had remained contemptores of the ecclesiastical citations. Often fighting with the bishops, counts and other nobles near them, they had been frequently victorious and rarely conquered. But the arms of the crusaders at last overcame them; above 2,000 were killed. The rest fled into Friesland, and thus their confederation against the church ceased.’ Chron. Hirsaug. p. 181.

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and tramples down dignity and power.²⁵ We may call it fate, destiny, necessity, or any other distinguishing term, as our taste may prefer ; but when we find it acting by intelligent means of its own selection, to grand and beneficent ends, beyond the usual course of things, the philosophical mind will give it a designation more consonant to the resulting phenomena.²⁶ On the present occasion, the two individuals who were wanted to produce that revolution in religion, which human welfare demanded, were found to be co-existing in Saxony, in the year 1517, in the persons of Frederic, its elector, and of Martin Luther, one of the teachers in his new university.

These individuals, without either premeditation or foresight of the consequences they were to produce, were led successively to those actions and situations, which made them the authors of the greatest concussion that human society has received, between the abruption of the Roman empire and the late French revolution.²⁷

²⁵ *Usque adeo res humanas VIS ABDITA quædam
Obterit ; et pulchros Fasceis, sævasque secures
Proculcare ; ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur.*

L. 5. v. 1232.

²⁶ It is mankind's continual inference from their experience, that an agency superior to earthly nature overrules human affairs, which made astrology so long popular in antient and modern times ; which still gives to fortune tellers their credit, and spreads the notion of compelling fate so much in Germany, among those who will not believe the simple and wiser system of a Divine Providence in its true form and name.

²⁷ It is Schiller's just remark, that ' from the beginning of the religious war in Germany, to the peace of Munster, nothing great or remarkable happened in the world of Europe, in which the Reformation had not the principal share. All the important events which took place during this period are connected with the Reformation, if they did not originate from it, and every country, whether great or small, has felt its influence.' *Hist. Thirty Years War*, v. 1. *Introd.*

Son of respectable but not noble parents,²⁸ Luther was carefully educated,²⁹ and began to study for the legal profession. At this period, he was adverse to the reforming opinions which had preceded him,³⁰ and had no intention of a religious life, but was destined by his father to an opulent marriage,³¹ when a flash of lightning killing, immediately as it fell, his companion who was walking at his side in the fields of Leipsic,³² his nervous system, always tremulous and exciteable,³³ was shaken; and from his consternation at the catastrophe, he resolved to become a monk. His parent, enraged at the determination, peremptorily resisted it;³⁴ but Luther, deaf

²⁸ He was born 10 Nov. 1483, at Isleben, in Saxony, of parentes plebeios. Cochl. Vita Luth. p. 1.

²⁹ He was at school one year at Magdeburg, and four with a gratiosum preceptorem at Eisenach, and thence went to Erfurd, where he received the degree of Master in his twentieth year. ib.

³⁰ He declared that while he was at Erfurd he had found in the convent library the Sermons of Huss, but shut the book with indignation, as the name of this reformer was then so abominated, that he thought the sky would fall upon his head if he should speak favorably of them. See Mid. Ages, 5. p. 200.

³¹ He so reminded his father 'Destinabas me vincere honesto et opulento conjugio.' Luth. Op. v. 2. p. 477.

³² Cochl. Vita, p. 2.

³³ Melancthon said of him, 'When he has been thinking on the Divine wrath, and on some striking examples of punishment, Luther has suddenly become so shaken by terror as to become almost lifeless. I have seen him, after disputing on some doctrine, run in consternation to the next apartment and lay down on the bed, and utter repeatedly, intermingling it with his prayer, 'He has concluded all to be under sin, that he may have mercy upon all.' Seckend. p. 41.

³⁴ When Luther resolved in 1521 to throw off his Monastic profession, he wrote a treatise to justify his abnegation, which he dedicated to his father. In this he states, 'You were unwilling, from your paternal affection—you feared my weakness, as I was only entering my twenty-second year; because you had learnt from many instances that this kind of life fell but unhappily on some. Your indignation was for some time implacable against me. When, at last you conversed with me about it, I told you I was called by Heaven in its terrors, for I did not become a monk either from choice and desire, (non lubens et cupiens) much less for the sake of my belly, but, surrounded with the terror and agony of the sudden death, I formed a compelled and necessary vow.' ib. 478.

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to his threats and intreaties,³⁵ began his novitiate among the order of the Hermits of St. Augustin, at Erfurd, went thro his year of conventual probation, and in 1505, at the age of 22, assumed the tonsure, habit and vows of a monk, and two years afterwards became a priest. He was zealous in his spiritual studies and exercises for four years, but was noticed for some mental peculiarities.³⁶

The duke of Saxony, Frederic, having founded his academy at Wittemberg, wished to support it with able professors; and his brother George desired an able preacher. The general of his order recommended Luther as a young man of talent,³⁷ and in 1508 he began to teach there the dialectics and physics of Aristotle for three years; when seven convents of his fellow hermits quarrelling with their head, he was chosen by them, as an intrepid and acute pleader, to go to Rome to maintain their cause.³⁸ On his return, he received the degree of doctor,³⁹ became eminent for his power of debate and love of distinction, and went to Heidelberg, to

³⁵ 'You said you wished it might not be an illusion and a deception. These words deeply penetrated me, but I hardened my heart as much as I could against you. You asserted that parents should be obeyed; but, secure in my unrighteousness, I heard you as a man, and bravely despised the admonition.' *ib.* p. 478.

³⁶ 'He seemed to his brethren to have something of singularity. Once in particular, in the choir, as the Gospel was read, of the devil cast out from the deaf and dumb man, he suddenly fell down, crying out, 'Non sum; non sum''—*Cochl.* 2, apparently meaning, Not me, not me.

³⁷ *Seck.* 45. In the dedication of the first 22 psalms to Frederic, Luther praises him as an example to all princes in promoting literature. 'Greek and Hebrew are studied, sat feliciter, in your Wittemberg. The liberal arts are taught with a benigner Minerva than before. Sincera Christi Theologia triumphs. I am much gratified by the most ample benefactions which you have conferred on me, tho deserving none.' This is dated 6 Cal. Ap. 1519. *Luth. Op.* v. 2. p. 254.

³⁸ *Seck.* 45.

³⁹ *Coch.* 2.

propose new themes of discussion, and to invite the logical conflict.⁴⁰

But, in 1516, Erasmus delighted and for ever benefited the intellectual world by publishing the first printed edition of the Greek Testament.⁴¹ It was rapidly diffused, and fixed the immediate attention of Luther, and roused him to the consideration of the Scripture doctrine on those points, on which his mind was dwelling with that alarm, by which Dr. Johnson was so strongly and so similarly affected.⁴² His taste for studying these subjects in the New Testament itself increased. It was cherished by Carlostadius, at the same university,⁴³ and he became prominent for his academical discussions on free will, the merit of good works, and on human traditions.⁴⁴ By these exercises, unconscious of their future application, he was preparing himself for those public controversies, of which he had then no anticipation, but by which he was destined in no long time afterwards to shake every region of Christendom.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Cochl. 2. He studied also Greek and Hebrew.

⁴¹ 'Nunquam hactenus, quod sciam, *Græce* chalcographorum typis excusum.' More, Ep. and Dorp. 1 Jortin, 76.

⁴² The pardon of sin, and the dread of future condemnation. On 19 Oct. 1516, Luther wrote to Spalatinus, that what moved him most in Erasmus, was his interpretation of St. Paul, on the justitiam operum, and on original sin. He differed from Erasmus on these points, and made the distinction which he afterwards so strenuously maintained, that the actions of the decalogue, if done extra fidem, no more 'sapiunt justitiam, quam sorba ficum.' Seck. 44.

⁴³ Luther calls him his 'Preceptor in religion, and the most distinguished assertor of the more genuine theology.' Luth. Op. 1. p. 324.

⁴⁴ Moreri Dict. voc. Luther.

⁴⁵ He displayed his turn of thought and force of manner at Dresden, where he had been invited by the duke George to preach. It was on the same topic which was ever uppermost in his mind—his future salvation. He inculcated the assurance of it to the true disciples, and the good effect of the doctrines of election and predestination, to take away

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While he was thus exchanging the scholastic for scriptural theology, and silently forming his mind to feel strongly and to reason powerfully on the latter,⁴⁶ the new issue of the papal indulgences was resolved on. The European mind had been so long habituated to a commutation of penance for money, that the papal chancery had a regular system of taxation for its relaxations, remissions, permissions, and dispensations;⁴⁷ and it was for each individual to decide for himself whether he preferred purgatory, penance, or property.⁴⁸ The common indulgences were, as we have remarked, diminutions of enjoined penance; but the plenary ones of Leo were to convey the soul from its death-bed into heaven, without the previous detention and discipline of that intermediate region, which the papal teachers, for their own purposes, have elaborately

that dread from which fearful men, thinking only of their own unworthiness, fled from Him in whom alone they should put their trust. When the duke, at dinner, asked a noble lady how she liked his preacher, she told him that if she heard another sermon of that kind, she should die with a more tranquil mind. Fabricius, v. 2.

⁴⁶ Luther wrote cheerily to Langius, 'Our theology and St. Austin's go on prosperously and reign in our university, while Aristotle descends by little and little, declining to a ruin that will be everlasting.' Seck. 45.

⁴⁷ The fullest account which I have seen of these is in the *Taxe de la Chancellerie du Pape*, printed with the privilege of the Pope and French king, at Paris in 1520, at Lyons in 1564, and at London in 1701. They are called *Taxa Cameræ*. My edition is the latter one. The original Latin text is given with a French translation and a French commentary. The Latin seems to have been originally an official table for the public information, before the Lutheran criticisms had made such things discreditable.

⁴⁸ The synod of Nantz ordered the priests 'so to moderate their enjoined penance that their penitents might neither be overwhelmed by the immensity of its weight, nor, from an undue relaxation of it, be most cruelly left to the fire of purgatory.' Martene *Thes.* v. 4. p. 955. The other alternative, not expressed, was the easier self-deliverance by the purchase of indulgences.

represented to be almost as intolerable as the eternal terrors.⁴⁹

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IV.

An abundant quantity of these indulgences⁵⁰ was transmitted to the archbishop of Mentz, who directed the monk Tetzel, because he was a powerful stentorian preacher,⁵¹ to exhort the public to buy them. Tetzel was extravagantly zealous, and pressed them every where with so little reserve, that the emperor Maximilian directed him to be ducked in the

⁴⁹ The seventh Meditazione of the 'Esercisi spirituali' of St. Ignatius, as presented to us in the exposition of father Siniscalchi, is on purgatory, in three heads: The *somma acerbita* of its pains; the *somma difficulta* of escaping them; and the *somma importanza* of avoiding them. One of the tales is from St. Antoninus, and has been noticed before, p. 97; two others, described for the express purpose of alarming the reader, may be shortly mentioned:—As Saint Martin was praying over his sister's tomb, she suddenly appeared to him in a brown dress, weeping eyes, and pale face, and told him that she was in purgatory, only for having washed her head on a Friday. So the sister of St. Danicani came from it to tell a female friend that she was condemned to be eighteen days there, because she left her room to hear some songs and music that were playing under her window. *Ib.* p. 230. Such were the legends enforced by some of the first men of the church, even after Luther had appeared. Another tale adduced in this work has a pecuniary object, which is meant to be obvious to all. A son succeeded to the estates of a very rich father, but never thought 'a dar suffragio a suo padre,' who was burning in purgatory. Tho so wealthy, the heir became always poor and unfortunate, till in his desperation at his calamities he applied to a priest. To this person it was suddenly revealed that this ungrateful son could not have any enjoyment from his inherited affluence, because his father was every day cursing him in purgatory, from which he had not procured his relief. The moral added is, 'Let us now do good to our ancestors: Loose him and let him go. Cause them go into Paradise, and do this quickly.' p. 238. There was but one way of doing this, paying sufficiently for masses to obtain the release.

⁵⁰ The fact mentioned by Burnet, that privateers in 1709 took a galleon for South America, in which they found 500 bales of such bulls, each bale containing 16 reams, which would make their number 3,840,000, (*Hist. Ref.*) enables us to form some conception of the quantity which was issued when they were made matters of finance.

⁵¹ 'Quia Stentor maximus erat.' Luther *ap. Seck. add.* 27. He remarks, that this great see had in a short space become three times vacant, and that the Pope had on each obtained, as the *palli pretium*, 26,000 or 30,000 florins. *ib.* Cochläus describes Tetzel as a *famigeratus predicator*, an inquisitor of heresy; *ingenii ferox et corpore robustus.* p. 5.

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river, to cool his vehemence.⁵² The duke of Saxony saved him from this disgrace ; but Luther, who was then uninformed on the question of indulgences,⁵³ tho he had been studying the subject of his personal justification before God, was roused by the concourse of people who flocked into the towns to procure them, to observe to them mildly,⁵⁴ that there were other things more worth their attention than these assistants. He had hinted the same in his sermons at the church ; but the duke, who had built that by the aid of similar machines, was displeased at his criticism.⁵⁵ His bishop was, however, gratified by his objections,⁵⁶ and he seized the opportunity of distinguishing and employing himself by sending his opposing Thesis to the prelate who supported the papal merchandize,⁵⁷ tho at this time he had no intention to censure or alter any part of the Romish system. He would have consigned any one to death who had contested the papal power.⁵⁸ He did not, like

⁵² Luth. ap. Seck. add. 27.

⁵³ So he stated. Ne scirem quid essent indulgentiæ : nor did others know more. ib.

⁵⁴ ' Placide ' is his term. ib.

⁵⁵ Ib.

⁵⁶ ' Ep. Brandenburg, our ordinary, mihi valde favebat. ' ib.

⁵⁷ Ib. It was dated 1 November 1517. In this he mentioned, ' I do not accuse the exclamations of the preachers *which I have not heard*, but I lament the falsissimas intelligentias conceived from them by the people, who every where boast their belief that unhappy souls, if redeemed by these letters of indulgences, will be secure of their salvation, and fly immediately out of purgatory as their contribution is thrown into the chest. I could not any longer be silent on these things. ' Luth. Op. v. 1. p. 2.

⁵⁸ He states, that when he commenced his critique on the indulgences, he was a ' Papistam insanissimam. ' ' When I began this cause, I was so intoxicated, so submerged in the dogmas of the pope, that I was most ready *to kill*, if I could not co-operate with those who would destroy any, who should detract a single syllable from obedience to him. ' His preface to his Works, dated 1545. Ed. Jenæ 1612.

Wickliffe and others, attack the indulgences ; but he wished the truer source of pardon to be preferred.⁵⁹ He did not even wholly deny purgatory, or the pope's remissive power in a qualified degree, tho he wished to extend it to the clergy at large ;⁶⁰ and questioned the spiritual treasury on which the bills for the indulgences were issued.⁶¹ His conscientious object was to raise the human mind to superior things ; and his personal motive for moving forward to urge the

⁵⁹ 'Opera pietatis et charitatis sunt in infinitum meliora indulgentiis.' Luth. Op. p. 2. He thus describes the commencement of his opposition :—'In 1517, when the indulgences were so shamefully sold, I was then a young preacher (he was 34) and a doctor of theology, and I began to dissuade the people, and to exhort them not to listen to the noise of these indulgentiariorum. In this I made myself certain (*certus mihi videbar*) that I should have the pope for my patron ; in confidence of which I strenuously labored : for he most clearly condemns the immodestiam of the Questorum in his decrees. I wrote two letters, one to the archbishop of Mentz, and the other to the bishop of Brandenburg, the ordinary, asking them to restrain the impudence and blasphemy of these questorum ; but the 'pauperculus frater' was despised, and I, thus despised, published a proposition for a disputation, and a German meeting on indulgences ; and a little after some resolutions, in which, for the honor of the pope, I maintained that indulgences should *not be* condemned indeed, but that the good works of charity should be *preferred* to them. This, however, proved to be like disturbing heaven, and setting the world on fire.' Luth. Pref. dated 5th March 1545, Op. v. 1.

⁶⁰ Among the 95 propositions which he offered to maintain as Doctor ordinis Eremitarum Wittembergæ, the fifth was, that the pope cannot remit any sins *but* those which he or the canons have imposed. The twenty-fifth was, that 'What power the pope has over purgatory generally, every bishop has the like in his diocese, and every curate in his parish.' And the twenty-eighth declared explicitly, that the '*remissio et participatio*' of the pope was by no means to be despised, because it was the '*declaratio remissionis divinæ*.' Luth. Op. p. 2, 3.

⁶¹ The fifty-sixth and fifty-eighth articles were, 'the treasures of the church, from whence the pope gives indulgences, are neither sufficiently named nor known among Christians.' 'They are not the merits of Christ and of the saints, because these are always operating, *sine papa*, the *gratiam hominis interioris* ; et *crucem, mortem infernumque exterioris*.' Therefore his 62d inference was, that the true treasure of the church was in the Holy Gospels. *ib.* p. 3. One hundred and six counter propositions were brought forward against Luther, p. 4, which were ascribed to Tetzl ; but their author was Conrad Wimpina. These were followed by 50 others. p. 7. So that there was no want of matter for stout dispute.

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public to do so, may have been the love of distinction acting on a fervid disposition.⁶² And if Leo, discerning the signs of the times, and the great truth, that human power of every sort is in the popular opinion which confers it, and not in the arm which wields it, had stooped from the double pride of the tiara and of his Medici descent, to praise and promote or sooth Luther, instead of affronting his self-love, crushing his worldly prospects, and endangering immediately his personal safety, the probability, as allowed by himself, is, that Luther would have been engaged in no further hostilities.⁶³ The reformer might have become an adherent and a defender, as he was disposed to have been. No one, in his first effort to distinguish himself, could write to the pope more submissively or with less view of larger attacks or consequences.⁶⁴ It was his contemporaries who

⁶² He thus describes what he then was : ' At that time I was a doctor and preacher in the Wittemberg convent ; in the flower of manhood ; fresh from the schools, *multumque fervidus*, et alacer in Scripturis.' Seck. ad. 27.

⁶³ Luther deliberately admitted in 1545 : ' In my judgment, if the prelate of Mentz at the beginning, or the pope before he condemned me unheard, and so raged against me in his bulls, had acted on the opinion which Meltitz expressed to me, and had immediately restrained the Tetzels furor, things would not have spread into so great a tumult. The whole fault lies with Mentz.' Luther, Pref. Op. vol. 1.

⁶⁴ It was in 1518 that he expressed, in his letter to Leo, ' They have made my name most offensive to thee, and charged me with endeavoring to lessen the authority and power of the popedom. But the Jubilee of the apostolical indulgences was teaching openly the most impious and heretical things. Tales were multiplying in the taverns, about the avarice of the priests, and slandering the Keys. I became inflamed with christian zeal, or *perhaps with a youthful ardor* (si ita placet pro juvenili calore.) I *privately* admonished a few heads of the church : Some heard me ; to others I seemed ridiculous. At last, when I could do nothing else, I thought I would very mildly (leniuscule) struggle with them, that is, put their dogmas into a disputation ; and I published a proposition, inviting any one to discuss them with me. Lo ! this is all the incendium I have done. They are angry that I should presume

made him the giant and the fighter which he became. But Tetzel's zeal, vanity, and interest, would not let him be quiet. 'This friar felt that he had a reputation to support, and he exerted himself to do so.'⁶⁵ Luther replied; and others coming eagerly forward to support the antient traffic, the public became interested in the discussion, and all ranks encouraged Luther;⁶⁶ the best and greatest favored him.⁶⁷ He was astonished at the notoriety he was gaining.⁶⁸ Such applause and popularity, more precious because unexpected, crowded upon him with an electrifying effect. Nothing else would have made him a reformer, or have given him importance, or have

to dispute in the public schools on indulgences, and on the power of remission, and on Divine indulgences, which are incomparably greater things.' Le Platt, Mon. Trid. v. 3. p. 1, 2.

⁶⁵ He published immediately the 106 propositions, in answer to Luther's, and thought it 'indignum' to yield to an obscure friar. Cochl. p. 4.

⁶⁶ Cochläus remarks with some spleen, that a 'docta cohors' of poets and rhetors took up their pens and exerted their tongues on Luther's side, and pressed the matter on the attention of the laity.' p. 6. 'Not a few lawyers and courtiers 'qui opibus et gratia pollebant' did much for him, not so much by written books, as by letters and conversation reaching privately to the ears of princes, as well as more openly spread among the people, instilling a dislike against the clergy into the minds of the laity.' Cochl. p. 19. One of these, whose compositions had a great effect both on high and low, was Ulric Hutten, a knight of noble family. He 'maxime incendebat animos.' 'Before Luther came forward, he had written things for the liberty of Germany, against the pensionum questus, and the vexatious citations to Rome. He published his *Trias*, a little book, mire festivum et inventionis ingeniosæ. Such was its effect, that nothing became more odious to many Germans than the name of the Roman court, and of its curtanisorum.' ib. 19. Hutten's *Trias Romana* is a dialogue between three characters, on the rapacity and profligacy of the Roman court, with some wit and humour.

⁶⁷ The oration for Luther, written by Melancthon, in the name of Didimus Faventinus, remarks this: 'probabant optimi quique, et in his etiam principes quidam.' Mel. Op. 2. p. 41. 'Episcopi damnabant.'

⁶⁸ So he then stated to the pope, 'That these my single disputations should, above all others, above those of any other master, thus run abroad, over almost the whole earth, is a miracle to myself; but they

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saved him from destruction. If the largest ambition or wildest enthusiasm had then governed his soul, neither would have availed, if the public indignation and sympathy had not been ready and eager for an eruption, and were waiting only for a mouth-piece and a champion. In Luther, and in him alone at that moment, and in Saxony, from the duke's disposition, who became interested for him,⁶⁹ all the requisites of thought, temper, inclination, ability and position for such a character, fully met. But at first he was unwilling to be so, even when he had advanced farther into the contest.⁷⁰ He neither felt the extent of his own energies, nor saw the greatness of the prospect that was opening before him. But he had scarcely begun the petty battle, as he afterwards thought it, without meaning larger warfare,

have so spread, and have been so highly received among us ac propter nostros, that it is incredible to me that they should be so understood by all men.' Platt, Mon. Trid. v. 3. p. 3.

⁶⁹ The favor of Frederic to Luther seems to have been first procured for him by Staupitz, the vicar-general of his order, and a natural antagonist of the Dominicans, who were so domineering and ambitious as to be at variance with most of the other friars. They were contending mortally before the pope with the Franciscans about the immaculate conception, (Foxe, p. 733); and their assumption and tyranny as the *inquisitores fidei*, made them everywhere dreaded and disliked. Staupitz was a relation of the duke, and had his confidence, and showed him how the collection for the indulgences pillaged and weakened his electorate. Cochl. 4. It was the opinion of Erasmus that Frederic's support was Luther's foundation. '*Hujus unius præsidio substitit Lutherus.*' Ep. 474.

⁷⁰ His language to the pope was very humble at his outset:—'I offer myself, prostratum, at your feet. Vivify me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve, reprobate, just as you shall think proper.' Lett. Le Platt. Mon. p. 4. So to Cardinal Cajetan: 'I confess, and I have elsewhere owned, that I have been indeed too indiscreet, or as they say, vehement and irreverent against the pontiff's name; and altho I was vehemently provoked to this irreverence, yet I now perceive that it would have become me to have treated this matter more modestly, more humbly and more respectfully, and not to have answered so as to have become like a fool myself. I am sincerely sorry for this, and ask pardon for it.' See the Letter in Cochlæus, p. 11.

before he found that he could neither recede nor be stationary.⁷¹ To retract, would be the loss of all the credit that was gratifying and tempting him, and that could alone rescue him from those dungeons and misery to which the resentment of those, whose interests would suffer by reform, was determined to consign him. Yet a chasm of horrors yawned before him, if he advanced. Several had been burnt at the stake since he had left his cradle, and he heard the angriest denunciations around him, that he should be added to their number. He would have paused, and might have retrograded; but, happily for mankind, the pope and his instigators were impatiently vindictive; and by his death-dooming mandate, Leo left Luther no alternative between destruction like that of Huss, or larger success from greater daring.⁷²

⁷¹ He noticed this to Leo in his apologizing epistle: 'Now what shall I do? *Revocare non possum*. But that I may mitigate these adversaries, and fulfil the desire of many, lo! I send you my trifles (*meas nugas*), declaratory of my disputations.' *Ib.* p. 3.—'The truth was, in this case as in all popular zeal and exertions for reform, there was a great diversity of ideas as to the nature, extent and process of its prosecution. The most general wish was, the abolition of the emission of indulgences, without the denial of the power. The next was, the desire and correction of the papal simonies and of the corruptions and secularity of the clergy. But the largest portion of the public stopped at these points, and desired no change of the elaborate and well contrived system.'

⁷² Luther strongly stated this fact in his private conversations:

'Had I known at first, when I began to write, what I now see and find, namely, that people had been such enemies to God's word, and had so fiercely banded themselves against it, truly I had held my peace; for I never should have been so courageous as to have fallen upon the pope and to have angered him, and almost the whole Christian world with him. At first I thought that people had sinned ignorantly, and not of set purpose; but it pleased God to lead me on in the mouth of the cannon, like a bāt-horse that hath his eyes blinded. Even so was I tugged to the office of preaching; but had I then known what I now know, ten horses should scarce have drawn me to it.' *Collos. Mensalia*, p. 11. This is a remarkable confession, that he was not like Wickliffe, a reformer from deliberation, choice and liking.

He also intimated, that if his own opinions had been left free, he would not have attacked the pope. 'I could well be content to hold the

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He took immediately the only constitutional step which remained to him without fully plunging into heretical hostility; he adopted the principle maintained by both the French and German episcopacy against the Italians, who admit of no superior to their pontiff, and appealed from Leo to a general council.⁷³ Each had now drawn his sword against the other, but with an immense aggrandizement to Luther, who was no longer the petty Augustinian friar, but the pledged and popular antagonist of the despotic sovereign of Christendom, and of all his interested hierarchy.

All the passions were now in action, to preclude conciliation, and to compel a formidable conflict for the very existence of the papal fabric.

pope in befitting honor and respect; yet so far that he permitted me to have my conscience at liberty; otherwise, I could willingly have borne with the pope's glorious domineering. But as he will force me directly to acknowledge him to be lord, and will force my conscience, I am compelled to resist him.' *Ib.* p. 25. Thus Leo provoked and drove him to be the liberator of Europe, and apparently not by his own choice, for he is stated to have in private spoken kindly of Luther. 'Brother Martin has an admirable genius (*un bellissimo ingegno*.) These are but friar-like enmities.' *Bandel's Tragic Hist.* cited by *Jortin*, 1. p. 117. This is more in Leo's natural character than his pontifical bulls, tho not so authentic. It is mentioned as his answer, 'imprudentermente,' given at a party at L. Scipione Atellano's, when Luther first criticised the indulgences.

It was on the 5th of Aug. 1518, that the emperor Maximilian, an instance that many condemned Tetzl without abandoning Leo, took the field in a rescript against Luther. *Le Platt.* p. 4. And on 23d August Leo alarmed and endangered him by a letter to the elector of Saxony (p. 5), and by a mandate to cardinal Sixtus, declaring Luther's argument to be a 'pestis;' ordering that he and his followers, if he persisted, should by public edict be denounced for 'hereticis, excommunicatis, anathematizatis et malefactis;' and, in order that the 'morbus' might be more easily exterminated, commanding all clerical and secular authorities to seize Luther and his adherents. *ib.* p. 6-8.

⁷³ He reverted to this measure, on 18th Nov. 1518, (see it in *Platt.* v. 3. p. 37.) *Cochlæus* says, 'that by the advice of Staupitz he had it fastened upon a post (as a public placard) while he went secretly away from Augsburg, the legate having ordered both to be seized and imprisoned.' p. 8.

The prelate of Mentz was to have had half of the profit of the indulgences,⁷⁴ and therefore resolved to maintain them.⁷⁵ The duke of Saxony, awake now to their political evil, became more perceptive of their moral iniquity; and, extending his most needful protection to his adventurous professor, whose extinction was resolved upon, personally interfered in his behalf.⁷⁶ The German people, weary of being pillaged by consecrated impostures,⁷⁷ encouraged their ardent countryman to press on the battle;⁷⁸ to enlarge his views, and to release them from their no longer venerated plunderers. Luther, gratified by the popular favor, and feeling that he was doing what no dignitary ever had ventured to attempt before,⁷⁹ advanced in his hostilities against the pecu-

⁷⁴ Luther expressly asserts as a fact, which he afterwards discovered, that Mentz ‘*dimidium pecuniæ ex indulgentiis habebat; alterum dimidium, Papa: id quod tunc nesciebam.*’ Pref. ib. vol. 1.

⁷⁵ This made Luther add, ‘His wisdom and cunning deceived him, and determined him to repress my doctrine, that ‘*suam pecuniam per indulgentias quæsitam, esse salvam.*’ ib.

⁷⁶ Hence, tho Luther assured Leo that if he were such a one as he had been described to be, this Elector would not have allowed such a pest to be in his university, (Le Plat, p. 3.) yet he found in Frederic a steady supporter; and when the pope insisted on his coming to Rome for his trial, the duke went himself to the papal legate, ‘*et impetravit ne Romam cogerer ire.*’ Pref. Luther acknowledges his pecuniary aids: ‘*Tuis impensis* on my insane head is imposed that insigne of my ostentation, at which I blush, and yet I must bear it, as those whom I ought to listen to desire it to be so.’ Ded. Psalm.

⁷⁷ ‘*Interim quia fessi erunt Germani omnes ferendis expilationibus, nundinationibus et infinitis importunis Romanorum nebulonum.*’ Luth. Pref. vol. 1.

⁷⁸ ‘*Expectabant suspensis animis eventum tantæ rei.*’ ib.

⁷⁹ He mentions both these inspiring motives of himself: ‘*Quam nullus antea neque episcopus neque theologus ausus esset attingere. Et favebat me utcunque aura ista popularis.*’ ib. So in his Apology, in 1541, he mentioned, that altho all complained of the indulgences and of Tetzel’s propositions, yet the bishops and the doctors were silent, from the dread of the Dominican inquisitors, who were eager for the flames; and Tetzel repressed some who were murmuring. I was therefore praised for an egregio doctore, who alone had at last dared to oppose them; but this fame did not please me, because I was then

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niary impositions that were so obnoxious,⁸⁰ more boldly in proportion as he was attacked, and was soon encouraged by intimations that every country in Europe was admiring and applauding him.⁸¹ No additional cause of action, from human motives, need be sought for after this. If ever love of fame and popular celebrity have animated any man to exertion, endurance and perseverance, the public gift of these pleasures with such spontaneous bounty, must have kept Luther's soul in continual and glowing excitement. If the father of Alexander negotiated and fought, that others might talk of him, what must have been Luther's feelings, and their effect upon his future conduct, when he found himself exalted sud-

doubtful what indulgences were, and I feared the business would be beyond my powers.' Seck. p. 28.

⁸⁰ Quod invisæ jam essent omnibus artes et Romanationes illæ, quibus totum orbem impleverant et fatiguerant. ib.

⁸¹ It was on the 14 Feb. 1519, that Frobenius, the printer, at Basle, wrote this letter to Luther, which must have so highly inspirited him, and which exhibits to us the amazing extent of his popularity: 'Blasius Salmoneus, the bookseller of Leipsig, at the last Frankfort fair made me a present of various treatises composed by you. As they were approved by the judgment of all the learned, I printed them with my types, and sent 600 into France and Spain. They are sold in Paris: they are read in the Sorbonne, and approved there, as our friends assure me. Some very learned persons there declare that they had for a long time wished to see such a liberty in those who treated of sacred matters. Calinea, a bookseller of Pavia, of very great erudition, and fond of the Muses, carried a good part of these books into Italy, to disperse them thro all the cities. He does not aim at profit, so much as to give sustenance to reviving piety, and to do good as far as he can. He promised to send me the epigrammata written in your praise by all the learned of Italy. We have also sent your books into Brabant and England. We printed only 300 copies of the reply of Sylvester. The learned say that it cannot hurt you.

'Our bishop particularly favors you. So, his suffragan, the bishop of Tripoli. The cardinal Sedunensis, when we offered him your lucubrations, said, 'Luther! you are truly Luther.' Some one sent him the Propositions of Eccius, and said, that he brought the news of the victory of Eccius over you. The cardinal answered, 'Eccius may dispute as much as he pleases; but Luther writes the truth.' We have sold all our copies but ten. We had never a more happy sale with any book before.' Ep. 1 Luth. Op. p. 326.

denly to be the gaze, and theme, and praise of his most enlightened contemporaries, without having anticipated or solicited a position so stirring and so glorious? Many sigh for distinction, and strive under many privations to attain it, who can never emerge from the obscurity in which they pine; and some win it, but to lose it for ever.⁸² But to be surrounded unexpectedly with admiration and notoriety; and to feel that conscience and every better principle were justifying the acclamation and the exertions which occasioned it, were impulses sufficient to make Luther a fearless champion in the new campaign he had begun, and a willing martyr, with an immortal memory, if his political friends should become unable to support him. His spirit strengthened gradually into this fortitude of character; but at his outset he was timid and cautious, and used every means of escaping the vindictive stake.⁸³ Worldly

⁸² On looking over the funeral inscriptions of antient Rome, I was much struck with observing four poets recorded with some distinction on their tombstones, and one a laureat, of whom the world have never heard from any other source. So perishable is fame, even of the sons of the pleasing lyre. The reader's sympathy for literary talent will perhaps excuse me for attempting to preserve them from utter oblivion, by transcribing their memorials.

Q. Glitius Felix; Vergilianus Poeta.

M. Cecilio Novatiliano Oratorio et Poetæ inlustris;

Nardu, Poeta pudens, hoc tegitur tumulo.

C. Concordius Syriacus Eq. bidui Poeta Latinus coronatus.

Orellius Inscip. Lat. select. 258-60.

⁸³ Thus when he was summoned before Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg, he says, 'I went poor and on foot. I was there three days before I saw him; for the respectable persons to whom the duke recommended me, advised me not to go till I had an imperial safe-conduct. Every day his orator came to call me: when he asked me on the third, why I did not go to the cardinal, who was benignissime expecting me, I told him my friends were applying for a protection; he angrily answered, 'What do you think Prince Frederic will take up arms for you?' I replied, 'that I by no means wished that.'—'Why, where will you remain?' Under the open sky. 'If you had the pope and cardinals in your power, what would you do to them?'—'Treat them with every honor and

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motives produce worldly prudence. It is the superior impulses which give the loftier magnanimity. But his ducal master, enlarging both his principles and his policy, became more resolute and active to support him,⁸⁴ to repress the voracity of the Roman court, and to spread the emendatory opinions so far as they were not in his judgment heretical.⁸⁵ Frederic's moderation and firmness greatly injured the papacy.⁸⁶ He called the wise and mild Melancthon to his university, ostensibly to teach Greek, but also to give Luther a companion and a serviceable counsellor.⁸⁷ It may have been from his advice, as well as from personal apprehension that Luther still

reverence.' On which he, with an Italian shrug, and moving out his fingers, exclaimed, 'Hem! ahem!' and so went away, and never came back.' Luth. Pref.

⁸⁴ This prince was the real author of the German reformation. It was he who urged, encouraged and upheld Luther, who without him would have sunk to nothing. He was made Vicarius of the empire on Maximilian's death in 1519, and might have been emperor if he had not refused the dignity. He was enraged at Eccius for bringing from Rome the 'bullum damnatricem' against Luther. He called him a pontifical knave, for presuming to disturb his dominions, and ordered him away in disgrace. Leo, to sooth him, sent him the consecrated golden rose, which pleased so many sovereigns. Luther says, he treated it 'nullo honore sed *pro ridiculo* habuit.' Luth. Pref. The modifying words of his letter of 25 Oct. 1518, to the cardinal Sextus, on Luther, are 'There are many learned men in our dominions, and in universities elsewhere, by whom *we cannot* be made certain constanter et inefragabiliter, that the doctrine of Martin is impious, or unchristian, or heretical, excepting a few, who consulting their private interests only, do not find their pecuniary benefit assisted by his teaching.' Le Plat, Mon. p. 43.

⁸⁵ This is Luther's own statement as to 1519: 'Procedebat feliciter evangelium sub umbra istius principis et late propagabatur. Movebat ejus autoritas plurimas qui, cum esset sapientissimus et oculatissimus princeps non poterat suspicionem incurrere quod heresin aut hereticos alere et tueri.' Pref. ib.

⁸⁶ So Luther states, 'quæ res papatui magnum intulit detrimentum.' Luth. ib.

⁸⁷ Luther felt and acknowledges that it was so: 'Haud dubie ut haberem socium laboris in theologia;' and confesses the importance of his services, 'nam quid operatus sit dominus per hoc organum, non in literis tantum, sed in theologia, satis testantur ejus opera.' He dates his arrival in 1518. Pref. ib.

hesitated from plunging into an implacable warfare. Having been visited by Meltitz from Leo, who had by the pope's order scolded Tetzel for having caused the commotion, till the terrified Dominican fell into a mortal illness and died from his dread of the papal wrath,⁸⁸ Luther addressed to the pontiff not merely a conciliatory but even a self-humiliating epistle, lamenting what had occurred; but he shows that revocation would be useless, and was impossible.⁸⁹ He assures him that he did not mean to shake his power,⁹⁰ and intimates that he would declaim against the indulgences no more.⁹¹ But this submission and depression only lasted long enough to show that Luther had then neither the spirit nor the objects of an apostle. The death of the emperor a few weeks

⁸⁸ Luther's account is, that Meltitz by 'verbis minis que pontificiis ita *fregit* hominem, ut inde contabesceret;' and at length was affected 'ægritudine animi.' Luther comforted him by letters 'benigniter scriptis;' but adds, 'sed conscientia et indignatione papæ forte occubuit.' Pref. ib.

⁸⁹ Its language surprises us from Luther. He calls himself 'Ego fæx hominum et pulvis terræ,' and entreats the pope's *Majesty*, and truly vicarial ears of Christ, to listen to his *bleating*, as one of his little sheep (oviculæ.) He says, 'Hearing Meltitz, the private secretary of your beatitude, demanding satisfaction of the prince Frederic for my irreverence and rashness towards the Roman church, I was greatly grieved that my 'officiosissimum officium' should be so unhappy, that what I had undertaken for defending the honor of the Roman church should have come into a suspicion of evil towards the very crown of the church.' 1 Luth. Op. 210, and Le Plat, v. 3. p. 44. It is dated 3 March 1519, from Aldenburg. 'But, most blessed Father, what can I do? I am quite at a loss what to think of. I cannot bear the power of your anger, and yet know not by what means I can be extricated. I am asked for a revocation of the dispute, and if what is sought by that could avail, I would do it without delay; but my writings are now spread more widely than I had ever expected, and are fixed too deeply in many minds to be plucked out. Our Germany is so full of talent, erudition and judgment, that a revocation would do nothing but bring more disgrace on the Roman Church.' ib. 44.

⁹⁰ 'Coram Deo et tota creatura sua testor me neque voluisse, neque bodie velle ecclesiæ Romanæ ac beatitudinis tuæ potestatem *ullo modo tangere* aut quacunque versutia demoliri.' ib.

⁹¹ Le Plat, Mon. v. 3. p. 45. He only asks that the Roman Church may not be polluted by another's avarice any more. ib.

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afterwards, the competitions for his succession, and the youth of the new one chosen, so much improved Luther's temporal prospects, and so much weakened the papal power in Germany, that pacification was thought of no more. The reformer changed his tone from deprecation to defiance.⁹² Leo thundered with all the power of the Vatican;⁹³ and the opposing Monk, kindling with the struggle, and committing himself fully to an irreconcilable warfare, fought his long battle fiercely, ably and unshrinkingly.⁹⁴ His mind became enlightened with new perceptions of divine truths; grander energies operated within him; his conscience was sincerely interested in his magnifying cause; coadjutors started up on all sides; emulation, resentment, hope, and inspiration glowed within him; and his northern countrymen strenuously incited and supported him; till the 'pauperculus frater,' the 'insignificant friar,' as he had truly called himself, became at last aggrandized to a magnitude,

⁹² See his Epistle to Leo X. prefixed to his *Treatise de Libertate Christiana*, dated 6 April 1520.

⁹³ On 15 June 1520, Leo issued his *damnatio errorum Martini Lutheri et sequacium*, Le Plat, 60; and on 3 January 1521 his final excommunication, *ib.* 79. We cannot be surprised at the pope's tenaciousness of his pecuniary machinery, when we contemplate the vast booty which he extracted from the privileges which his see assumed. Gobelin, who lived in 1388, mentions, 'In many churches, unworthy or useless persons were appointed. He who paid most to the pope, obtained a bishopric. Some, seeking an archbishop's see, paid him 40,000 florins, others 60,000, and some even 80,000.' Gobel. *Cosmod.* in Meibom. *Script.* v. 1. p. 317. Such was the simony of that infallible head, who so stoutly and so justly opposed the simony of the great princes of Europe.

⁹⁴ It was not till the year 1520 that Luther broke off his communion with the Roman Church, and presented himself as its total and decided adversary. In that year he published his *De Captiv. Babyl. Op.* p. 253, and his treatise against the Romish Sacrament; and in 1522 his others on abrogating the Mass, p. 441, and against the monastic vows, p. 477; and many other religious works on points less involved in controversy.

an influence, and a celebrity, which, on the subject of religion, no other individual since the death of Mahomet had been able to acquire. C H A P.
IV.

No combinations of language can express too strongly the merits of the meritorious parts of that man's character and actions, to whom, with all his defects, human nature has been so largely indebted. His mind was full of those valuable opinions and feelings, which good men rightly refer to the most superior source.⁹⁵ But his deficiencies increased his difficulties, and circumscribed his utilities. His intolerance of spirit was not much less than that of his opponents.⁹⁶ His sentiments on divorce were accommodating and offensive.⁹⁷ His own marriage was rash and discreditable.⁹⁸ His style was often too

⁹⁵ His *Colloquia Mensalia* shew many of these of the best sort, but intermixed with much that is rough, unpleasing and unsatisfactory.

⁹⁶ Luther having assembled certain divines in his house at Isleben, said unto them: 'They that refuse to receive the Communion, and to learn the Catechism, let us not visit such in their sickness; no, not altho they die; but let them lie like swine. Regard them not; neither let them be interred in churches nor church-yards, that thereby others may be feared and affrighted.' Luth. Colloq. Mens. p. 31. Such a temper only wanted the pope's power to have acted like the pope.

⁹⁷ Bossuet has remarked what he calls Luther's scandalous sermon at Wittemberg, on Marriage. Others have noticed his permission to the Landgrave of Hesse to have two wives; the *si nolit uxor, veniat ancilla*; and the conditions on which a man might divorce his wife. But on this subject of divorce even our Milton unaccountably erred.

⁹⁸ On the concern he had in the bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse, Seckendorf, l. 3. p. 277, should be perused. As he as a monk, and Catharine Bore as a nun, were each under vows of chastity and celibacy, it seemed a double impiety to all but his followers, that two such persons should become man and wife. To pretend that he did it to vex the papists, did not add to the merit of the action; yet he says, '*Illis ut ægre faciam, si fieri potest Catherinam meam uxorem ducam.*' Ep. Ruhel. ap. Seckend. N° 9. Another reason, not wiser, he gave, was, that he might retain nothing of his former '*papistica vita.*' ib. N° 4. His father's solicitation '*spe prolis*' is a better excuse. To end the scandal of his visiting her, he also mentioned as an inducement. ib. N° 4. But perhaps what Scultet states, that a doctor Laplace wished her, and that when Luther heard this he resolved to marry her, was his deciding motive. Seck. N° 8. It was done in a hurry, but greatly revolted the public feeling of Europe. He owns this, '*Vehementer irritantur*

virulent.⁹⁹ Some of his notions were bilious impressions which resemble transient derangement, and seem to have been connected with the nervous irritability already noticed.¹⁰⁰ His depreciation of

sapientes inter nostros.' Ep. ad Statel, dated 10 June 1525. On 22 June he wrote to Amsdorf, 'Vera est fama me esse cum Catherina subito copulatum.' . . . The truth was 'optime cupiebat Virgini et suam vocare solebat Catherinam.' Seck. N° 8. Erasmus described her as a puellam elegante forma natam annos 26. ib. N° 11.

⁹⁹ Yet it is fair to recollect, that even the jocose and applauded sir Thomas More was fully as offensive in this respect, both against him and other reformers. His other English antagonist, the bishop Fisher, whom the Catholics almost sanctify, calls Luther 'a great and crafty fox; but, do I say a fox? This is little. I ought to have said a mad dog; nay, a most rapacious wolf, or a most ruthless bear. O marvellous ignorance! O horrible monster! O most impudent forehead! who ever heard a beast preaching such palpable lies!' Fisher, Opera, p. 102. He likewise terms him 'Satanæ mancipium: plane præcursor antechristi,' and frequently mentions such phrases as his Vulpini fraudulentia; his caninam iracundiam et belluinam rabiem,' p. 122, 3, 6; as if vulgar ribaldry on either side could enforce reason or become Christianity. The French prelate, M. Frayssinous, in 1825, styles this Fisher 'le savant et pieux eveque; un des plus grands hommes qu'eut alors l'Angleterre.' Defense, v. 3. p. 466. It became a conflict of abusive language as well as of contending opinions and interests.

¹⁰⁰ See before, p. 117, 118, notes 33, 36. I allude to the conversations which Luther alleged himself to have often held with Satan. Seckendorf admits that he gave the following representations of this singular intercourse. 'The devil began a disputation with me in my heart (in meinem hertzen) for he can cause me to have many nights sufficiently bitter and troublesome.' Seck. p. 179. 'I have confessed before the devil (coram diabolo) that I have sinned, and that I am condemned as Judas was, but I turn myself ad Christum, like Peter.' ib. p. 180. In the treatise de Missa Privata, he says, 'The devil knows how to fix and use his arguments boldly. He uses a strong and grave voice; nor are the disputations of this kind carried on in long or many meditations, but the question and answer are finished in a moment. I have felt and experienced why some are found dead in their beds. He can perimere vel jugulare the body. I believe Emser, and Oecolampadius, and others perished in sudden death, pierced by the ignitis Satanæ telis et hastis. He can also so drive the soul in angustum, that in a moment illi excedendum sit, as he has more than once driven me.' Luth. de Miss. Priv. v. 6. p. 81. Jenæ. In his Colloquia Mensalia or Table Talk, which was believed to contain a fair representation of his sentiments as he had expressed them, (much as Boswell's Life of Johnson exhibits the Doctor's opinions,) he is stated to have said, that when taken prisoner as he left Worms in the year 1521, and was lodged in the castle of Warthurg, 'the devil many times plagued me there.' p. 380. He told an absurd story on this occasion, of the devil's cracking hazel nuts against his bed-post, p. 381; and repeatedly mentions the evil being coming to him, and what he said which drove him away,

St. James discovered principle overcome by polemical expediency.¹⁰¹ His self-variations, or vacillations, debilitated the force of his truths.¹⁰² His temper

381-9, 391, 4; and that in age he was much troubled by him. 'He walketh with me in my bed-chamber—he strongly scowleth upon me,' an idea which his next sentence best explains. 'Can he gain nothing of me in my heart, then *falleth he on my head* and soundly plagueth me,' 389. He was subject to frequent and severe illnesses; but he says, 'I am persuaded that my sicknesses are not always natural. The devil, by witchcraft, practiseth his wilfulness upon me,' p. 390. His idea that the devil sometimes slept nearer to him than his wife, p. 391, seems not to have been a figurative expression.

These assertions being received as facts by his enemies, occasioned their imputation, that he had made a compact with Satan; a charge from which his friends took some pains to rescue them, wisely and truly referring the notions to the infirmities of his health. They are curious indications of the impressions which arise occasionally on the mind from some temporary disorder of the functional organs; a permanent continuance of the diseased action would be fixed insanity.

¹⁰¹ The passage of the Apostle, which requires the addition of good works to faith, opposing one of his favorite doctrines, led him to call it a work of straw, compared with St. Paul, and at times to insinuate that it was not apostolical. His opponent bishop Fisher took advantage of this error (*Opera*, p. 103), in terming what he found in the Scriptures contrary to his notions to be interpolations.

¹⁰² Erasmus remarked this to the chancellor of Charles V. in 1528:— 'The Lutheran fever is daily becoming milder, so that Luther himself is writing palinodias almost on every thing; and for this very circumstance will be deemed either heretical or delirious.' *Ep.* 63. l. 20. p. 1024. Even after Luther had denied in his dispute in 1519 against Eccius at Leipsig, 'Papam esse, jure divino, caput ecclesiæ,' which made duke George, after hearing their discussion, remark, 'Be it by divine or by human right, yet he is pope,' (*Luth. Pref.*) yet in his preface to the *Galatians*, he says, 'ut vobis scrio dicam, I hold the Roman pontiff and his decrees in that honor, that I think no one is his superior, except his prince our God.' *Oper.* v. 1. p. 327. So, tho he began with attacking indulgences, he afterwards said, 'Indulgentias non penitus rejiciendas esse censebam.' v. 2. p. 259. Then, as we have before noticed, offered to be silent about them; and in 1520 wrote to his friend Hermannus, 'I now repent of my books upon them in mirum modum, because I there adhered with great superstition to the Roman tyranny.' *ib.* 259. So in 1545, he notices that in his first writings 'I humillime granted to the pope many things which I execrate now as summa blasphemia et abominatione.' *Pref.*

How could the general world distinguish which of these diversities were the genuine sentiments or right views of a religious person, who was at the mature age of thirty-five before he began to write upon the subject? Our martyrologist Foxe blames him for allowing images in churches to the last, and says he did it to keep peace. We must alter this term into popularity. Luther was therefore a highly useful labourer, but not in all things the fittest guide.

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II.

was violent and hasty.¹⁰³ His conduct to Erasmus was indefensible.¹⁰⁴ He cherished irritabilities to the last, which shewed that he, as well as Calvin, forgot their great Master's decisive precept in the very act of appointing such missioned agents; 'Be ye wise as serpents, but harmless as doves.'¹⁰⁵ Yet, with all his faults and deficiencies, his courageous and persevering spirit, his noble objects and his great utilities, raised the admiration of those who witnessed his exertions and felt their benefit. Nor should our gratitude be less, for the great improvements and advantages, which have followed to human nature from his spirit and activities.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ One of the strongest indications of this was, his occasionally striking the mild Melancthon, although they did not meet at Wittenberg till he was thirty-five, and the other twenty-one. Melancthon, in one of his letters, says, 'ab ipso colaphos acceperim.' Ep. 40, ad Theodorus. But Luther had the rare merit of disinterestedness. 'He was contented with little, and had a great contempt for money.' Jort. Eras. 1. p. 115, from Seckendorf, 2. p. 187.

¹⁰⁴ Luther at first wrote courteously to Erasmus, who kindly advised him to be moderate, and not to attack *persons* either of popes or kings. 1 Jort. Eras. 154, 5. Erasmus repeatedly commended him to various persons, though much applause was never very safe. See Jortin, p. 125, 187, 193, 208, 9, 214, 222, 228, 257, 295. But after Erasmus, in his book de libero Arbitrio, in 1524, had differed from Luther's assertion, of an absolute predestination subverting human liberty (ib. 306), the displeased reformer conceived an incurable antipathy against him, and wrote immediately his opposing 'de servo Arbitrio,' in which he tells him that to put such thoughts (in favor of free will) as he had done into such 'pulcherrimam et ingeniosam dictionem,' was as if 'quisquillie vel stercora' should be carried about in gold and silver vessels.' Luth. Oper. v. 3. Erasmus replied with a loss of his usual temper; and after this Luther became so acrimonious as to call him a reprobate, a pagan, and an Epicurean; and in 1534 to charge him with Atheism. Jortin. Eras. v. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Luther on his death-bed displayed some of the unsubdued imperfections of his spirit. Amid feelings the most admirable and interesting, he yet could mingle as he was dying, terms of abuse with earnest effusions of piety: 'Him have I confessed, Him have I loved and glorified, whom *the most wicked pope, with his cursed cormorants*, do still yet darken, disdain, mock, persecute, and blaspheme.' This is Bale's translation of the account of Jonas Michael Celius and J. Aurefaber, who were present.

¹⁰⁶ How highly some of his contemporaries estimated LUTHER we have a curious proof in the celebrated ALBERT DÜRER's private diary

It was a discredit to himself, and an injury to his great cause, that his answer to the book which Henry VIII. had condescended to write against him, was abusive in its language. It might have been supposed that his judgment would have discerned the vast advantage which such a publication gave him. It was a personal distinction, which not only ensured him human immortality; but it exalted immediately himself and his writings to a dignity and importance, which nothing less than a pope's becoming his literary antagonist could have imparted. The wish of Alexander the Great to have kings for his competitors, was realized to himself; and from that moment he might be sure, that every sovereign in Europe would be eager to read his answer to the most celebrated of them all, who had thus challenged him to a literary combat. It was an opportunity of pleading his cause with the grandest efficacy, which an Erasmus would have used with irresistible impression. But Luther chose to offend the feeling and the judgment of every right heart and mind in Europe, by a composition that was filled with a tone

of his Netherlands Journey in the years 1520, 1521, which has been lately published at Nuremberg, in 1828. This distinguished painter thus noted down his feelings on a rumour of his captivity: 'Item, on Friday before Whitsuntide, 1521, came the story to Antwerp, how MARTIN LUTHER had been so treacherously taken prisoner—the man enlightened by the Holy Ghost, a follower of the true Christian doctrine. Whether he yet live, or they have murdered him, which I know not, this he has suffered, and because he chastised the unchristian papacy. This is especially the heaviest to me, that God will perhaps leave us under their false, blind doctrines, which were invented and set up by men whom they call the Fathers. O Lord Jesus! pray for thy people; preserve us in the true Christian faith. If Luther be dead, who shall henceforward so clearly expound the Holy Scriptures to us? What might he not have written for us in another ten or twenty years? O all you pious Christians! help me diligently to bewail this God-inspired mortal, and to pray him that he would send us another enlightened man! O Erasme Roterodame! where wilt thou abide!' Reliquiem Von Albrecht Durer.

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of unnecessary insolence; and by a contemptuous and arrogant assertion of even right principles, which could only exasperate where he might have pleased; and which made a king, whom he ought to have delicately conciliated, a more indignant enemy both to himself and to his doctrines.¹⁰⁷

The wild rebellion of the German peasantry in 1525, at first to throw off their feudal burdens, but, when stimulated by John of Munster, directed to a violent establishment of new forms of religious policy, doctrines and worship,¹⁰⁸ concurred with Luther's defects and violent extremes to limit the progress of the Reformation, and to make the largest portion of

¹⁰⁷ That Henry has intermixed in his book expressions of contempt to Luther, is manifest to those who read it; and the intimation in the dedicating epistle, that if Christian princes did their duty he would be burnt, was sufficiently provoking and unbecoming on the king's part; yet it was for Luther to have shown a magnanimity which would have made him superior to his royal opponent, instead of indulging in such offensive retaliations as the following:

'Against the dicta of fathers, of men, of angels, of demons, I place not antient usage; not a multitude of individuals, but the Word of the only Eternal Majesty, THE GOSPEL, which they themselves are compelled to approve of. Here I stand; on this I rest. Here I remain. In this I boast. With this I triumph. From this I 'insulto' Papists, Thomists, Henryists, sophists, and all the gates of hell. The Word of God is above them all. The divine Majesty acts with me, so that I care not if a thousand Austins, a thousand Cyprians, a thousand Henry—churches stand against me. God cannot err or deceive: Austin and Cyprian, as all the elect, may and have. If then we be of Christ, who is this *silly king*, who by *his lies* endeavors to make us of the pope's side? We are not the pope's; but the pope is ours. It is ours to judge him; not to be judged by him.' Luth. Ep. Cochl. p. 46.

So again,—

'Who is *this Henry*, this new Thomist, a disciple only of a cowardly monster, that I should honor his *virulent blasphemies*? Let him be a defender of the church, but of that church which in such a book he boasts and defends. . . . The drunk and purple strumpet; the mother of fornications. I am certain that I have my dogmas from heaven, which I have triumphed with against him.' ib. 47.

¹⁰⁸ Mosheim. Ecc. Hist. v. 4. p. 66. Erasmus wrote to his friend, 'that above 100,000 rustics had perished in the conflict, and that daily sacerdotes capiuntur torquentur suspenduntur decollantur.' Ep. 781. It is sufficiently shocking if half that number fell. Luther has been charged with advising the princes to kill the turbulent people like wild dogs. It would have been wiser if he had been contented with lamenting,

Europe contented to remain under the antient governors of their faith and conscience.¹⁰⁰

The exertions and works of Luther, coming after the mild illumination diffused by the writings of Erasmus, contributed to advance and spread the progress of the English Reformation. But this great improvement of our insular mind did not originate from him, nor was governed or completed by him; it was the gradual production of the good sense and good feeling of its own native population, to which Luther himself had been, circuitously, so much indebted.

The bright dawn of Wickliffe's day had been overclouded by the policy and violence of the interested

instead of intermeddling. The expressions of Erasmus shew how much their excesses turned many minds against the Reformation:—

‘Who knows not how many light and seditious people are ready, on this pretence of reformation, for a loose to all sorts of crimes, if the severity of the magistrates does not restrain their growing rashness; which, if they had not done, the pseudo gospellers had long since broke into the cellars and cabinets of the rich, and every one would have been a papist who had any thing to lose.’ Lewis’s Erasmus, p. 31.

¹⁰⁰ It is difficult now to ascertain how large a proportion of the Catholic body, who did not leave their external church, had yet dissented from it in mind, as it is to know how many at this day are not papists in their hearts, tho they will not cease to be so in outward ceremony. But the following remarks of Wicelius, in 1533, were extensively applicable at that time, and may be analogously so now. ‘The pious Tauler, Gerson, Valla, Picus, Wesselius and P. de Alliacus, saw the defects of the church, but did not secede from it. They cried out; they denounced its wickednesses to the Christian world, to free their souls; but they continued in it. So Erasmus, the noble pearl of our times; he greatly grieved, as all who love God do, at its miserable and continual degeneracy; nor was he silent on what he felt; yet he remained in its communion, tho offending both sides. Reuchlin, Mutianus, Longolius, Mosellananus, and many lately dead, did the same. Great numbers of all nations, and many pious and learned bishops, doctors and preachers, denounced in various places the deformity of the church; but they did not therefore desert it.’ Wicel. Apologie.

The unity of the Catholic church is therefore only a verbal and political unity; and not a communion of mind, belief, and heart. The plan of Erasmus was to dissent in mind, and gradually to improve the Romish church; but to avoid the evil of a schism, in abruptly breaking from it. Thousands now act on this system.

and the worldly ; but the beams of reason and Scripture continued to contend against their persecutors with enlarging diffusion ; and we see a full reformation of moral and religious truth serenely and quietly accomplished in the mind of Dr. Colet, before the name of Luther had passed beyond his own threshold.¹¹⁰ The great framer and conductor

¹¹⁰ Colet had become acquainted with Erasmus at Oxford in 1498, and formed a close friendship with him. Knight, p. 28–33. He was made dean of St. Paul's in 1505. Erasmus described his reforming sentiments in his epistle to Jod. Jones, p. 576. In 1509 Colet founded St. Paul's school ; and 1510 published his rudiments of Latin grammar, to be used there. Knight, p. 100. To this work he prefixed his 'Institution of a Christian man, for the use of his School ;' in which he states the articles of faith, moral duties and precepts of living, which he wished them to adopt. They are remarkably free from the papal superstitions, and shew the improving changes which were placidly taking place in the English mind before Luther wrote. His 'Precepts of living' inculcate none of the peculiar tenets of popish seminaries, and, as exhibiting the mind he wished to form in his scholars, in 1510, before any contests with Rome began, deserve our notice here.

Fear God.

Love God.

Desire to be with him.

Serve him daily with some prayer.

Bridle the affections of thy mind.

Subdue thy sensual appetites.

Thrust down pride.

Refrain thy wrath.

Forget trespasses.

Forgive gladly.

Chastise thy body.

Be sober of thy mouth.

Be sober of meat and drink.

Be sober in talking.

Fly swearing.

Fly foul language.

Love cleanliness and chastity.

Use honest company.

Beware of riot.

Dispend measurably.

Fly dishonesty.

Be true in word and deed.

Reverend thy elders.

Obeys thy superiors.

Be fellow to thine equals.

Be benign and loving to thine inferiors.

Love all men in God.

Believe and trust in Christ Jesus.

Worship Him, and Him serve and obey.

Call often for the grace of the Holy Ghost.

Love peace and equity.

Think on death.

Dread the judgment of God.

Trust in God's mercy.

Be always well occupied.

Lose no time.

Stand in grace.

Falling down, despair not.

Ever take a fresh new good purpose.

Persevere constantly.

Use oft times confession.

Wash clean.

Sorrow for thy sins.

Ask often for mercy.

Be no sluggard.

Awake quickly.

Enrich thee with virtue.

Learn diligently.

Teach that thou hast learned lovingly.

By this way thou shalt come to grace and to glory. Amen. Knight's

of the English Liturgy and purified faith, the moderate and enlightened Cranmer, derived his new light and intellectual emancipation, not from Luther, but from studying the New Testament, and afterwards the best writers, both antient and modern.¹¹¹

When he went into Germany, he became intimate with Osiander, who had disputed with Luther on one point of a Christian's justification,¹¹² and with whom Cranmer had many conferences and much correspondence on the doctrines of religion.¹¹³ With a mind thus trained, he laid the foundations of the English Reformation, in which Latimer and Ridley assisted him. What he and they left unfinished, Bishop Jewel and others, in conjunction with Elizabeth and her cabinet, completed.

In the reign of Henry VIII. the episcopacy of England had become, from the superiority of their attainments, too secular and political.¹¹⁴ Cranmer

Colet, p. 382, 3. That Colet was in real danger from his improvements we learn from Latimer: 'It was at that time when Dr. Colet was in trouble, and *should have been burnt*, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary.' Serm. p. 57. Thus it was Henry's good feeling which preserved him.

¹¹¹ Strype's Cranmer, v. 1. p. 3.

¹¹² Osiander asserted, that 'man's justification did not arise from the imputation of our Saviour's righteousness, but from the actual union of it with the soul.' Dr. Lempriere, in voce.

¹¹³ Strype, p. 15. Cranmer's second wife was Osiander's niece. ib.

¹¹⁴ We have from Latimer this quaint and strong statement of it:— 'Unpreaching prelates are so troubled with lordly living; they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffelying in their rents, dancing in their dominions, burthened with ambassages, pampering of their paunches, mounching in their mangers, and moilying in their gay manners and mansions, and so troubled with loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend to it. They are otherwise occupied; some in the king's matters, some are ambassadors, some of the privy council, some to furnish the court; some are lords of parliament; some are presidents, and some comptrollers of mints. Well! well! Is this their duty? Is this their office? Is this their calling? I would fain ask who controlleth the Devil at home, while he controlleth the mint.' Lat. Serm. preached at St Paul's 1548, p. 17.

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II.

and the reformed prelates began to give the better example, of confining their attention to religious concerns. Luther's works were however much studied in England;¹¹⁵ and he was the most prominent actor in the grand process of the theological revolution, tho he was only one of the intellectual innovators and benefactors who procured and established it. He saw and remarked the great improvements which had occurred in the world around him during his lifetime;¹¹⁶ and with all his imperfections and errors, he nobly and powerfully contributed to augment the intellectual progression of his fellow creatures.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ In the Cotton library, MSS. Cal. B. 6, p. 171, there is a letter from archbishop Wareham to Wolsey, on the increase of Luther's doctrines at Oxford. We may partly see how the great leader of the Reformation was then estimated in England, by two passages in Latimer's Sermons: 'When he came into the world first and disputed, what ado had he? But ye will say peradventure, he was deceived in some things. I will not take upon me to defend him in all points. I will not stand to it, that all he wrote was true. I think he would not so himself. For there is 'no man but he may err.' He came to further and further knowlege. *But surely he was a goodly instrument.*' Sixth Sermon, p. 72. This is a fair judgment. His other remark alluded to his nervous imperfection: 'Martin Luther, that wonderful instrument of God, thro whom God hath opened the light of his holy word unto the world, which was a long time hid in corners and neglected, writeth of himself, that he hath been sometimes in such agony of the spirit that he felt nothing but trembling and fearfulness.' Serm. p. 133.

¹¹⁶ 'Now (said Luther) hath God given unto us a whole sea-full of his word; He giveth unto us all manner of languages, and good free liberal arts. We buy at this time cheap, and for a small price all manner and sorts of good books; moreover He giveth unto us learned people that do teach well and orderly, insomuch that a young youth (if otherwise he be not altogether a dunce) may learn and studie more in one year now, than formerly in manie years. Arts are now so cheap, that almost they go about begging for bread. Wo be to us, that we are so lazy, improvident, so negligent, and so unthankful.' Luth. Coll. Mensalia, p. 42.

¹¹⁷ Of all Luther's works, the greatest favorite to himself was his Commentary on the Galatians; and his favorite principle in that was his distinction between the righteousness of moral or ceremonial acts, and the righteousness of Christian faith. He is earnest that 'mores et fides should not be confounded, nec opera et gratia; nec politia

et religio; but that each should be restricted to its own boundary. Christian justitia belongs to the new man, the justitia of the moral and ceremonial law to the old one.'

'We make as it were two worlds, one celestial, the other earthly. In each of these we place its separated righteousness at a great distance from each other. Moral righteousness is terrestrial, and concerns earthly things. By this we do good works; but as the Earth never brings forth fruit unless it be watered and fertilized from Heaven, so in doing much by the righteousness of the law, we do nothing unless we be first made righteous by the righteousness of Christ, sine nostro opere et merito. Amisso articulo justificationis, amissa est simul tota Doctrina Christiana. We therefore always repeat and inculcate this topic of faith or Christian righteousness. Without it we cannot preserve true theology, but shall immediately become jurists, ceremoniarians, legists and papists.'

He thus emphatically repeats his main doctrine, which may be quoted as a specimen of his style and manner:—

'Let law keep its limits—distinguish rightly, and give not to it more than ought to be given to it. Say to it; 'Law! you would ascend into the region of conscience, and there govern, and accuse it of sin, and take away the joy of the heart which I have from faith in Christ, and you would drive me to desperation, that I may despair and perish. You are going beyond your duty to do this. Keep within your province. Exercise dominion over the flesh, but touch not my conscience. I am baptized and called by the Gospel to the fellowship of righteousness and of eternal life, in which my conscience acquiesces; to the kingdom of Christ, where law exists no more, but remission of sins only; peace, rest, joy, salvation and eternal life.'

'When I have this within me, I then as it were descend from Heaven, and go out into another kingdom, and do all such good works as may occur to me to be done: If I am a minister, I preach, console, and administer the sacraments: If a father, I govern my house and family, and bring up my children to piety and honor: If a magistrate, I discharge the office divinely committed to me: If a servant, I take a faithful care of my master's affairs. Whoever knows that Christ is his righteousness, not only acts well from his heart, and with joy in his vocation, but subjects himself with joy to the magistrates, and even to their unjust regulations, and to all the burthens and dangers of the present life, if things so require, because he believes it to be the will of God, and that such obedience is pleasing to him.' Luther ad Gal. Op. v. 4. p. 4, 5.

CHAP. V.

EVENTS PRECEDING AND LEADING TO THE COUNCIL
OF TRENT.BOOK
II.

WHEN the pope desired and sought to urge the German princes to exterminate his opposers by fire and sword,¹ they refused to co-operate with such unchristian measures, and suggested the better remedy of a free-minded council.² They felt, what even his own confidential agent saw and confessed, that the censured heresies had arisen from the palpable corruptions of his court and hierarchy.³ The

¹ The Catholic bishop Godeau, the zealous panegyrist of his beloved Saint, Charles Borromeo, must be my proof, that in these words I am not exceeding the truth. I am anxious to verify my assertions at every step I take ; because it is the policy and the practice of modern Catholic writers to deny boldly every fact which they dislike. And this has been done by some in whom it could not be forgetfulness, with a hardihood, that all who love character and truth must regret. ‘A little after, Leo X. despatched a nuncio into Germany, to the Diet at Nuremberg, and wrote a brief to the princes who were assembled there, in which he exhorted them to use the last remedies of *sword and fire*, to *exterminate* Luther, and those who followed his doctrine.’ Godeau, *Vie S. Charl.* p. 40. So after him, Clement VII. told his cardinals, that he would try to make peace between France and the emperor, and then call a council to re-establish discipline in the church, ‘*et pour exterminer les hérétiques.*’ *ib.* 45. Extermination seems to have been the unvarying idea at St. Peter’s.

² They answered him in very respectful terms, but which did not go to satisfy him in what he desired from them against the new heretics. At the end of their letter they signified to him, that, ‘the best remedy to relieve the disorders which were multiplying every day, would be the celebration of a *free council*, whose authority would regulate and end all the disputes.’ *ib.* p. 41.

³ Godeau impartially adds, ‘In this diet, matters became more inflamed against the pope. But in his court it was not found to be a good thing, that *his nuncio should have confessed* that the heresy of Germany proceeded from the sins of men ; and particularly of the priests and pre-

successor of Leo, attempted to elude a reformation of these, as to himself and the general church, by a modified acquiescence, in some corrections as to Germany,⁴ which his legate therefore began.⁵ But this palpable evasion and partial conduct and assumed authority, independent of their approbation, were considered to be invasions of the national freedom, and made them more earnest in requiring a general council.⁶

Charles V. at last concurred to urge it;⁷ and it became a general belief, that an impartial and free assembly of the most enlightened and dignified clergy of Europe, who should temperately and fairly examine the disputed points of doctrine, discipline and practice; and decide disinterestedly and conscientiously upon them, would heal the divisions, which were becoming every day more acrimonious, and prevent any schism from occurring in the great church of Europe. It was hoped that the determinations of such men would become the lights and

lates; and that in the times past there had been done at Rome many things worthy of blame.' Vie de S. Ch. Bor. p. 41. Yet the next Pope Clement felt the same truth; for when he stated to his consistory the successes of the Turkish Solyman in Hungary, and the heresies which divided Germany, 'conclud que ces malheurs procedoient des desordres de la vie des ecclesiastiques;' ib. p. 44; and declared, that he would labor to reform them, and begin by his own house; (ib.) unhappily he advanced no farther in his corrective spirit than to make this speech.

⁴ Clement VII. 'plus habile politique que son predecesseur,' sent Card. Campegio to the diet, with instructions 'to consent to the reform of the abuses which concern the German ecclesiastics; but as to the things in which the Pope and Roman court were interested, he should elude them, and refer these to the pontiff himself, to be treated of with him.' Godeau, p. 42.

⁵ Godeau, p. 42.

⁶ Ib.

⁷ Charles V. was in October 1526 so desirous of the council, that he entreated the cardinals on their own authority to convoke one, in case the pope should be either negante seu differente. See his Letter to them in Brown Fascic. 687.

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guides of the upright and rational ; and be eagerly adopted by those who preferred to lean upon respected authority.

But such a council as this, never appears for one moment to have been intended by the sovereigns of the Vatican, or by their cardinal and advising parliament. They determined to uphold the whole mass of what was attacked ; and made no secret of their resolution, to those whom they considered for the time to be their friends. So early after Luther's emerging into inimical activity and success as the summer of 1530, Clement VII. declared in his letter to the emperor, that neither he nor his cardinals could consent to any council being called, but upon the condition that the heretics should give up their errors, agree to live in the old system, and return to obedience to his See.⁸ He required a previous assurance that they would return to all its rites and doctrines, *until* a council should alter them ;⁹ and he desired the emperor, before he promised to convoke one, that he would take security that those, for whom he has no other terms than heretics or

⁸ In his letter to Charles, of 31 July 1530, Clement, after mentioning, ' I understand from the letter under your majesty's hand, that it is the opinion of yourself, and of the electors and princes, that it is necessary to assent to the convoking of a council as demanded,' adds, that it must be ' with the condition, that the *heretics* desist from their errors, and conform themselves to live catholically in the faith, and in obedience to the mother church.' Lett. Prin. v. 2. p. 197. He says, his cardinals were of opinion that ' he should not put in doubt what preceding councils had determined.' *ib.*

⁹ ' I am content that you offer, in case you shall judge it necessary, and give a promise of a council ; on this condition, however, that withdrawing themselves from their errors, they turn immediately to live catholically and to the obedience of the church, and according to its rites and doctrines, *until* the council shall determine otherwise.' Lett. *ib.* p. 198.

malignants,¹⁰ should not, when they had obtained a council, return to their former errors, because that would be a most scandalous thing.¹¹ To guard against all adverse possibilities, and to bring it more completely within his own influence, he suggested that Italy, and of Italy that Rome, should be the place of their meeting.¹²

So steadily was the papal eye fixed on having such a council only as would resist all mutation, that two years afterwards, when urged by the emperor to convene one, Clement required first to be certain that the king of France would also be content with one of this description ;¹³ because if it should be assembled without his concurrence, it would have results quite contrary to what he desired, and would give the Lutherans only strength and countenance to persist more firmly in their pertinacity.¹⁴ The French sovereigns were indeed to be dreaded on this topic ; for altho when Francis was about to meet the pope for his own purposes, he could talk of his desire to extirpate and root out the wickednesses and condemned sects and heresies of Luther and the others,¹⁵

¹⁰ ' Nor is the time of war fit ; for the *heretici et maligni* will take occasion to obtain something pernicious to the Catholic faith.' Lett. Prin. v. 2. p. 197.

¹¹ ' It is necessary that your majesty should take diligent care that these conditions be promised, so that we may be made secure that the *heretics*, when they have obtained the convocation of the council, will not return to their former errors ; because that would be *cosa scandalosissima*.' Lett. ib. 198.

¹² Ib.

¹³ Clement's letter to Charles, of 10th May 1532, ' che si contenti del concilio nel modo che noi desideriamo.' Lett. Prin. v. 3. p. 12.

¹⁴ ' Dare alli Luterani spalle et favore di persistere tanto piu nella pertinacia loro.' ib.

¹⁵ Letter of Francis I. to Clement, dated 23 June 1533. ' The abbocamento between you and us, will be to effect a secure peace in Christendom, to make provision against the Turks, and also to see quel che si ricercherà de fare per *estirpare e diradicare* le malvage e dannate

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and actually concurred in plans with Rome to do so to his own dishonor ; yet his son, some years afterwards, when it suited his policy to hold for a time a different language, threatened another pope with calling a national council in France, for the express purpose of opposing and disturbing the effects of the universal one.¹⁶

Clement was unable to procure a synod which, like a Cromwellian parliament, would only echo his will ; and, therefore, tho he sent a nuncio in 1533 to the German princes, to treat about one,¹⁷ yet none was convened while he lived ; but he was succeeded in 1534 by the cardinal Farnese, who assumed the papal dignity with the name of Paul III. a man of much experience, and of a perspicuous judgment in wordly affairs,¹⁸ who acquiesced in the advice of the cardinals to have a council, but who avowed his object by it to be, like those who had worn the tiara before him, not to investigate what he called heresies, and to modify his system by the improved ideas they suggested ; but to ensure their extermination.¹⁹

Paul III. was discerning enough to perceive that

ette e heresie di Lutero e di altri. ib. p. 13. It defers their meeting till 15th August.

¹⁶ This is expressed in a letter to J. Battista de Monti, of 3d April 1551. 'A few days ago we penetrated into the king's answer, that he would not desist from having Parma in hand, e che dava principio ad un concilio nazionale, not only to entangle the pope about Parma, ma per dar disturbo ancora, circa il concilio universale.' ib. p. 110. Therefore 'his holiness dispatched Monsieur Dandino to the emperor, with a resolution to proceed not only against the Farnesi, ma contra il Re ancora, con ogni suo sforzo.' ib.

¹⁷ Godeau, Vie Cha. p. 49.

¹⁸ Beccatelli Vit. Contarini Quir. v. 3. p. 106.

¹⁹ 'As soon as Paul was created, he made it known to the cardinals, that of the articles they had prepared he would observe that of celebrating a council, as he judged it to be absolutely necessary to *exterminate the heresies* which desolated Christianity,' Godeau, 51.

a new policy and much sagacious caution had become necessary to uphold the falling authority to which he was elected; and, therefore, instead of selling the coveted dignity like his predecessor, he resolved to select some of the most distinguished persons in Christendom to be cardinals,²⁰ that he might give his hierarchy the strength and credit of their talents and character. With this view, he fixed upon seven, whose names were likely to have the greatest effect on Europe.²¹ One of these was a layman of Venice, aged fifty-three, who was not dreaming either of the honor, or of the church as a profession,²² but who, having distinguished himself for his learning and virtues, had been twice successful with the emperor for his country's welfare as its ambassador; and was, at the time of his unexpected promotion to the highest dignity but one of the Catholic hierarchy, one of the most important lords of the Venetian senate.²³ This was the signor Contarini, who on 21 May 1535 was created cardinal, with six others. On the courier's reaching Venice with the appointment, the unambitious senator

²⁰ Godeau, 51. Beccat. p. 106.

²¹ These were Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, then in prison; the archbishop of Capua, a German, who had been much practised in courts and business; Bellay, the bishop of Paris; Simonetta, bishop of Pesaro, the celebrated auditor of the Ruota; Ghinucci, auditor of the chamber; the Pronotario Carraciolo, much liked by the duke of Milan and Contarini. ib. 107.

²² 'Puro laico.' Beccat. 107.

²³ In 1521 he went on an embassy from Venice to Charles V. at Worms; passed with him into England in June 1522, and accompanied him thence in the following month to Spain, ib. 100. In 1527, he was sent ambassador from the Venetian state to Clement VII. at Viterbo, when that confederacy was formed between the Pope, Venice, Florence and France against the Emperor, which was broken up by the destruction of Lautrec's 'bellissimo esercito,' in the camp before Naples. ib. 105. See Hist. Henry VIII. vol. 2. p. 249.

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hesitated to accept it.²⁴ His friends solicited his compliance, for the good of his country.²⁵ He acquiesced in their wishes, received from a bishop then at Venice the first tonsure and the minor orders,²⁶ visited the grand duke in form in his cardinal costume; and in September, in this transformation, going to Rome, was admitted into the consistory there,²⁷ the great senate of the papal throne.

The integrity of Contarini's mind, and his knowledge of the criticisms of the observing world, soon led him to notice the abuses in the pontifical court and dignitaries which ought to be corrected.²⁸ But his remarks were unpopular there, and only drew sneers upon himself,²⁹ until Paul III. becoming sensible of the force of his counsels, resolved to make a reform of the most objectionable faults,³⁰ and therefore desired Contarini to name the persons who would be the fittest to effectuate such a task. The upright cardinal recommended eight persons, whose principles on this point he knew to resemble his

²⁴ 'He told me, he was at first in doubt whether he should accept it.' Beccat. 108.

²⁵ Pole's liberal remark on him was, 'That he had often *read* of honors having been given to virtue, but had never seen such a thing in *reality* till now, when the pope had, from the love of virtue alone, thus honored a gentleman with whom he had not been previously acquainted.' ib. 109.

²⁶ Beccat. 108.

²⁷ The pontiff there, as he was not rich enough for the customary state of his new dignity, ordered him a provision of 200 scudi every month, which was always regularly paid him. Beccat. 110.

²⁸ 'The court had run into many abuses (*molti abusi*), on which the cardinal oftentimes spoke with great ingenuousness; only to satisfy his duty, and not to offend.' Beccat. 110.

²⁹ 'But the world, which is bad, moved certain persons who would not think of any reform, to say, 'that Contarini was come from the *senate* of Venice to reform the college of cardinals, without even knowing their names.' ib.

³⁰ 'Che si facesse una reforma delle cose piu importanti.' ib.

own.³¹ The pope summoned these selected men to Rome, and ordered them to put down in writing all that they conscientiously thought ought to be reformed in the Catholic Church.³² They met every day on their commission, and gave their reports with great secrecy to the pope.³³ It is a curious but unnoticed fact, that these papal commissioners anticipated, by their recommendations in 1537, what the National Assembly of France actually enforced in the year 1791. They advised the ABOLITION OF THE CONVENTUAL ORDERS.³⁴ Their other

³¹ These were, the four cardinals, Contarini, Theatino, Sadolet and Pole; the archbishops of Salerno and Brindisi; the bishop of Verona; the abbot of St. George, much respected for his literature and worth; and Th. Badia, the master of the sacred palace. Plat's Monum. Trid. v. 2. p. 605.

³² Becc. 111.

³³ 'Con ogni segretezza,' ib. 112. It was afterwards printed at Antwerp, and is now in Le Plat's Mon. Trid. 2. p. 596. They state that they had been directed to signify those abuses under which the church, *ac præsertim hæc Romana curia*, was laboring; they ascribed them to former popes collecting round them 'magistros ad desideria sua, not to learn from them what they ought to do, but that by their studio et calliditate a reason might be found by which it might seem lawful to do what they should like (qua liceret, id quod liberet;) who taught that the pope was the master of all benefices, and might sell what was his own, without simony; and that his will, whatever it might be, should be the rule by which he should regulate his actions, and therefore that he might do what he pleased. From this fountain have rushed, O holy Father! so many abuses and diseases which cause infidels to deride Christianity.'

'The first abuse is the ordination of the clergy, in which no care is shewn; but *every where* any the most unfit, the vilest in birth, of bad morals, and even youths, are admitted to sacred orders.'

'The next abuse is the conferring of benefices and bishoprics on persons who do not discharge their sacred duties. Another, the charging them with pensions, so that the giver (the pope) reserves the fruits to himself. Simoniackal contracts for the exchange of benefices; children of priests getting by dispensation their fathers' benefices, which had caused great invidiam clericis and seditions, et acuunt linguam contra hanc sedem; appointing to benefices before vacancy, creating a desire for another's death; conversion of church revenues to private purposes; pluralities, especially of bishoprics; making bishops cardinals, tho the officium of each was incompatible with the other.' These are the first abuses they notice as particularly flowing from the popedom itself.

³⁴ After stating that bishops were prevented from punishing delin-

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counsels were strong and honest,³⁵ altho Luther violent against them.³⁶ But this was all that done on this emendatory system. The execution of their advice was postponed till after the assembling of some general council: an adjournment which Beccatelli unhesitatingly attributes to the enemy both God and man—an emphatic expression of conviction of the existence of the evils, of the necessity of their speedy cure, and of the wish of the upright papal churchmen to see it effected. All that the p

quents, by their resorting to Rome, and procuring impunity by means of the pope, they proceed to remark, that many of the religious orders were dissipated, and thus advise their dissolution, by the gradual plan of admitting no more to them: ‘*Conventuales ordines abolendos esse putamus omnes, non tamen ut alicui fiat injuria, sed prohibendo ne novos possint admittere.*’ So without the injury of any one they might be speedily destroyed (*cito delerentur*), and boni religiosi could be substituted in their place. We now think it would be optimum, if all boys who have professed were to be expelled from their monasteries.’ p. 601.

³⁵ They notice the sacrilegious abuses that occurred among nuns who were under the care of the conventual friars, and the teaching imparted in the public academies, and advise the prohibition of the Colloquies of Erasmus. 602. They urged the abolition of the questuaries of St. Anthony and others, who went about begging money, and procuring indulgences by deceiving the people with their superstitious practices. They complain of dispensations to marry, given to those who were in sacred orders; of dispensations to those who married within the prohibited degrees; of simony, a pestilens vitium which was then reigning in the church; of clergy getting licence to bequeath church property. They recommend that indulgences should be granted only once a year, and only in the distinguished cities. They tell the pope, ‘beatissime Pater,’ that foreigners were scandalized at seeing, even at St. Peter’s, ignorant priests, and dressed in such filthy clothes as they could not wear in filthy houses. They remark to him, that in Rome meretrices were parading thro the city on foot, or on mules, like respected matrons, whom even at noon day the clerici et familiares cardinalium affectant, and who were inhabiting insignes ædes. They had seen this corruption in no other city. 604. Such is the substance of this document, which verifies the declamations of the middle age against the pope and his hierarchy.

³⁶ On hearing that they had censured the Colloquies, Luther exclaimed, ‘Hath Erasmus also fallen under your correction? I wish he were alive; he would give you such an answer as such infamous wretches deserve, and expose your pious grimaces to some purpose.’ Jortin, Eras. v. 2. p. 66. This was unjust language towards those who were pious and worthy men, tho differing in opinion from him.

then chose or was able to do, was to make his appointed reformers cardinals, that his hierarchy might be benefited by their public principles and individual practice.³⁷

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After the emperor's unsuccessful invasion of France from Provence, Paul III. went in 1538 to Nice, to meet and reconcile him and Francis.³⁸ A temporary amity, but with no cordial confidence, was effected; and this unsatisfactory conciliation, together with the desire of Charles to direct his military activity against the endangering and arrogant Turks,³⁹ preserved the German Protestants, at that time, from a destructive war to convert them by military violence.

When Paul III. succeeded to the tiara, it had become sufficiently obvious to a less sagacity than his own, that his antient edifice must decline, unless the chief monarchs of Europe could be induced to maintain it by their civil power, and a sufficient number of the most influential clergy be interested and united both to teach and to enforce it.

To bring down on the Protestants of Germany the arm of military power, it was indispensable that the

³⁷ Contarini used often to tell him, that if he wished to give beauty to the church, he would not write any more laws, of which there were plenty, but make living books, that would cause those laws to speak and yield fruit; and this was to be done by raising such men to be cardinals and bishops who revered the Deity, and were learned. Becc. 112.

³⁸ It was here that the enlightened queen of Navarre distinguished Contarini by her kindness. When he kneeled to kiss her hand, she drew back, and then saluted him herself on the face. Becc. 114. The emperor meeting him at Rome in 1536, on his return from the capture of Tunis, was so pleased with his manners and character, as to assign him an annual pension of 800 ducats of gold on the church of Pampe-luna. ib. 113.

³⁹ The emperor accompanied the pontiff from Nice to Genoa, and there confidentially expressed to Contarini to communicate it to the Venetian state, 'l'animo che di far guerra al Turco havea.' Becc. 114.

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warlike sovereigns of the continent should be harmonized and should confederate ; for it was clear that one of three things must now take place : The pope must either resolve to maintain, undiminished and unrelaxing, the despotic supremacy of his see, and all its former ritual, superstitious tenets, prerogatives and profits, and all the power, privileges and property of its hierarchy, in every class ; or must consent and unite in effecting such a *general* modification and correction of these, as the impartial judgment of the European mind, both lay and clerical, should concur to think wise and right to be universally received ; or must acquiesce in every country judging for itself, and forming its ecclesiastical discipline, institutions and articles of christian belief and mode of worship, as the national intellect, government, and clergy of each should determine individually to adopt. Of these three ways, the pontiffs successively and sturdily chose, and have contended for the first alone, indignantly rejecting the others ; while a gracious Providence, for the benefit of mankind, has been pleased to decide, that the last should be established in those countries, whose operations and literature have been most impressively connected with the improvement and happiness of the great society of the human race, leaving it for the other nations to be equally benefited, when their moral and intellectual state becomes equally susceptible of an adequate advancement.

In determining to establish the papal supremacy, and all its elaborate and ably-mechanized system, in the whole of Europe, unchanged and uncompromised, the papal see could only have looked forward to the

violent arm of overpowering force. Before Clement's death, it had become manifest, that for maintaining the whole mass of artificial faith and worship, with all its good and evil, nothing but destructive violence would avail.⁴⁰ Both the objections to the Romish system, and the dissidents from it, had been increasing from the time that Luther had raised his voice against it. Almost every one who loved pure religion, and thought impartially on the subject, became, to a greater or more confined extent, a Luther in his heart and mind: altho the love of their worldly influence, property, or enjoyments, made many hostile in conduct to criticisms which their reason could not think unfounded, but which alarmed them with the foresight of the personal subtractions and inconveniences which would follow from their further diffusion. In private life, all individual reformation requires individual sacrifices, privations, and self-denial: it is therefore angrily listened to, long resisted, never welcomed, and rarely adopted.

But no military force could be moved, either against England or against the German Protestants, unless the emperor and the king of France could be drawn into peace and co-operating union. Hence Pole had so assiduously exhorted the emperor to it, and at various periods of his treasonable life, after he

⁴⁰ The emperor had in 1532 made temporary arrangements with the Protestant princes at Nuremberg, which kept the disputed questions in a state of suspension and of possible compromise, and averted war about them, and which were again promulgated at Ratisbon. But Paul III. condemns what he calls the 'Truces, and orders his legate, in 1541, to remonstrate with the emperor on the 'quot et quanta mala' which had followed from them, and to urge him not to confirm them. See his instructions to C. Contarini, of 28th January 1541, in Quir. Ep. v. 3. p. 295.

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had become an outlaw from his country, had strenuously endeavored to bring Francis and Charles into political concord;⁴¹ and for the same purpose Paul III., as soon as he was seated on the papal throne, exerted his diplomatic activity. He states himself that he did so. It was the first part of his plan to reduce the protesting Germans to their obedience to the Roman see; and he sent letters and nuncios very frequently to the contending sovereigns, to exhort them, not merely to amity, but to a *true* peace;⁴² because it was manifest that a cordial union alone would produce an effective confederacy to suppress the obnoxious principles and their connected power.

The ambition and jealousy of both Charles and Francis prevented that league between them, which might have been so fatal to the progression of the human mind, and to the existence of those who then exhibited it. As this became apparent, and as all solicitations to effect it failed, the pope next turned his thoughts to a council;⁴³ not a fair and full council of all the clerical mind of Europe, as represented by its appointed dignitaries, because that would have led to the second of the alternatives which we have noticed; but to such an assembly of prelates, whose necessary majority would be manageable by

⁴¹ See his earnest *Oratio de Pace* to Charles V. in Quirini's Ed. of his Ep. v. 4. p. 405-27. He reminds the emperor, that it was from these wars not only that the Turks had so prevailed, but also that the '*teterrima factio* tantas vires cepit.' p. 410.

⁴² He says, 'From the beginning of our pontificate we have, by our letters and nuncios, '*sæpissime*,' exhorted the Christian princes to *true* peace and conduct, '*ut facilius hoc religionis dissidium in pristinam concordiam reduceremus*.' 3 Quir. p. 293.

⁴³ *Ib.* p. 294.

the papal see ; and which, under the name and forms of a general council, would carefully maintain the papal supremacy, and all the connected hierarchy and system, unshaken in every part, and whose managed decrees might be made text books to all the Romish clergy in every kingdom. These would compose a body of religious tenets for the civil powers of every country, to enforce with all their intimidating means of privation and terror, whenever any prince could be persuaded by the court of Rome to put them in action against his subjects or dependents. All these consequences have been the experienced results of the council which he procured and commenced, and which his successors concluded.

In execution of this plan, Paul appointed a council to meet at Mantua. He issued his official mandates, and sent his legates to attend it. But he was disappointed ; neither of the hostile princes favored it, and scarcely any bishops appeared.⁴⁴

In 1537 he made another effort. He procured a concession from the Venetian senate, to make Vicenza the place for it ;⁴⁵ and he again called the great clergy to compose it, and especially desired such good and qualified persons as would deserve his favor.⁴⁶ But here again he failed. Tho he made his legates wait six months at Vicenza, while he

⁴⁴ ' Fere nulli.' So his responsio to the emperor in 1548 states. Quir. v. 4. p. 389.

⁴⁵ On 6th November 1537, cardinal Cornelio informed Contarini of the grant, and that he was waiting to attend the meeting, ' knowing the great desire his holiness has to effect it, as by the things past he has been able to see the expediency of it.' Quir. v. 3. p. 275.

⁴⁶ ' Our Lord desires to place in his council persons qualified by learning, judgment, and good life. He makes diligent inquiry after such as deserve the favor of his holiness (che meritano la gratia di sua santita.)' Card. Lett. ib. 276.

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wrote to the bishops whom he wished to attend, and sent his nuncios to the princes to obtain leave for their attendance,⁴⁷ yet few came.⁴⁸ He ascribes the failure to the wars; the emperor, to the place;⁴⁹ not however really meaning the local inconveniences, which were the verbal pretext: but because the Germans and he wanted the council to be held in Germany,⁵⁰ that it might not be under the command of the pope, who had thus fixed it twice in Italy, that he might not lose this desired control.

While Paul III. was laboring thus ineffectually for his councils,⁵¹ the emperor was holding his diets.⁵²

⁴⁷ Responsio, p. 389.

⁴⁸ 'Pauci praelati.' ib. It was on 8th April 1538, that Henry VIII. published his declaration (Harl. Mis. 1. p. 170) against the last of these projected councils, as he had done against that appointed for Mantua in the preceding May. He remarks, 'Our fathers invented nothing more holy than general councils, used as they ought to be;' but that Rome was now, 'by subtlety and craft, inventing ways to mock the world by new pretended general councils.' His observation, 'We suppose that that ought not to be called a *general* council, *where alonely these* men are heard which are determined for ever, in all points, to defend the popish part, and to arm themselves to fight in the bishop of Rome's quarrel,' may be justly applied to the council of Trent, as some of the facts in this and the next chapter sufficiently indicate.

⁴⁹ His cardinals angrily stated to the imperial ambassador, 'if there was not 'ulla frequentia' of the prelates at Mantua or Vicenza, it was not as you affirm, that these cities were 'minime aptas,' but the 'bella' between Christian princes.' ib. 389.

⁵⁰ Paul III. thus himself expresses his sentiments to Contarini: 'If his majesty should permit this General Council to be held only in Germany, which has been for so many years required by the Germans, all must see how absurd this would be and foreign to reason, and with what injury to our authority; for, if such a council were held in Germany, the Lutherans would easily defend their heresies against the dogmas and laudable rites of the universal church, and easily obtain its approbation in their favor, which evils you are to prohibit.' Quir. v. 3. p. 293.

⁵¹ He thus expresses his failure in 1539: 'It being the opinion of his majesty and other Christian princes, that, by the bad disposition of the times, a General Council cannot now be celebrated, tho his holiness has already so often appointed one, and used every labor and means to assemble it.' Just. Quir. 3. p. 304.

⁵² The diet of Frankfort in 1539 was particularly obnoxious to the pope, from its relinquishing his supremacy. See the following note, 86.

He had one meeting with the Protestant chieftains at Hagenau, and another at Worms. The pontiff sent anxiously his most able men to be nuncios there ; and for the diet at Ratisbon in 1541, more alarming because more likely to be decisive, he selected the amiable, the accomplished, and the enlightened Contarini.

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To the assembly at Hagenau in June 1540, the papal advisers had been decidedly hostile ;⁵³ but as they could not prevent the meeting, a nuncio was sent to it.⁵⁴ The emperor there requested the advice of the catholic princes ; but they desired first to know his opinion, as they were much divided among themselves, some wishing to have recourse to arms,⁵⁵ while others, especially the bishops, were running towards agreement, ‘ full of fears from all sides.’⁵⁶ The pontifical envoy was apprehensive that the result would be ‘ a concordia half Lutheran, by which the reformers would obtain some articles to their wishes,

He complained, thro Montepulciano, to the emperor, of the prelate of Lunden consenting there ‘ alle domande injusti de Lutherani con grandissimo pregiudizio della sede apostolica.’ He accuses the bishop of being induced to consent to its capitola by gifts and promises ; by a gift of the communita d’ Augusta of 2,500 gold florins, and by a promise of 4,000 such florins every year from the fruits of his see, which a Lutheran king had seized ; and that he was trying, with the queen of Hungary, to be appointed governor of her territories there ; and, O monstrum horrendum ! the consummation of his iniquity ! was actually thinking of taking a wife, ‘ pensi pigliar moglia.’ Quir. v. 3. p. 301.

⁵³ So the bishop of Modena affirms in his letter from Hagenau, 19th June 1540. ‘ This meeting, at the commencement, was made against the will of Farnese, their legate in Flanders, and of all the ministers of his holiness, because they saw its dangers.’ Quir. 3. p. 263. Yet in the preceding year the pope directed Montepulciano to urge the emperor to have an Imperial Diet. ‘ It appears to his beatitudine che sarebbe che sua majesta pensasse alla celebratione d’una Dieta Imperiale.’ 304.

⁵⁴ Paul III. Instructions. Q. 3. p. 288.

⁵⁵ ‘ As more convenienti a ridurre li disviati.’ Bishop. Mod. Lett. p. 263.

⁵⁶ Ib.

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and remit others to a council. By such a way Lutheranism would be admitted into all Germany.⁵⁷ This was the great dread of Rome. Its nuncio took with him to this diet 50,000 dollars, in bills of exchange,⁵⁸ but does not appear to have then applied them. The diet broke up after a few weeks,⁵⁹ and another was appointed to assemble in a few months at Worms. The duke of Saxony, the greatest of the Protestant princes, was now in daily intercourse with France, and required peculiar terms before he attended this meeting.⁶⁰

On 11th March 1541, cardinal Contarini arrived at Ratisbon, as the papal legate to the great diet which assembled in that city.⁶¹ He went on the principle of conciliating the opposing reformers by his courteous manners:⁶² but he was strictly for-

⁵⁷ Bishop Mod. Lett. p. 264.

⁵⁸ The letter of cardinal Farnese's secretary to Contarini, of 15th June 1540: 'On account of the lega Catholica, his holiness made the provision of 50,000 ducats, which in 'lettre de cambio' Mons. de Modena carried with him to the meeting at Aganon.' Quir. 4. p. 241. These were afterwards sent to Contarini, at the diet at Ratisbon, as the emperor's ministers had pressed for them on account of the Catholic league. ib. 242. How they were to be used at Ratisbon, the following note 81 will shew.

⁵⁹ On 9 Aug. 1540, Card. Cervini, from Aja, in Holland, mentions to Card. Farnese its dissolution, and the preparations for a new one. Quir. v. 3. p. 223.

⁶⁰ These were, according to T. Badia's letter from Worms, 28 Dec. 1540, a new form of safe conduct, 'That his clergy might preach in the city, and that the judgment of the imperial chamber on the ecclesiastical property should not be annulled, because he would not restore it. The writer adds, 'These Lutheran princes are continually strengthened in their perfidy. Every day couriers come from France to this duke of Saxony.' Lett. Quir. v. 3. p. 262.

⁶¹ His letter of 13 March, to cardinal Brandusino. He first went to a convent of Certosini outside of the city, and the next day made an 'entrato molto onorato.' Quir. v. 3. p. 225.

⁶² He thus states his own feeling of the necessity of this demeanor, in his letter to cardinal Cervini, on 8 June 1541, from Ratisbon, 'e semper bene usar cortesia: ma specialmente a questi tempi in Germanie e quasi necessario.' Quir. v. 3. p. 231.

bidden to arrange the differences with them by any concession,⁶³ and was even rebuked for his mild patience and unoffending forbearance,⁶⁴ by those whose interest it was that he should have affronted the emperor ; and whose passions preferred violence and arms to either compromise or conciliation.⁶⁵ So impossible was it to please the infuriate without imitating their excitation.

The directions of Paul III. to his virtuous legate at the diet, display so fully the plan and spirit on which the court of Rome and its consistory of Cardinals had decided, and ever afterwards have continued to act, that it is important to describe them in their own words, as the system and policy which, from that moment to the present, have uniformly governed the conduct of the papal cabinet. We have three pontifical documents which fully display them :

⁶³ The instructions of Paul III. to him before he went, were express on this point : ‘ We do not send thee with the fullest power of ‘ *concordani* ’ with the Protestants, as upon the part of his Cesarean majesty has been often requested of us.’ Quir. v. 3. p. 288. The official letter to Contarini from the papal cabinet on 29 May 1541, is as express : ‘ His firm intention is, that you do not approve of any thing, but remit it to the apostolic see. You have not in your person public authority ‘ *definire o terminare cosa alcuna*.’ Letter from Rome, Quir. v. 3. p. 223.

⁶⁴ The same official letter thus conveys the censure from the pontiff : ‘ We understand that your actions are noted in France, as full of respect towards the emperor. Hence they call them cold, saying that you do not exert yourself where you ought. His Holiness is sure this is false, and *doubts not* that when occasions require, you will not fail to shew yourself ‘ *viva et efficace* ’ for the defence of truth, without respect of persons.’ *ib.* 228.

⁶⁵ One of these persons was the king of France : and on 17 May 1541, the cardinal of Mantua informed Contarini, ‘ Speaking yesterday with him, his majesty informed me, that you used too much modesty, respect and taciturnity, as well in answering the emperor on religious matters, as in the aid and favor you gave the Catholics, so that they were despairing of it.’ He mentioned also that the cardinal had seen a book of a doctor of Cologne, without that passion and resentment which a thing ‘ *cosi brutta* ’ required, and therefore that he had debased the good and animated the bad.’ Quir. v. 3. p. 279.

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the instructions of Paul III. to his legate, after appointing him to be his representative at this diet; and two letters from his official cabinet to the same minister, while exercising there his diplomatic functions.

He reminds his Envoy in his instructions, that he was not sending him with full powers to make any concordance, because he meant first to see if the Protestants intended to agree to the supremacy of his see; because he did not know what they meant to ask; and because what he foresaw they would require, and what they already differed with him in, were such things as no legate, and as not even himself, could so hurriedly assent to without consulting other nations, as they concerned subjects which related to the universal church.⁶⁶ He had therefore indicated that a general council was the salutary and only remedy.⁶⁷ But as the imperial ambassador had often intimated that the Germans wished a national council for their own country to be assembled, the pontiff ordered Contarini to take especial care to forbid such a measure. He was on no account to concede, that any one nation should discuss or decree what concerned the Roman see and the general church. If, then, a national council of this sort was required for Germany, he was steadily to prohibit it, even tho they meant to admit divines from every other country, each attending to watch their own concerns.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Instructions dated 21 Jan. 1541. Quir. v. 3. p. 289.

⁶⁷ Ib. 294.

⁶⁸ Ib. 296. It was to defeat the wish for a national council of Germany, that in 1539 he had recommended the emperor to hold an imperial diet. Q. p. 305. To all these commands was added, with

With powers thus limiting him to be a mere hearer and looker on, Contarini met the diet; and on one of the greatest topics of its theological discussions, the article of Justification, not only wrote an essay mildly explaining his own conciliating ideas on this subject,⁶⁹ but also sent to Rome the form of a resolution, which he thought might harmonize all differences upon it.

At the end of May, the official secretary expressed the papal feeling on his suggestion.⁷⁰ The pope did not chuse either to approve or to disapprove of it. He thought if it meant a catholic sense, that sense ought to be more clearly expressed. It was his firm intention and positive order, that the cardinal should neither in public nor in private, sanction any conclusion which did not state the catholic sense as expressly determined by the church, and in such words as could have no danger of any ambiguity of interpretation.⁷¹ No hope of concord was to induce him to consent to any determination which was not in all respects catholic.⁷² He was not to grant to the

Rome's usual policy, 'Keep this instruction secret, and confine it to yourself alone, et nulli alio omnino ostendes.' The cardinal was even to deviate from truth for this purpose; 'but when a matter presses to the contrary way, and not otherwise, you may rather say that you have received from the oracle of our vivæ vocis the things which you may be about to say or do.' *ib.* 298.

⁶⁹ This essay, which he dated Ratisbon, 25 May 1541, is printed by cardinal Quirini, in his vol. 3. p. 199-212.

⁷⁰ Letter of N. Ardinghello, in the name of cardinal Farnese, dated Rome, 29 May 1541. *Quir.* v. 3. 221-9.

⁷¹ *Ib.* 223. He was also reminded, 'Whenever your opinion can be alleged by the Protestants to seem to favor any of their dogmas, it could not pass without great scandal, and every loss to you, and prejudice to the truth.' *ib.*

⁷² Observing this caution on every sort of article which you have to treat of, you *will not, under the hope of concord*, let yourself be transported, to consent to the meaning of any determination which is

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Protestants *any thing* under the hope of concord,⁷³ because the loss would be certain, and the gain but doubtful.

The legate had sent to his mitred chief two articles, on the authority of councils, and on the supremacy of the pope, which he thought, as he had worded them, would be admitted by the diet. They were disapproved of at Rome.⁷⁴ They were not sufficiently expressive of the pope's paramount power as to the council,⁷⁵ and did not base his power directly on divine authority.⁷⁶ He was reminded, that if the full supremacy of the pope was left in dispute, every thing else would be in vain.⁷⁷ He was to admit no article that was not entirely and indisputably catholic,⁷⁸ and to remit every proposed decree to Rome

not dell tutto catholica; and in the explanation of the words you will avoid every doubt, and not suffer them to omit to express the whole, and so clearly, that there be not any danger of their being misrepresented by the malice of adversaries.' Quir. v. 3. p. 223.

⁷³ I add the original of this important passage: 'Di non concedere a Protestanti cosa alcuna sotto speranza di concordia.' p. 223.

⁷⁴ 'Each article is importantissimo; and your two formulæ are not approved of by his holiness, or by others who have seen them.' ib. 224.

⁷⁵ 'It is not expressed, that to convoke a council belongs ONLY to the Roman pontiff, and to him alone appertains that approbation of what shall be determined in it.' 'This is of the greater moment, as the Protestants and other heretics have not failed to say, that this office belongs to the emperor. It is necessary to have your eye well on this, from what his majesty has hinted in German, at the Diet.' ib. 224.

⁷⁶ 'You take this principle, that God, to found the hierarchy of the church, placed in it bishops, archbishops, abbots, patriarchs and primates; and then, to preserve its unity, appointed the Roman pontiffs; but this suits those who say, that the primacy is very useful, but has not been immediately ordered from Heaven; therefore to avoid this danger, and to stand firmly on its catholic sense, his Beatitude judges that it should be expressed, that the entire authority was given by God to Saint Peter: the primal promise, in these words, before his passion, 'I give to thee the keys;' and afterwards, when he was about to ascend, 'Feed my Sheep.' ib. p. 225.

⁷⁷ 'The concordia of all the rest would be vana, se in questo parte si restesse in discordia.' p. 225.

⁷⁸ Ib. 226.

before he approved it;⁷⁹ but so to manage, that the rupture of the diet should not be imputable to the pope.⁸⁰

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If the Protestants were likely to yield all the points, then the 50,000 ducats might be expended as need should require,⁸¹ of course as their reward; but if they meant to retain any part of their opinions, the money was not to be so applied,—an expressive indication of its intended efficacy. One other topic, however, still remained, and this was, the toleration that should be allowed. On this important subject, even tho the Protestants, by giving up most of their tenets, were to ask it only in part as to the rest, Paul III. was as decided as a St. Dominic, or his Spanish inquisitions could desire.⁸² The secret reason for the refusal is avowed in this confidential despatch—it would draw the rest of Christendom to desire the same improvement.⁸³

⁷⁹ ‘Ma rimetterlo del tutto alla sede apostolica.’ 227.

⁸⁰ Ib. 227.

⁸¹ On 15 June 1541, the official secretary wrote, ‘As the Protestants *may be led* pacifically yet to acknowledge in *all points* the truth of the faith, and it will be necessary to make *some expence* on this account, his Holiness is content that, in *this* case, all or part of the 50,000 dollars be expended, as need shall require; but not to be so applied, if the Protestants will remain in *alcuna parte* of their opinions.’ Quir. v. 3. p. 243.

⁸² ‘It does not deserve to be taken into consideration (*non merita d’esser posto in deliberatione*) for the articles which would remain controverted would be so essential in the faith, that without a new delegation from Jesus Christ, we could not in this world take ‘*sicurta*’ for it, the faith being indivisible: he who does not accept it in tutto, cannot accept it in part;’ therefore, ‘his Holiness, with all the college, *nemine discrepante*, has resolved *not to give ear in any way to this toleration* which is asked, (*de non poter dar orecchie, in alcun modo, a questa tolerantia che si domanda.*)’ Lett. ib. p. 244, 5.

⁸³ ‘Put aside the speaking of this toleration, because, besides its sin and offence to Heaven, it would not be any other if it were done, than in exchange for gaining the Protestants to the faith, *to lose all the rest of Christendom* (*perdere tutto ’l resto della Christianita*) as others might, with some excuses, imitate.’ ib. 245.

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Thus determined to refuse all concessions to the Protestants, and all toleration, what could follow but war to overpower them?⁸⁴ Yet the pope objected to the use of arms,—he even abhorred them, because he thought that was not the way to stifle heresy.⁸⁵ This was his language; but as his determined hostility to all accommodation, and unyielding demands for submission, led directly to the employment of warlike force, if the effect of the council which he desired, should fail, we might be justified in disbelieving the sincerity of his disavowal. There is, however, no reason for doubting his dislike of war at that particular moment, for we learn from the same letter, that he not only thought it difficult and dangerous, but that he was then also dreading every day another sack of Rome.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ The official writer thus sums up the pontiff's thoughts: 'Having considered that concordia has not taken place among Christians, and that la tolerantia e illicitissima e dannosa, as has been seen by the past, and that *war is difficult and dangerous*, it appears to his Holiness, that they should recur to the remedy of a council.' Lett. ib. 245.

⁸⁵ 'Sua santita non desidera tal cosa; anzi l'abborrisce, as it appears to him, che a smorzar l'heresie la via non sia quella.' ib. p. 243.

⁸⁶ The official secretary, accounting to the legate for the pope not sending pecuniary aid to Hungary against the Turks, says, 'he only deferred it for the time, on account of the labors, expences, and dangers in which he, the said Signor Ascanio, has kept him, *threatening every day di SACCHEGGIAR Roma*.' Lett. ib. 243. So effectually had Bourbon, in 1527, broken down all the power and veneration of the papal city. I infer that the pope had no personal objections to overwhelm the Protestants by a war, if he could have had one with perfect safety to himself, from the language of his instructions, by Montepulciano, into Spain in the year 1539. He states his desire, that the emperor would *annihilate* (annichili) the Diet of Frankfort, p. 299; which he calls 'abbominivol,' p. 304; and it was so in his mind, because of its 'pestifera risolutione,' by which 'the authority of his Beatitude and the apostolic see is excluded.' p. 300. But this was not his only objection; another was, that 'durante detto termine,' no one could be taken into the catholic league. This 'is a very injurious thing, because his majesty knows well that some are ready to enter into it.' He urges this league to be 'molto ben fondata;' for, 'as much

The result of this diet was that which only could occur from such instructions and determinations of the papal cabinet. To make this assembly more effective in producing the 'concordia,' which he denied their preceding diets had been, the emperor thought a book of the disputed articles should be made, that they might by peaceable discussion be finally settled.⁸⁷ They were accordingly reduced to writing as he wished, and three Catholic⁸⁸ and as

as the forces (forze) of it shall increase, so much the more will the forze of the Lutherans be weakened; and it will be a cause either of reducing them by amicable composition to a concordia, or to curb their exertions, by the dread which they will have of *the arms and forces* of the catholic confederation (*raffrenare li loro conati col timore ch' a vranno dell' armi e forze della confederatione cattolice.*)' Quir. v. 3. p. 300. Now as two years afterwards the pope determined, as we have shewn, to listen to no composition at all; what alternative did he leave if the reformers should not obey his council, which he wished to be first tried, but the 'armi e forze' of his league. Of this league he calls the duke Henry of Brunswick the captain, p. 302; and I think the following passage leaves no doubt, that he meant to enlarge this captain's army with his own troops, whenever he should see it to be expedient to do so. 'His majesty may be certain, that our Lord, according to the quality of his forces, *will not be found wanting in his possible forces* and aids: (*secondo la qualita delle forze non sia per mancare delle possible forze et ajuti.*)' p. 303.

⁸⁷ Quirini's Diatribi, v. 3. p. 3.

⁸⁸ These were Pflugius, Gropper, and Eckius, ib. The papal secretary in June 1540, thus spoke of the two last: 'the recovery of *Eckius* as much pleased his Holiness as his indisposition grieved him, for he is a person to make himself esteemed, not only by his excellent learning in this matter, and his experience in German affairs, but his *obedience* and *fidelity* shewn to this see.' Lett. Quir. 239. 'So his Holiness much praises and is content with the good conduct of Gropper,' ib. Eckius, however, took care not to serve unrewarded, for in May 1541 he gave Contarini a memorial, that he had accepted both an episcopal prebend, and also the officium custodiæ of the cathedral, which a bishop just dead had held with a canonical, and that he thought he was entitled to keep both, because Clement VII. had declared, that a prebend with any other dignity or office ought to be reckoned but as *one* benefice. Quir. 3. p. 229. Contarini forwarded this to Rome, praying cardinal Cervini 'to help this worthy man, who has deserved much of the apostolic see, to obtain what he desires.' Lett. 30th May 1541, ib. p. 229. Cervini answers, on 14 June, that he 'had strongly recommended this memorial to the Datario.' p. 230.

many Protestant divines⁸⁰ were appointed to debate them. They met and reasoned ; but their eventual agreement, and the imperial wish for a pacific compromise, was terminated by the legate, however different his opinion may and indeed seems to have been, chusing or rather being necessitated to obey his overruling orders, and therefore delivering in a written answer, that on the articles in which the Protestants differed from the common consent of the catholic church, he should determine nothing, but remit them all to the pope and the apostolic see.⁸¹ Legates like himself might have united the intelligent and sincere on both sides into a plan of conciliation, which, allowing the consciences of each a fair latitude for individual conviction, would have prevented the shame and evil of an inveterate separation.⁸¹ But worldly interests were at work to widen the schism instead of healing it ;⁸² and the Turkish invasion

⁸⁰ The protestant doctors were Melancthon, Bucer, and Pistorius. Quir. Diat. 3.

⁸¹ Quirini has inserted this final responsum in his *Diatriba*, p. 4. Contarini added, ‘ that the pope, in a general council that would ere long take place, *vel modo alio, magis opportuno, si res ita exegerit, ea definire,* &c. What this ‘ other mode, more opportune, if the matter should require it,’ was to be, we are left to conjecture, and might without any wish to slander, easily suppose, if any other person than Contarini had written the sentence ; and yet Pole, as sincere in his belief and as mild in his general manners, did not hesitate to press repeatedly for war. Such was the crusading feeling of many in behalf of the pope’s supremacy, probably from its being so much linked with their own dignity and interests.

⁸² J. Sturmius said publicly, that if there had been five or six counsellors of the pope like Contarini, they might, without any hesitation, have obeyed his decrees and become catholics ; and ‘ that men like the legate were fit to raise up religion even from its grave.’ Becc. Vit. Cont. p. 119. But the cardinal’s hands being tied by his master, as we have seen, he was obliged to bear patiently the remark of Martin Bucer : ‘ Most reverend Sir, the people are sinning on both sides—we, in defending some points too obstinately, and you will not correct your many abuses.’ *ib.* 110.

⁸³ As the report of a probable concordia spread, they who envied the

calling off the imperial forces into Hungary,⁹³ the diet, that was intended to pacify, broke up in July, leaving every thing as unsettled and as discordant as before.

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emperor's greatness within Germany, and feared elsewhere what might become if all the Germans were united to him, began to sow tares among the theologi collocutori. They also accused Contarini at Rome, that he was caressing the Lutherans, and granting them what he ought not.' Beccat. p. 119.

⁹³ Ib. 119.

CHAP. VI.

THE COMMENCEMENT AND COURSE OF THE COUNCIL
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THAT in a period of acute research and intelligent criticism, when a desire that the truth in all things should be ascertained, and made the guide both of the thought and conduct, the decrees of the council of Trent should continue to be the unalterable standard of the faith and worship of the sincere and well-informed Christian, in any country, would be an exception to the usual progress of the understanding, and to the present course of human affairs. Compelling power has hitherto made them the absolute legislation of the catholic world; and has attached criminality, peril and death to all opposers. But the hour of this mental despotism has passed; its sanguinary sovereignty has been destroyed. The reaction of the emancipating mind was one of the agitating causes of the French revolution: and amid the painful and revolting accompaniments of that mighty concussion, one happy result seems to have been secured to society—the termination of all mental thralldom to sacerdotal tyranny. No earthly potentate, under whatever title, will be again able to force the human reason to that slavery in religious belief and truth, which the fabricators and supporters of the decrees of the council of Trent, wilfully and violently imposed upon mankind. Heresy and witch-

craft have at last become obsolete as crimes. While the papal hierarchy reigned in its power, or could make it the interest of governments to enforce its influence, heresy was the unpardonable crime; and persecution, the virtue and the duty. The attained freedom, the superior morality, and the enlightened judgment of present society, have changed this unnatural and pernicious dogmatism; and have unfolded the real truths, that persecution is the crime which, if any thing ought to be unforgiven by man, deserves to be so; and that heresy, as to its human responsibility, is no more than what the word originally designated, an error of mind, if it be a wrong deduction; and a folly that will soon draw the ridicule of our social common sense upon its author, if it be at all remarkable for its absurdity. No difference of conscientious belief can ever be the legitimate subject of any human inquisition, tribunal or punishment. It will be the greatest glory of the nineteenth century, if this universal principle of individual happiness and virtue, should be established as a permanent axiom of all political legislation.

The authority of an œcumenical or universal council rested on its being composed of deputed prelates from all the Christian churches, impartially convened, and on its decisions being their spontaneous and free and disinterested judgments. The uniting opinions of wise and good men from all parts of the world, deliberating and deciding on sacred truths, without any prejudice, passion, self-interest or overruling dictation, come with an impression on every honest mind which it is difficult and rarely desirable to resist. All the blessings of superior guidance may

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be reasonably expected to accompany such judgments: and the most independent inquirer would regard them as adjudications which, tho never superseding his own re-examination, would yet deservedly claim his high respect, and restrain him from any precipitate or self-confident dissent.

But from the beginning to the end of its interrupted, broken, scattered and reunited assemblages, the council of Trent never had, and never was by its several papal sovereigns meant to have, this sacred character. They and their cardinals resolved, from the outset to its conclusion, that it should be wholly governed and limited by themselves; should consist only of such persons as they should invite and approve; should discuss only what they by their agents proposed; and should decree only what they had previously determined to be the system that should be forced upon the catholic world. That these features represent its real character, the indisputable authorities of their own church, the actual words of its acting directors sufficiently testify. A few of these, in the notes to this Chapter, will illustrate this important subject; and these may be usefully preceded by the general statement of the Spanish canonist and zealous catholic Vargas, who was at the council on the behalf of his court, and who, without knowing what the ruling legates were writing, observed and reported its genuine character.¹

¹ After I had collected the annotations for this chapter, I met with the letters and documents of Vargas, sent by him to the famous minister of Charles V. the cardinal de Granville, which, with other correspondence, Mr. Trumbull, our resident at Brussels, for James I. and Charles I. obtained there, and brought thence in 1625, and which Le Vassor printed in 1699.

Having failed in his solicitations for a council at Mantua and Vicenza, Paul III. persevering in his purpose, took his earliest opportunity afterwards of convoking one to Trent. Here also he was again at first unsuccessful; his pontifical wishes were disregarded; but undeterred by his disappointment, in the beginning of 1545 he summoned it once more to assemble in this town,² not because he liked its position, or thought it would provide satisfactorily the conveniences which his hierarchy would desire,³ but

He was sent to the council when it moved to Bologna, in 1548, and was with it when it returned to Trent, in 1550. He thus speaks of it to the Spanish prime minister:

‘ In the direction of this council of Trent, no traces of the past ones, as to the essential direction, are kept; but a mode has been adopted, the most pernicious and destructive of its freedom that could have been imagined, and by which the authority of councils will be taken away.

‘ Under the claim of directing it, the legates of the pope make themselves the rulers of the council. Nothing is done, or proposed, or determined, but what they desire, and according to the orders which they receive from Rome, and which are sent thence to them every hour. The prelates whom *the pope has here, as his pensioners*, cannot deny it, and lament it as well as other pious men.’ These words are so important, that we will add their original Spanish: ‘ En la direction d’este concilio Tridentino, ninguno vestigio de los passados, quanto a la essencial direccion del, se ha guardado. Y se na llevado un modo que os el mas pernicioso y destructivo de la libertad de quantos se podrian imaginar con que se quita el autoridad de los concilios. A titulo de dirigir, los legados del papa se applican todo el concilio assi: y ninguna cosa se haze, ni propone, ni discute, ni define, sino lo que ellos quieren, segun el orden que de Roma tienen, y cada hora se les embia. Los prelados que *el papa tenia aqui salariados* no lo podian negar, y se dolian dello con los otros hombres pios.’ Mem. de Vargas, p. 14, and 34, 35.

The reader may compare this description of Vargas with the account which the legates themselves give of their own conduct and pecuniary corruption of the prelates, in notes 20, 83 and 136, of this chapter.

² The responsio given in his name on 1 Feb. 1548, to the emperor’s ambassador, remarks, that ‘ *bis eodem loco concilium vocavit: bis legatos misit.*’ Quir. Ep. Pole, v. 4. p. 389.

³ His cardinal stated, that both Mantua and Vicentia ‘longe’ surpassed Trent, both in the ‘commoditate loci et abundantia omnium rerum quæ celebrationi concilii sunt necessariæ.’ Resp. 389. The angustia del luogo; the deficiency and high price of all victuals, and its chilly church, ‘la chiesa freddissima,’ were afterwards complained of by his legates. Quir. 4. p. 279.

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because it stood on the borders of Germany and Italy, and was therefore more likely to please the emperor, and to attract the German clergy.

Resolved now if possible to accomplish his desire, he sent, in the early spring, as his legates to Trent, his three selected cardinals, De Monte, Sanctæ Crucis, and Pole.⁴ The two first of these reached it on 13th March 1545, and desired Pole to join them.⁵ It was five weeks afterwards before he was with them,⁶ and they waited seven months before the German prelates began to make their appearance.⁷

The more favoring members gradually came as May advanced.⁸ The legates wished to open it before the Whitsuntide passed, that the impression might not arise that it was impossible to do so;⁹ but they were anxious to know the emperor's resolution,¹⁰ and complained of the backwardness of Spain and of the king of France.¹¹ They confessed the

⁴ Respons, p. 394. One of these, Cervini, the cardinal of S. Crucis, became the future short-lived Pope Marcellus II.

⁵ Their letter to Pole, from Trent, at this time, is in Quirini, 4. p. 185. Pole, in his answer of the 22d, from Rome, shows that the pope was detaining him: 'As to my coming, our lord seems resolved that I shall go at all events soon after the festival (Easter).' Ep. v. 4. p. 186.

⁶ On 28 April, he apprised them that he had reached Bologna in his way, should take with him 25 horse soldiers as his guard, and should go by Ferrara, to avoid the unfriendly confines of Mirandola. p. 187.

⁷ So the Pope complained. Resp. p. 393.

⁸ On 11 May, the Cardinal Legates informed cardinal Farnese, that the three generals of the orders of Servi, Augustin and Carmini, had arrived, and among others the bishop of Chioggia 'buon Teologo.' Now, they say, 'they are provided with men valenti: di buon giudizio e coscienza.' p. 208. On 19 and 23 May, they desired the pope's opinion, whether they should allow the proxies of the great dignitaries who did not attend personally, to sit for them. 209. They recommend it for their zealous friends, but not for those of 'mala mente,' and who walk by indirect ways. ib. 211. It was settled that those representatives only should be admitted who had votes themselves as bishops. p. 212.

⁹ Lett. 12 May. p. 208.

¹⁰ Ib.

¹¹ Lett. 23 May. p. 210.

many dangers which would arise, if they should hold the council against the will of the Christian princes;¹² but yet, if it should not be commenced, the opposing reformers would multiply, and the obedience to the papal see be much more diminished.¹³ Still greater evils however might spring up, if, after being opened, the sovereigns and the pope should not agree as to their proceedings, or on their decisions.¹⁴ They suggested, that the subjects of the Lutherans and of England should be first discussed, as being the greatest events that for many ages had happened to their church.¹⁵ Towards the end of June, the king of the Romans urged its beginning, which surprised its appointed conductors,¹⁶ as the emperor, tho favorable in his expressions, had not yet decided to countenance it, and was now occupied by his diet at Worms, which was neither palatable to the pontiff, nor manageable by himself.¹⁷

But altho they desired impatiently the presence of favoring bishops, and even advised the admission of literary advocates, who were not prelates, to vote,¹⁸ yet

¹² On 26 May, they stated these 'pericoli.' 'The prelates of their kingdoms would not come. The council could not then be called Ecumenical; its ordinances would not be received in the provinces; to heal one wound many more would be made, and princes would favor the malignant instruments, who would never be found wanting.' p. 211.

¹³ Ib. 211.

¹⁴ Ib.

¹⁵ Lett. 8 June, p. 212. Their language as to Henry, betrays the pen of Pole: 'Le sceleraggini e atrocite commesse dal Re d'Inghilterra.' ib.

¹⁶ Lett. 20 and 23 June, p. 213. 'Il che parer molto strano e poco verisimili.' ib.

¹⁷ The legates, on 26 May, congratulated Card. Farnese on his arrival at Worms, but expressed their wonder that so much respect should be had to the perverse obstinacy of the Lutherans; they had 'shaken off the yoke of obedience, but it was to be hoped that the emperor would, either by authority induce, or by force constrain them to return to it; otherwise, the world would be overturned, the heretics command, and the pope and emperor obey.' Lett. p. 210.

¹⁸ On 7 June, they requested the papal adviser to consider well about

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when the English deputies approached the West, the legates prevailed on the cardinal of Trent to refuse them a passage.¹⁹ The same spirit of securing the issue, which made them solicitous to exclude all opposers, induced them to request, and to receive with pleasure, pecuniary supplies, in order to animate and influence those who should either need or would accept them.²⁰

As July advanced, the prospects of effective business darkened. The cardinal of Trent withdrew, and sent a dissatisfied letter;²¹ and the legates declared, that with all the exertion and dexterity they could use, they could no longer amuse the prelates who were there.²² To hold a council concurrently with a German conference, followed by a diet, was neither an honorable nor a safe thing; and yet to suspend it, would give to heresy a continual expansion. Difficulties surrounded them. If his holi-

the exclusions of representatives. For 'already Cocleus is on the road, and it will not be advantageous to tell him, that he shall not have a voice in the council, as he is one of the 'bene meritos' of Germany; has always fought the heretics, and written the works of which they send an inventory.' p. 212. He was one of the four who came as procurators of the king of the Romans. p. 219.

¹⁹ So they stated on 11 July 1545: 'Passo negato per Trento alle Genti d'Inghilterra dal Card. di Trento *ad istanza de' legati*.' p. 214.

²⁰ That I may not misrepresent, I will translate literally the Card. Quirini's summary of their letter of 4 July 1545. 'Received 2,000 ducats for the necessary expenses of the council. They were a little late; but they came in time to give spirit to the needy (a bisognosi.) The legates will not think of expending them but according to the order of his Holiness and the sacred college; and send them a note of the prelates to whom the subsidy, according to them, should go. It would be as well that the order to apply them should come from the Card. Farnese, to shut the mouths of many who will ask for them without need, and without being creditors.' p. 214.

²¹ Lett. 11 and 16 June. 'They did not know whether he wrote it from anger; or from the instigation of a greater person, or from any other cause.' p. 214.

²² Lett. 18 June. 215.

ness did not grant half the income and the vassals of the Spanish monasteries to the emperor, he would be displeased ; and if these should be conceded while the council lasted, the gift would alienate the prelates from the Roman see.²³

In August the assembled prelates became impatient, and requested permission to go home. Reformation of the abuses at Rome was expected ; and besides this, four things were necessary for the celebration of the council—truce with the Turks, peace between Charles and Francis, union between the emperor and the pope, and a subsidy. But one of the legates had heard that the emperor meant to keep them in a state of suspension at Trent as long as he could.²⁴ Four French bishops had, however, arrived, and had declared that their king had sent them ‘as a good son’ of the pope ; that they would consent to the celebration or translation of the council, as he should please ; and that they did not care whether reform or dogmas were taken first, ‘provided only that they did not touch the things of France.’²⁵

September passing away, and nothing done, the French prelates declared that their sovereign, seeing the delay, had ordered them home.²⁶ In October the emperor’s desire, that his diet should finish before the council opened, was intimated.²⁷ He disapproved of its being transferred to any other place ; and he

²³ Lett. 26 June. 216.

²⁴ Lett. 7 August 1545. 217.

²⁵ Lett. 10 August. 218. He had mentioned their arrival on 19 July, as ‘quattro *Ursi* Francesi.’ p. 215. This word, like ‘Orsi,’ may express ‘bears,’ yet such a term is so generally inapplicable to the French nation, that we may interpret it to mean, that they came with no favorable feelings towards the papal designs, and therefore were thus bluntly and unceremoniously characterized by the papal legates.

²⁶ Lett. 29 September. 220.

²⁷ Lett. 1 October. 220.

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expressed his wishes, that if it were commenced, it should proceed to discuss the reformatations which were necessary in the church, and to let this subject supersede that of the dogmas;²⁸ a sentiment of true wisdom, and sound principle, but not likely to be agreeable to the palaces on the Tiber. A postscript announced at last the imperial consent, that the council should be opened, and be free; but to remember to move with care on the subject of religion, 'in order not to irritate the Lutherans until the time should come.'²⁹ The legates congratulated their master upon his resolution to begin their deliberations, and proceeded to fix the commencement of their great drama, to the visible joy of all assembled.³⁰ But suddenly a new impediment arose. The French prelates, who had been stimulating so much the pope to this measure, now declared they must have a new commission from their government on the subject. One of them resolved to go away, and two others prepared to follow. It was to no purpose that they were questioned, why they had never mentioned such a limitation of their authority; they had nothing to answer, but that they could not stay. The Spanish bishops and envoy, with the cardinal of Trent, urged the legates not to suffer them to depart; but the one declared that he must go to Paris, and give an account of the state of affairs, and the others would only consent to wait for further instructions.³¹ The Frenchman set off accordingly; but as the emperor was now favorable, the legates exhorted the pope

²⁸ Lett. 19 October 221. 'Procedere nella Reformatione e soprasedere ne' Dogmi.' ib.

²⁹ Ib.

³⁰ Lett. 16 November. 222.

³¹ Lett. ib.

to persevere in his intentions.³² He did so; and his final briefs arriving,³³ the introductory fast and processions were ordered; and on 13th December 1545, this celebrated council, the last that Christendom has witnessed, and which became a new foundation and bulwark for the papal hierarchy, and for that form and system of the Christian religion to which catholic Europe, in its old state and circumstances of politics and population, was made to bend, was solemnly opened.³⁴

That this council would have this effect, the pope's legates foresaw; and that it was meant by them, and would be made instrumental by them to produce it, they confidentially assured him, for their language, on describing to him its opening, was: 'His beatitude may rejoice, and place this day above all others, however happy they may have been to him, for a way is now open to him of the accustomed remedy for maintaining the authority of the apostolical see, and of the universal church, such as many of his predecessors have not enjoyed.'³⁵ They did not profess any intention of examining impartially the disputed questions of the papal power, of the alleged superstitions, of the controverted doctrines, or of the general reformation; they neither invited, nor desired, nor would have admitted any, of either clergy or laity, who impugned what Rome chose to maintain; it was to rivet, not to relax the chain; it was to consolidate, not to remove any of the links which most offended, that the pope permitted, that

³² Lett. 30 November. 224.

³⁴ Lett. 13 December. 226.

³³ Lett. 12 December. 225.

³⁵ Lett. 14 December. 226.

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the legates assisted, or that the ecclesiastical components carried on their deliberations.

The legates therefore required special instructions from the pope on every form that was used, on every measure that was proposed, and on every decree that was adopted. Every thing was prepared beforehand at the Vatican. Nothing originated from the council; not even the wording of the determinations that were adopted. These ideas are not the speculations or inferences of the present writer. The confidential correspondence of the three missioned legates with their pontifical chief, repeatedly expresses what they exulted in having accomplished.

Hence, on the very first day, they desire to be enlightened from the Capitol. They ask definite instructions on the manner of proceeding, and on the matters to be proposed. If the heresies were to be first discussed; and in this case, whether they were to be handled generally, or if particular doctrines were to be condemned as false, or the persons of the famous heretics and their followers, or both together? They inquire, if an article about reform were to be treated of with an article of religion, or to have a precedence; and in case any should propose to begin reform with that of the court of Rome, what they were to do? They remark, that every body was crying out for this blessed reformation; and, endeavoring to foresee the emergencies which might arise, they added many questions on other important points.³⁶ The Frenchmen required that

³⁶ Lett. 14 December. 227. 'They asked also for more bishops, and for money, 'Sollecitano la venuta de' Prelati e de danari.' ib.

nothing should be done till their ambassador, and the bishops of their nation, should arrive. But the legates thought this an extravagant demand, and appointed a general meeting of the council,³⁷ in which an answer was conveyed to the Gallic application, which gave a temporary satisfaction.³⁸

In January 1546, the pope sent them his orders to begin with matters of faith ; but they replied to him that they had found out that the intention of the greater part was to do the contrary. Reformation was the subject which the council meant to begin with, as heresy had sprung principally from the want of it.³⁹ But to this his legates assure him that they would never consent ;⁴⁰ and they suggested, that it might be most expedient to treat of the three main topics altogether—heresy, reform, and the peace ; but they promised firmly to maintain that the reform should not be confined to ecclesiastics ; it should be made universal, and extended to all, and therefore to the princes themselves.⁴¹

This ingenious idea was a happy invention to save the hierarchy from the dreaded innovation. An universal reformation at once, was the most likely plan to excite every endangered person to prevent any melioration.

By the 9th January, they had got together fifty-eight members ;⁴² but found in them great obstinacy

³⁷ Lett. 19 December. 228.

³⁸ Lett. 22 December. 228.

³⁹ ' Per esser nata l'Ercsia principalmente dalla deformazione.' Lett. 5 January 1546. p. 231.

⁴⁰ ' Ma a questo non esser per acconsentir mai.' ib.

⁴¹ Lett. 5 January. 231.

⁴² They are thus enumerated : ' Besides the cardinal of Trent, there were at the session, 29 archbishops and bishops, 3 abbots, 5 generals, and about 20 learned theologians, part Italians and part ultra-montani.' Lett. 9 January. p. 232.

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in requiring that the reforms should be first discussed; and they intreated the pontiff's decision on this point.⁴³ Five days afterwards they informed him, that the emperor had directed seven of his Spanish bishops to hasten to Trent; and the legates, to secure a majority, or to prevent their being out-voted, urged the pope to select ten or twelve prelates whom he could trust, to send there also; because as the number of the 'ultramontani,' who were distinguished for learning and exemplary life, was increasing, they wanted some of the same character to confront, in some measure, against them.⁴⁴ They sounded those who were there, and found that the smaller number wished to begin with the dogmas, and postpone the reform; that the majority wished the two topics to be simultaneous; while the French were chiefly anxious that the council should interfere to effectuate peace between their nation and the emperor.⁴⁵

The presiding legates made it a careful point, that every thing which was done in the council should originate with themselves, and therefore procured its meetings to be fixed for the Monday and Friday in every week.⁴⁶ But they soon apprised their chief,

⁴³ Lett. 9 January. p. 232.

⁴⁴ 'Che sua santita *elegga* dieci o dodeci prelati, *de' quali si possa fidare*: e mandare a Trento: perche, crescendo il numero degl' ultramontani, per dottrini et esemplarita de vita *rari*, si trovino da stare in confronto in qualche parte.' Lett. 14 January. p. 233. They also inform the pope, that Luther's books had been then forbidden, by public proclamation, to be read in England.

⁴⁵ Lett. 19 January. 233. On this last point the cardinals reported, that the Lutherans had offered the emperor to help him against France, at their own expense, if he would separate himself from it and from the council. p. 232.

⁴⁶ They thus expressed their own reasons for this appointment, to the pope: 'To keep the prelates in exercise, and not to give them occasions to make them of themselves.' p. 234.

that they had great difficulties to encounter, from the opposition of those who wished to begin with reform, and to defer the dogmas. Much impression had been made by the emperor's communication to the diet at Worms, that he would stay a little to see what progress the council should make, both in the dogmas and in the reform, and if he saw nothing done, that he would hold another diet; and there have their religious differences harmonized, and all abuses corrected.

Hence the legates inferred, that to avoid canonizing this future diet, which was to meet at Ratisbon, both topics should be taken up, but with an equal step, as they were alike desired by the whole world, and deemed indispensable. They apprised their master, that a great and rich prelate had, in a premeditated oration, made earnest exertion that the council should now treat only of the reform, in order to trample down all disorders; adding this far-reaching remark, that if they did not cleanse their vessels, the Holy Spirit would not inhabit them, and in that case they could not hope to have a right judgment on matters of faith.⁴⁷ To a preacher so dangerous, the papal cardinals immediately answered with a watchful and close logic, that as this assembly only was to decide, the observation did not apply beyond the members who composed it: and each of these could put speedily into execution whatever reform was necessary to himself, which then might be afterwards extended to the rest of the world.⁴⁸ The beneficial effect to Rome, of this political reply, in creating

Lett. 23d Jan. 234.⁴⁸ Ib. 235.

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a personal bias against any innovation, was visible at the moment. To the advantage and joy of the Holy See—strange matter of exultation—it made all reformation less popular in this holy synod.⁴⁹ The legates were ordered to thank the pontiff for the opening of the council, and to write to all the Catholic sovereigns of Europe to preserve peace, and to send their ambassadors to the assembly.⁵⁰

But altho they succeeded in warding off direct propositions for ecclesiastical amendments ; yet, a few days afterwards, they announced to the Vatican, that they had been under the necessity of agreeing to proceed jointly on each subject ; as both the great and middling prelates were stubborn, in thinking that they ought, in every way, not only to begin, but to hasten first the reforms, from the necessity of the existing circumstances ; and because there were busy friends, who had suggested, that they ought to dread some wind coming from Germany, which might blow more impetuously than it had done all the summer, to make them attend to reform alone. If they betrayed a design to discuss dogmas without meddling with the abuses, the rest of Germany would be speedily lost.⁵¹ Thus forced to notice what they wished to forget, the legates proposed to divide this unpalatable subject of correction into two heads—the general church ; and what they call the house or the papal perquisites and prerogatives. On the latter,

⁴⁹ ‘ The prelates will so much the more put the dogmas forward as the reform displeases them ; from which will issue a day, happy for the honor and estimation of his holiness and of the apostolic see.’ *ib.* 235.

⁵⁰ *Ib.* They appointed on the following Monday to consider in what way they should treat.

⁵¹ *Lett.* 27 Jan. p. 236.

they would not presume to go further than to remind and advise ;⁵² and on the other they felt that it would be a most difficult business, to make the bishops and the religious orders come to any agreement about confessing, communicating, preaching—of itself a mighty sea⁵³ of contest—ordinations of clergy and priests, ceremonies, indecent paintings, rites, and the many other errors which were reckoned among the ecclesiastical abuses. Still greater loss might also result from altering that ‘ penitenziera,’ the penitentiary court, which was scandalizing the world, and especially Spain. They purposed to turn their attention to these things, before ‘ the House ’ was meddled with, and to go on settling the dogmas commensurately with ‘ purging the abuses of the church.’⁵⁴ But they desired the pope to consider well all the consequences of these things, and to apprise them of his pleasure upon them with a little more celerity, that they might know what to do ; remembering that accidents were liable every hour to occur suddenly, on which there would not be time to refer to him to advise.⁵⁵

Their settled plan would be, that every time they sought to establish or purify a dogma on faith, they would also debate on some practical abuse that was connected with it.⁵⁶

This ingenious device obviously insured as little

⁵² Lett. 27 Jan. p. 236.

⁵³ ‘ Mare magno.’ ib.

⁵⁴ Lett. 27 Jan. 236.

⁵⁵ Lett. ib. 237.

⁵⁶ Lett. 30 Jan. 237. A disturbance at this juncture arose on princely etiquette. The French prelates insisted on always going side by side with the imperial ones, which these would not allow ; and the legates desire the pontiff to send them an authoritative order how they should be seated in the chapel. ib.

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reform as possible, and with the slowest pace ; and confined it to the fewest points.

The mandate soon came from Rome, that they should begin with the dogmas, and postpone the reform.⁵⁷ This was so palpably contrary to the opinion of the members, of what ought to be done, both from the reason of the thing, and from public expectation ; that the legates, instead of acting officially upon it, thought it better to make an experiment of its practicability, by making a summary of the heads of the pope's letter, and by communicating it at once to the synod as his suggested plan ; but they observed so many ' to twist their noses ' at it ;⁵⁸ to look with a suspecting eye, and to be so intent to scrutinize what was really intended, that they found it was taken in the most evil sense ;⁵⁹ and that, if pursued, it would not only not succeed, but would turn the council at once to the other side, and make it begin with the very reformation they desired to avert.⁶⁰ They explained to the pope at full length this impending peril, and how anxiously they had been exerting themselves to evade it.⁶¹

They subjoined the reasons which made it impolitic

⁵⁷ Lett. 2 Feb. 238.

⁵⁸ ' Storcevano il naso.' ib. 238.

⁵⁹ ' Era presa malissimo.' ib.

⁶⁰ Ib. 238.

⁶¹ They stated to him, that on 6th January they had advertised him of this danger, and had desired ' light ' from his mind : that they thought the dogmas should not be left behind ; but when they found the Synod desirous to join the reform with them, they did not see any good way of prohibiting it.

Having heard the opinions of all, they had to gain time for his answer, and therefore procured a postponement of the whole subject. The answer not coming, the danger every day increased ; and, pressed by those who only wanted the reform, they were compelled to have a meeting on 22 January, but with manifest danger of ' grave sedizione ' on a point so disadvantageous to them. Lett. 2d Feb. 239, 240.

to omit all consideration of reform;⁶³ and saw enough of adverse feeling excited, by what they had suggested, to be under considerable alarm and anxiety for the consequences that might result to the Romish church.⁶³ They got the subject postponed until the next session, and this was fixed for a future day,⁶⁴ which gave ample time for the most careful deliberation.

But they did not hesitate to inform the pontiff, that it seemed to them to be impossible to retard the desired reformation a single hour; already the surmise had got abroad, that this subject was not pleasing to Rome.⁶⁵ They had endeavored to remove this suspicion,⁶⁶ and they wished a greater number of prelates from the Vatican.⁶⁷ By reform, was not meant that of the court of Rome only, which could

⁶³ 'First, to avoid the very contrary to what they wished; as they had been forced to fight at the bar a very strenuous combat with many great prelates, who wished to begin with the reform. Second, that they would not be able to prevent the synod from taking the most compendious and effectual order of proceeding to make the proposed reformation, as well as to extirpate heresy. Finally, if the council went on, they must come to the reformation at last; and if it did go on to it, they would only have shewn a mind more ready to retain every one in office; from which the discontented prelates on their departure would disperse worse reports than ever.' Lett. 2d Feb. p. 240.

⁶⁴ Hence on 4th Feb. they wrote, that 'they were in an agony of mind at the bad interpretation of their actions before they intended it; and to see that honor made turbid, which the santa chiesa, the holy church, had acquired with so much labor; and how to take away such great and eminent perils.' ib. p. 240.

⁶⁵ To the fifth week after the Sunday 'Lætare.' p. 241. They had also obtained a decree on the confession of faith contained in the creed. ib.

⁶⁶ 'Che a Roma la reformazione non piace.' ib. p. 241.

⁶⁷ They had therefore assured the council 'della buona mente di sua Santità,' and had read a letter to the Card. S. Croce 'del reformare la persona sua propria.' p. 241. Two 'dotti et valenti' prelates, Astorga and Bagrales, had made every resistance possible. ib.

⁶⁸ Ib. 241. They regretted that he had not ratified their appointment of the 22d Jan. for treating of both dogmas and reform. ib.

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be effected by no other than this pontiff himself; but they intended that of all Christendom, which was too large a concern to be speedily accomplished; and in what concerned the sacred Court, they assured him, that they would not let the council do more than remind his Holiness of what they thought useful.⁶⁸ They purposed, as to the dogmas, to begin with that of original sin; and as to the emendations, with the abuses of 'the sacrestia and of the church,' to give more satisfaction to the criticising world.⁶⁹ A private letter to the Roman cabinet intimated that the emperor had made a league, offensive as well as defensive, with the English government; that this would throw the world into greater confusion than ever; and therefore to shut the mouth of the world, it was highly expedient that his Holiness should shew himself ready to reform.⁷⁰ The canonical books of Scripture were to be the next topic discussed; and in order not to make the synod desperate before the answer came from Rome, and not to give occasion to confirm the opinion that reformation was not pleasing there, the legates two days afterwards mentioned that they meant to throw in a word or two on that topic, but very warily.⁷¹

The sacred books were determined on, and directions from the Vatican were again requested;⁷² when the illness of the pope disabled him from all business till the latter part of February.⁷³ As March began,

⁶⁸ Lett. 2d Feb. 242.

⁶⁹ They added, that his answer must come soon, as they should not be able to amuse the council if they had not something to do. *ib.*

⁷⁰ 'Pronta alla Reforma.' Lett. 5th Feb. from C. S. Croce to C. Farnese, p. 243.

⁷¹ Lett. 7th Feb.

⁷² Lett. 11th Feb. 244.

⁷³ Lett. 24th, 27th Feb. 246, 7.

the legates explained to him what reformatations they had discovered to be most desired. These were to correct the abuses in the collations of church livings; in the ordinations of clerici without license; in preaching, confessing, the begging of friars, and the indulgences for building St. Peter's, and the crusades. As to the court of Rome, what most revolted the world was its avarice, pomp and luxury.⁷⁴ After these, the penitentiary court, the chancery, and the rota, would need the pruning hook.⁷⁵ But the main head of all the reformation that would then remain was, that all church livings should be conferred on those who would really do the duty themselves, and not by mercenaries. Unless this was secured, all attempts at reform would be deemed vain.⁷⁶ Such frequent payments of tenths as were exacted, and the expectancies, were also censured by every one. If these improvements should be admitted by his Holiness, his legates would treat on what concerned his immediate office in an amicable way;⁷⁷ and they thought that all would be made contented, without any diminution of his authority, or of the obedience to his apostolical see: nay, he might even gain something from the good will of the bishops and the devotion of the people.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ 'Quanto alla corti di Roma, due cose scandalizzare il mundo, l'avaritia, e la pompa e il lusso.' Lett. 27th Feb. p. 249.

⁷⁵ Lett. ib.

⁷⁶ 'Resteria quel che è capo principale di tutta la reforma; cioè, che le chiese si conferissero a persone, che possino e voglino servire per se medesimi, e non per mercenari; senza il che ogni conato di reformatione esser vano.' Lett. ib. 249.

⁷⁷ 'Trattandosi la parte che toccasse all' uffizio immediate de sua santità amicabilmente.' ib.

⁷⁸ 'Credere, che tutti fussero per contentarsi senza alcuna diminuzione

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The pope consented that there should be no preaching without license of the ordinary;⁷⁹ and this concession to the dignified clergy, of power to prevent friars from intruding in their diocese, so gratified the prelates, that they declared they had not come to dispute his authority.⁸⁰ The cardinal of Jaen in the next week, complained of the Bible having been translated into the vulgar tongue, and suggested that all books printed on the Scriptures ought to undergo an examination. This roused the cardinal of Trent, who assured the council, that if they prohibited translations of the sacred volume, it would generate heavy scandal, especially in Germany, where for centuries past the Lord's prayer had been repeated in the maternal tongue. The arguments were closed by an adjournment of the debate.⁸¹

Three days after, the prelates desired the pontiff to express his displeasure at the conduct of some bishops and abbots at Venice, who were not only giving public joustings in that city, but were actually performing the warlike sport themselves, and his nuncio was permitting it.⁸² The end of the month exhibited an instance, of what perhaps in our usual parliamentary language, as applied to public assemblies, we should not unduly call, bribery and corruption.⁸³

On the discussion, how far the traditions of the

dell' autorità, ad obbedienza della sede apostolica: anzi un guadagno, consistendo nella bene volenza de' Vescovi, e divozione de' popoli.' Lett. 27th Feb. 249.

⁷⁹ This was announced by the legates to the generals of the orders, as the pontiff's volunta. Lett. 9th March. p. 249.

⁸⁰ Ib.

⁸¹ Lett. 17th March. 251.

⁸² Lett. 20th March. 252.

⁸³ On 30th March, the legates wrote that 'they had given to Monsig-

Catholic church should be received, the coadjutor of Bergamo disapproved of their being placed on an *equal* footing with the Scriptures.⁸¹ The legates suggested to the pope, on the emendatory subjects, that it would be most advisable for him to reform the datary office privately and secretly; and on the other expected improvements, they enumerated the reasonings of the bishops. These were, to put an end to pluralities; that the 'provisioni' of the cathedral churches should be made on fit examinations, and to persons who would be residentiary; that the bishops also should reside in their dioceses, which yet could not be done, if they had the impediment of being regulars, temporal lords, or with the apostolic see. The prelates also complained of being continually aggrieved by the exaction of tenths, and by the ordination of unworthy clerks and priests, whom they had refused. They could not correct delinquent priests; but their strongest objection was to benefices being given to absent persons, or to those at court, or who had prelacies.

The greatest part of those preferred, were also ignorant, unfit, and had excessive pluralities, which arose from the provisions being made for persons unknown and not examined, by dispensations and derogations from the canons. To these suggestions the legates added, that duty compelled them to explain how the matter stood, but that they were ready

nore of Bitonto, as he was worthy of being 'riconosciuto,' and an eloquent person of rare learning, and *very* obedient (obbedientissimo,) one hundred ducats, as his S. S. Reverence had commanded.

'More money is wanted, as the poor bishops are multiplying every day, to whom we must not fail of giving succor, 'alli quali non si puol mancare di soccorso.' p. 253.

⁸¹ Lett. 8th April. 255.

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to follow the orders they should receive.⁸⁵ Another recommendation of the bishops was noticed: this was to establish a seminary of good priests, by training them to be so from children.⁸⁶

The council had now sat four months, but had only pronounced on the creed, the books of Scripture, and the reception of traditions. The presiding legates still continued to consult their pontiff on the future proceedings, whether to adopt all the ecclesiastical constitutions and councils, pruning them of the abuses which had been discovered, or to examine the controverted dogmas, proceeding from Original Sin to Justification, concurrently with the reformation of the church.⁸⁷ On these disputed points there appeared no danger; except that the decision might not be unanimous, as some of the prelates were less inimical to the new opinions than others, and the imperial dynasties might not like to treat of the dogmas at all: yet such an inclination need not be much regarded. The great difficulty in making bishops

⁸⁵ Lett. 10th April. 256, 7. Their closing paragraph was, 'they should answer the prelates as became legates of the apostolic church, and cardinals *amorevoli* of the court of Rome, and *creatures* of his holiness.' p. 257.

⁸⁶ Ib. The Cardinal S. Croce expressed, on 13th April, his private opinion to Card. Farnese, that 'as they could not begin the council without the 'equivalente' of a good reform, so they could not finish it without accomplishing this object.' ib. 257.

⁸⁷ Lett. 15th April, p. 258. 'They also remarked, that if the councils and ecclesiastical traditions should be received in general, which it would be impossible to surmount, there were many things contained in them which were not in use, and even contradictory. But if they should be taken one by one, it would be entering upon the infinite, and be ridiculous: besides, 'they would come to the reception of many councils which contain some things to our disadvantage' (in *disfavor nostro*.) Yet to accept one part and refuse another could not be done. If it were said that there is power and authority in the church to declare and establish, this would give a handle to dispute on the authority of the pope and council. ib. 259.

residential, would be the removal of the impediments to such an improvement. On all these points they wished to know his precise will.⁸⁸ But they politically hinted, that if his holiness sought to strengthen yet more the ecclesiastical traditions, and the approved councils, he had better look to it immediately, than to wait till a greater number of bishops came, especially the ultramontane ones.⁸⁹

The general feeling of the assembled prelates for the discharge of their priestly duties was admirable;⁹⁰ but to remove the impediments to their diocesan residence and activity, would involve such an abstraction of the papal perquisites and patronage,⁹¹ (which, tho vile abuses of things sacred, were not likely to be relinquished,) that it was easier to state the expediency of the correction than to procure its accomplishment.⁹² Yet they assured his holiness, that such

⁸⁸ Lett. p. 259. They expressed their own opinion to be, that it would be better to go on with the dogmas and reform together, taking for granted the ecclesiastical authority, the traditions and the canons, as all valid, without putting them to any discussion, than to embark on such a sea as the councils, decretals, and papal constitutions would present. *ib.* 259.

⁸⁹ 'Meglio vederlo al presente, che aspettar maggior numeri di prelati, massime l' ultramontani.' *ib.* 259.

⁹⁰ 'The greatest part of the bishops of all nations appears animated not only with a wish to reside, but to preach and feed the people committed to them.' Lett. 20th April, p. 260. The cardinals had the right feeling to subjoin, 'This will be plausible and popular; it will be also 'onestissimo,' and conformable to the discipline of the antient church; so that we cannot but praise and assist it.' *ib.*

⁹¹ After referring to what they had stated in the letter of the 10th, they also say, 'the most important difficulty will be as to the parochial ministers. These are coadjutors with the bishops in the cure of souls. But at present the bishoprics, *for the most part*, are in the hands of parsons who hold them only for income, and serve by substitute. As long as they are in this way given by the apostolic see, or by some pontificate, the disorder never can be remedied. And yet, on the other hand, we cannot consent to deprive the said see entirely of this privilege.' Lett. 20th April, p. 260.

⁹² The legates hinted that it might be made a rule in future, not to

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an amendment ' would be of great use to extinguish the hatred generated in the minds of the people against every ecclesiastical order, and to preserve the jurisdiction of the apostolic see, and obedience to it.' ⁹³

Their next topic was to settle the authorized Latin edition of the Scriptures. The common one then used was the Vulgate of Saint Jerome, to which both Dominicans and Franciscans, and many learned Spaniards, and several Italians of all orders, wished to adhere.⁹⁴ Yet as this manifestly contained errors,⁹⁵ others in the council were less inclined to prefer it. All, however, agreed that the edition which had been favored by the Roman church was the safest, because it had never been applied to heresy; ⁹⁶ but the legates confessed that it appeared in some places to differ from both the Hebrew and Greek text, and was of a humble style, and not without barbarisms or solecisms.⁹⁷ Yet they might approve of this, without condemning others which should be catholic,⁹⁸ and the incorrectnesses did not alter the essential things

place any more pensions on church livings; that the usual custom of *most frequently* putting the benefices in the hand of him that offered most, who was always the most unworthy, should be abolished (in *mano del piu offerente che suol essere sempre il piu indegne.*) Not to dispense in pluralities without great cause, and by a formal process; not to confer livings but on learned persons, who should reside or vacate; not to grant licenses to take the income while the incumbents were absent. Lett. 260.

⁹³ ' L'odio generato nelle mente de' popoli contro tutto l' ordine ecclesiastico.' p. 260.

⁹⁴ Lett. 17th April, p. 261.

⁹⁵ ' Essendo manifesto che in essa sono dagli errori,' which they ingeniously intimated might be ascribed to the press. *ib.*

⁹⁶ *Ib.*

⁹⁷ ' Diversa dal testo Ebreo e Greco; e sia de stile umile e non senza qualche barbarismo o solecismo.' *ib.*

⁹⁸ ' And would help the 'intelligenze' of that which ought alone to be authentic (che sola devi essere 'autentica.') Lett. 17 April, p. 261.

of the faith ;⁹⁹ and the council did not like to own, by a public decree, that it was formally corrupt.¹⁰⁰ It was on the whole judged to be more expedient to correct the book silently, and to send it out with the authority of his holiness and the approbation of the synod, than to declare its errors at a time when they could apply no remedy.¹⁰¹ The Latin text of the Vulgate was finally settled by a future pope.¹⁰²

May having arrived without any ameliorations appearing, the imperial ambassador, Don Francisco de Toledo, made a formal visit to the legantine com-

⁹⁹ Lett. 17th April, p. 261.

¹⁰⁰ ' Ne confessare per publico decreto che l' edizione sia formalmente corrotta.' ib. 261.

¹⁰¹ Ib. 261. The conclusion was, That we should write to the pontiff, to pray that he would cause our Latin edition to be first corrected, and then also ' la Greca et l' Ebrea potendosi,' and that the same thing should be also done in Trent, and the double labors be compared under his authority ; and so at last to publish, with the approbation of the council, a correct Bible for ' the perpetual conservation of the faith.' p. 262. They gave five reasons ' for not defaming the existing edition : —I. It was one thing to say that this edition only was incorrect, and another, to declare that the book itself was so. II. Not to weaken the foundations we have, nor to strengthen our opponents' grounds by confessing, that what has been read, preached, and interpreted as sacred scripture for so many centuries, was ' mendosa.' III. Not to detract from their church, the mother of all others, especially of the Western. IV. Either this edition has not any notable errors, and if so, it would be a great evil to accuse it wrongfully ; or if it have, his holiness and the council could as well examine it quietly, without any danger of scandal, as if such emendations should be promised in the session. V. So amended, it might then be published ; as they could always ascribe the variations which should be made to the incorrectness of former ' librari,' either antient or modern.' ib. p. 262.

¹⁰² The Abbé Bergier's statement is, That Cardinal Ximenes, in his polyglot, published an edition of the Latin Vulgate, altered or corrected in several places, of which the best edition is that of K. Stephens, in 1540, reprinted in 1545. That the doctors of Louvain also revised it. That the corrections ordered by Clement VIII. in 1592, are those which are followed in all the Catholic churches. That from this revision, Plautin published his edition, and that all others have been taken from Plautin ; so that the common Catholic Latin Bibles are now printed from Clement's edition ; ' since which no one has dared to make any change in the text of the Vulgate, except by commentaries or in separate notes.' Berg. Encyc. Theol. v. 1. p. 216.

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missioners to say officially that he was commanded by his Cesarean majesty to require that they should not then enter upon the dogmas, but should treat only of the reforms. The cardinals pleaded the papal bull, and the acquiescing decision of the council to take both subjects together.¹⁰³ They perceived from this, that they should not even get the article on Original Sin discussed without the emperor's discontent, and therefore dispatched a special estafette for the pope's immediate information of this new occurrence, and for his orders upon it.¹⁰⁴ Eleven days afterwards they apprised him that Don Francisco had reasserted, that the emperor would not have the dogmas discussed, and if they proceeded to them against his opinion, would wash his hands of the consequences;¹⁰⁵ but before this last communication reached the Vatican, its decision had arrived, that they should go on as they had begun. The obedient legates praised his firmness, tho they owned it would make a stormy session, and resolved to propose the article on Original Sin; but would be obliged to bring forward also the residence of the bishops, as its reform companion.¹⁰⁶

The ambassador desired the Original Sin to be deferred, till he had received the further instructions of his sovereign; and the majority of the bishops resisted the decree on preaching, till their residence was settled, as he who did not reside could not preach.¹⁰⁷ The legates persisted: Don Francisco

¹⁰³ Leg. Lett. 4th May. Quirini, p. 263.

¹⁰⁴ Ib.

¹⁰⁵ Lett. 15th May, p. 265.

¹⁰⁶ Lett. 16th May, p. 266. 'This being a most difficult head, they remind his holiness to resolve early about it.' ib. 267.

¹⁰⁷ Lett. 22d May, 268.

collected a meeting of ten dignitaries at his mansion, to organize an opposition;¹⁰⁸ and the prudent president ingeniously suggested, that it would be as well to inquire first what the former councils had determined on the subject. As this was virtually an adjournment without appearing to be so, it was generally applauded;¹⁰⁹ and this meeting ended without the expected 'tumult, and with the total conservation of the authority of his holiness, and of the apostolic see.'¹¹⁰

But the pontifical commissioners carefully noticed to their sacerdotal chief two things: One was, that they had taken the opportunity of the offensive tone adopted by the bishop of Fiesole in his harangue, to give him a severe reprehension, taxing him with being seditious, and a rebel, and rousing others to echo them;¹¹¹ seizing thus sagaciously an opportunity to intimidate and deter any strong opposition. The other point was expressed in their postscript, affording a further instance of the art and means of governing the decisions of public assemblies by private

¹⁰⁸ Lett. 28th May, 268.

¹⁰⁹ Yet 'the Spaniards, except Card. Jaen and some Italians, expressed their hesitation to proceed alike with the dogmas and the reform, not being willing, while the diet at Ratisbon lasted, to enter on the former, and therefore preferring to take up the ecclesiastical traditions and their abuses.' ib. 269.

¹¹⁰ This is carefully noticed, and also that the Card. Jaen wished to have the immaculate conception of the Virgin pronounced. The legates objected, as the time did not suit to reason about it; others urged it. But the presidents remarked to the pope, that this would be obviously a difficult and intricate point, and would hold them many months in dispute; and therefore without his express commission they would not consent to enter upon it. They should equally decline the essence and 'quidditative' definition of original sin, as the Catholic doctors differ much about it. ib. 270.

¹¹¹ 'None opened their mouth in his favor. He remained very much mortified; and we think it will stay long in the brain (stare in cervello,) p. 270; of course in that of others as well as in his.'

gratuities.¹¹³ The zealous commissioners even thought that they could enlighten the mind of the Vatican on the theory and policy of its seasonable favors.¹¹³ The effect of their management is visible, in the ability which they felt they had gained of resisting even the imperial influence.¹¹⁴

Thus fortified, the legates boldly ventured in June to bring forward the article on Original Sin, and its first portion was discussed; but the second part, on its remedy and effects, being that which was most controverted by the Lutherans,¹¹⁵ was left untouched. His agents pressed the pope for his decision on the readers and preachers, as they found the bishops

¹¹³ We shall translate it literally: 'We have to perform two offices for two prelates, who deserve every good. One for the archbishop of Matera, learned, and among the first to give his opinion. It is, that he may be freed from the pension upon him, with which the author of the chamber molests him. The other is for the bishop of Bertinoro, who behaves very well, and sticks like treacle to the bishop of Fiesole. He wishes to be translated to the bishopric of Umbratico, for the convenience of his family. It would be well to gratify them. This *would give spirit*, not only to them, but also *to many others*, to walk in the ways in which they are treading, and the benefits to them would prove serviceable to his beatitude.' *ib.* 270, 1. Nothing can be more expressive both of the intention and of the results; nothing can be fairer than the inferences which the unbiassed mind will make from them, when it weighs the value of what this council decreed. Its decisions were not left *only* to superior inspiration.

¹¹³ 'It should be considered, that this council is of importance. That we have to do with bishops, and in consequence that it is necessary to make them think of wishing to act well (*e per conseguenza che bisogna far ne stima a voler far bene.*) Not to make it known to the prelates that we are short of money, we have borrowed much of it to supply the ordinary 'provisioni' *which are continually given to the poor bishops.* Hence they beg that the remittances be hastened 'per non restar pegno nell' osteria.' *Post. ib.* p. 271.

¹¹⁴ 'The imperial ministers have not yet received the answer about the dogmas. They sent on 22d a person to Ratisbon, who has not returned. But whatever be the commission, they will soon be constrained to speak otherwise, as they will not be able any more to avail themselves of 'pulsoni' in the council, to hinder the treating on the dogmas.' *ib.* p. 270.

¹¹⁵ *Lett.* 2 June, 271.

very much alive to their own interests, and especially against the regulars; ¹¹⁶ and having heard that new prelates were coming by the emperor's order from Spain and Flanders, they discover to us the real mechanism of the council, by telling his holiness that this made it expedient that he should cause some more bishops to join it out of Italy, 'who, in their faith, their learning, and their *manners*, might support a comparison with the others.' ¹¹⁷ Thus his watchful tacticians made very foreseeing calculations, that as numbers would decide, they should not be defeated by carelessly permitting themselves to be outnumbered.

The Vatican deciding on having the Bible corrected and new printed, his legates suggested, that the council should express its approbation of the Vulgate edition. ¹¹⁸ The decree, in six folios, came from Rome, on reading the Scriptures, and preaching, which would satisfy the bishops, as they wished none to preach in their territory without their license. ¹¹⁹ The legates also prepared the resolution on Original Sin, and circulated it privately. ¹²⁰ They then ventured, on their first great field day, on the question

¹¹⁶ 'Questi prelati mostrano grande affezione per i loro interessi; e messime, contro i Regolari.' Lett. 2 June, 271.

¹¹⁷ Ib. 271. 'At the request of the archbishop of Armagh, they stated his wish, that the council should institute proceedings against the King of England; and if the pontiff objected to the legates proposing them, at least he might be allowed to do so.' ib. 271.

¹¹⁸ Lett. 8th June, p. 271. Has any one ascertained in what the Vulgate, printed after the council of Trent, differs from the editions which preceded it? It would be a curious comparison.

¹¹⁹ Lett. 8th June, p. 272. A striking instance that the pope regulated the words as well as the subject of this council's decrees, which were thus emanations from Rome to the council, and not those of the fair and uninfluenced minds of the members to the revering world.

¹²⁰ Lett. 9th June, p. 272.

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of Reform. They put the question of the residence of the bishops, and stood the result of the battle. They conquered as they desired ; for, as they use the phrase of victory, the decision must have been as they wished. Their words are : ‘ The two-thirds CONQUERED, that it should not be spoken of then, but be reserved as an entire head to another session.’¹²¹ Thus they had secured a majority to postpone what they disliked, and might therefore disregard, while they reported, the speeches that were made on it.¹²² But they gently admonished their master, that it was necessary to handle this subject both with dexterity and dispatch.¹²³

The legates, on 16th June, resolved to have the decrees on Original Sin as the dogma article ; and on Preaching, as the reforming one, published by the council on the next day. But in the meantime the emperor’s answer arrived, directing his ambassadors to prevent this promulgation. They insisted accordingly on the suspension of them. But the cardinals reasoned : and, maintaining unshaken their determination, Don Francisco could only shrug his shoulders, and withdraw.¹²⁴ The two decrees were accordingly published ; but after this defying step, the legates wrote again to Rome for more pecuniary

¹²¹ ‘ Li duo tersi *vinsero*.’ Lett. 12th June, p. 272.

¹²² ‘ Many spoke pretty freely ; some touching secular princes, and some the court of Rome ; others both. As to the court of Rome, it was not kept silent that the benefices, especially those with cure of souls, were given to unworthy persons ; and what is worse, BY AUCTION (all’ incanto.) On the residence it was said, that this ought to comprise the *Cardinals*, who in this respect have *not less need* of reformation than the bishops.’ Lett. ib. 273.

¹²³ ‘ Bisogno trattarsi questo capo con desterita, a non tardare.’ ib.

¹²⁴ ‘ Chino la spalla e si licenzio di noi.’ Lett. 12th June, 273.

supplies, that they might keep the bishops as steadily on their side.¹²⁵

They now prepared for their next great point of dogmas, the article on JUSTIFICATION. Of this they noticed to the pontiff, that the importance of the council, as to the dogmas, principally depended upon it;¹²⁶ and therefore before they made any proposition upon it, they requested his holiness to cause it to be more studied by the theologians at Rome, and to send the result as soon as possible.¹²⁷ As some topic of reform must be combined with it, they also mentioned, that they had been forced to promise to make every exertion with him, that the just relief as to the impediments to residence might be granted by him.¹²⁸ Soon afterwards they were alarmed that the emperor was sending for a part of his army, to march thro Trent, in preparation for a German campaign;¹²⁹ this would fill the city with his soldiers; and they strongly and repeatedly urged that this opportunity should not be omitted for transferring the council to Bologna, to be more out of his power,¹³⁰ and more within the influence

¹²⁵ 'Must not fail to send money, considering how important it is to keep the bishops well contented, (non bisognar tardare a mandar danari, importando, quanto importa il tener li vescovi ben contenti.)' Lett. 18th June, p. 274.

¹²⁶ 'L'importanza di questo concilio riguardo a' dogme dipende principalmente da questo articolo.' Lett. 21st June, p. 274. On this article the prelate Verallo, about the same time, wrote in a similar feeling from Ratisbon: 'The article of *justification* is that by which these unhappy seducers have ruined Germany.' Lett. 29th June 1546, p. 305.

¹²⁷ Lett. 21st June, p. 274.

¹²⁸ Ib. p. 274.

¹²⁹ They dispatched notice of this to the pope on 25th June. ib. p. 275.

¹³⁰ 'He wishes not only to govern the war, but also the council, without leaving our lord his share.' Lett. C. Cerv. to C. Farnese, 26th June, p. 276.

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of Rome, especially as to the reforms desired about residence.¹³¹ Many reasons were enumerated which would give good pretexts to the world at large,¹³² and the danger was hinted that might arise if the council were once unbridled.¹³³ To leave as little as possible to the free will of the council was an anxious policy of the friends of Rome.¹³⁴ Hence arose the care of the legates to secure an influence in it by pecuniary means; ¹³⁵ and above all, their active vigilance and contrivances not only to keep it from lessening the papal power: but even to make it instrumental to enlarge his ecclesiastical prerogatives,

¹³¹ 'The most important thing which can happen to the apostolic see: and it may make a very great difference, whether it be discussed here or at Bologna; and neither the greater part of the prelates nor we would stay here to lodge soldiers, or to put ourselves at their discretion.' Lett. C. Cerv. to C. Maffei, 25th June, p. 276.

¹³² 'We think there may be alleged, the scarcity of the place, the complaint of the prelates, the penury and high price of all victuals, the dearth (annale caro) of the year thro all Italy, the restrictions of the promised space, the rigorous air of the winter, the most chilly church; not only the difficulty but the impossibility of getting sessions made before spring, and the indecency of having a council on the borders of Germany, while those diets and assemblies are held there which we abhor; the obstinacy of the Lutherans, and the negligence and coldness of the catholics, and the inability to proceed with dispatch at such a distance as Trent is from his Beatitude.' These were part of the instructions which the legates sent by Beccatelli to Rome. *ib.* p. 279.

¹³³ 'The disorders which an unbridled (sfrenato) council might bring forth, over whom the shadow of the presence, or of the neighbourhood of the person of his holiness, or of the emperor, did not extend.' *ib.* p. 278.

¹³⁴ Hence on the 'Reformazione della corte Romana,' S. Croce expressed, 'I would wish to see his holiness do this, and not leave this part to the discretion of the council.' Lett. 19th Dec. 1545. p. 286.

¹³⁵ In the same strain as before quoted, the same cardinal recommended to C. Farnese the prelates of Matera and Bertinoro, 'because they had always behaved well; and the example would help to keep many in hope, and therefore in duty (l' esempio gioverebbe a tener molti in speranza e per conseguente in officio.) For, in the end, reward and punishment are the two things by which the world is well governed.' (Sono le due cose con che si governa bene il mondo.) Lett. 28th May, p. 302.

tho they could not aggrandize by it his temporal dominion.¹³⁶ The council broke up and withdrew

¹³⁶ It was on the 26th January 1546, that the cardinal Croce made to cardinal Farnese that exposition of the principles on which he and the two others were presiding at the council, and guiding and governing it for the pontiff, which corroborates from themselves the passage quoted before from Vargas, p. 107, and presents to us an authentic display of what the majority of the council really was, and of the value of its decisions, and of the management under which it was acting. They never meant it to come before the public eye; but cardinal Quirini having obliged the intellectual world by publishing it, we think our readers will be gratified by a translation of some part of what this prelate has chosen to print in his extracts from it. We thus have some striking facts before us on this subject, upon the highest Catholic authority:

‘ In this council, from its beginning to this day, we have always not only maintained the authority of our lord without any diminution, but we have every day made it more illustrious, partly by our words and free and active exertions, and partly by a sweetness (*dolcezza*,) a liberality, and a kind manner, as the occasions arose to shew either with one countenance or with another.

‘ From the very commencement, some bishops, like fresh horses, supposed themselves to be very spirited and brave. They began to run a fine career, and in the cases of the generals, the abbots, and the title of the council, fought vigorously with us; but in the end they lost their game; and not merely lost it; they also heard, incidentally, assertions about the authority of the apostolical see, which they perhaps did not think could have been uttered in a council.

‘ Besides this were the offices which *we did apart* with many. We assured them, as was true, that we had not accused them to his holiness, so that Cava and Bitonto withdrew themselves into the good road. St. Marco, Lanciano, and Castel in Mare, behaved themselves better; while we humbled very much Cappacio, Fiesole and Chioggia. I think they sought to gain the cardinal of Trent for a leader, and did so in the matter of the reforms; but if from the beginning of their enterprise they derived little honor, they remained with still less from this, for we baffled them terribly on the reformation, separating our own cause, who were present, from that of others, and shewing, as to the rest, that the dogmas could not be left behind. This act brought to the holy see, now too much suspected, as every one knew, of shunning reform, very great reputation and honor in the council.

‘ The duty of the president in a council is, *to propose* the things for which it was convoked—to observe the intended judgment of the council upon them, and, if it appear good, to assent to it, and if not, to shew the reasons for dissent. In what we propose, we must take care that the council has no cause to blame it as imprudent, passionate or useless; and therefore to substitute itself a better mode, because in that case the presidents would disgrace themselves and those who sent them; and the council, not esteeming them, *would take occasion to govern itself in all things in its own way*,’ (*de governarsi in tutto a sua modo.*) p. 287.

to Bologna, conformably to the pontiff's desire; and its proceedings were suspended for five years of ill

He then proceeds to justify himself to the papal secretary, for *the fault* of proposing any thing about the reformation of the abuses; and his apology shews us how displeasing this was to the Roman court, and what unworthy deception even this cardinal, one of the best of the consistory, could descend to practise about it:—‘If we had appeared to avoid, or have shewn a wish to defer the Reformation, knowing how many there were who had desired or preached that we should begin with it, we were certain that almost all the council, becoming suspicious of us, would have turned to that side. Many of every nation have given us to understand, that they would not be cheated here as those of Pisa and Constance were, who, having decreed the dogmas, left the reformation to be made by Alexander VI. and Martin, who never did any thing upon it. If then we had chosen to contradict them, as we must have done, we should not have done better than we have, but it would have been effected with little honor to us if we had been detected in postponing the reformation.

‘If this ‘*errore*’ had rebounded only to us, the evil would have been trifling, but the world would have been scandalized at the thing; and as the mischief would have fallen on the apostolic see, *the reputation of which is not as it antiently was*, this appeared to us to be so prejudicial, that, desiring to provide against it, we announced to his holiness, on the 5th instant, that it would occur. Waiting the answer, we detained the subject as well as we could until the 22d, leading the council so as not to let it do any thing.

‘At this time, not having received any advices, and being unable to defer it longer, and seeing most clearly the danger above mentioned, we thought we should not err, but serve his holiness, if we took what we were forced to, as the most secure and most honorable part—the most secure, because we shall undoubtedly be better able to resist the unruly wills of the princes, and the malignity of some bishops, if we said ‘Be it so; treat of the Reformation, but in such a manner that it may embrace all,’ than if we had declared we will not have it discussed, or, it shall be deferred longer, which are considered here to be two synonymous propositions. This was also more honorable; because by making our proposition universal, the part we have chosen has been obtained with the general consent and applause, notwithstanding the opposition to it.’ p. 288, 9.

He then wisely adds, ‘To put the reformations in execution without noise, will be most secure to his holiness; and to make them begin with what is done in the church and the sacristy, and then to enter the houses not only of the priests and friars, but of the kings and princes also. The part of the sacristy may be finished in two or three sessions, as the dogmas will be discussed at the same time. By this his holiness will have time to anticipate them (if he pleases,) and in truth this is necessary, both for the soul and the body; for otherwise, the apostolic see will lose more than it would do by every strict and severe reformation, for it would lose its obedience and credit.’ *ib.* 289.

humor, threats, and angry discussions between Charles V. and the papacy; and of negotiations with the court of France.

The death of Paul III., from his rage at his nephew's defection and opposition,¹³⁷ occasioned the election of Julius III., who consented to the return of the council to Trent; where it was opened again in September 1551. The public secretary then expounded to the assembled prelates, that they were met for three objects—to *extirpate* the heresies, to reform the morals of the church, and to appease the quarrels of the princes.¹³⁸ Henry II. transmitted a strong protestation, accusing the pope of striving to excite a fatal war in Italy.¹³⁹ The council proceeded to pass some further decrees,¹⁴⁰ but as much under the papal dictation as before.¹⁴¹ France then uniting

¹³⁷ The French bishop Godeau's statement is a short history of the fact, how his infallible holiness sometimes dies:—'The pope Paul having read a letter from duke Octavius, his nephew, that if he were forced to quit Parma, as the pope desired, that he might add it to the ecclesiastical state, he would make terms with the governor of Milan, was seized 'd'une telle colere,' that he fainted, and, being seized with a violent fever, died at the end of three days.' Vie de St. Charles, p. 63. Julius was elected 10th November 1549. *ib.*

¹³⁸ 'Pour *extirper* les heresies.' Lett. Amyot. 8th Sept. Vargas, p. 70. The council's answer to Henry II. states, that the pope, in his brief, had appointed the things they were to treat of:—'Res autem hæ sunt; *extirpatio hæresium*; reformatio morum; pax ecclesiæ.' Varg. 128. Thus *extirpation* was the continual object with every pope. Nothing else; and nothing less would suit or please the Vatican.

¹³⁹ See it in Vargas, p. 84-95, and the council's mitigating answer, p. 124-146.

¹⁴⁰ On the Eucharist; on ecclesiastical discipline; on penance; extreme unction; some reformations on admission to orders; the punishment of clergymen, and the collation of benefices. Godeau, 64.

¹⁴¹ So Vargas again states: 'The council is in fact held at Rome, and only executes at Trent what has been determined on elsewhere.' p. 58. He therefore advises the emperor 'to watch with great care what was transacting at Rome.' p. 59. The Spanish doctor Malvenda's letter of 12th October 1551, to the Spanish premier, reports, 'The legate and his confidants take their measures so well, that the examination of the

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with the German Protestants against the emperor, the council was suspended again, and before it could be reassembled Julius III. expired.¹⁴² The next pope lived as such only twenty-two days,¹⁴³ and Paul IV. succeeded to the tiara. For ten years the council was interrupted, till Pius IV. became pontiff. He found it practicable to recall it, and under him it continued and terminated its labors. Some further articles of doctrine and some useful reformatations were enjoined ;¹⁴⁴ but in its latter sessions the council made the papal church incompatible with reason and the Scriptures, by pledging it, at the end of its eighteen years labors, to the use of indulgences, the belief of purgatory, the invocation of saints, the worship of their images and relics, the observation of their appropriated festivals and the weekly fast days

dogmas always lasts to the eve of the sessions ; and as the reformation is never handled till these have been concluded, there remains no time to think on that. They are obliged to keep to what the pope's ministers project ; the artifice is so gross that you may touch it with your finger ; yet I see no remedy ; the legate is absolutely master of the council.' Lett. Vargas, 147.

¹⁴² On 20th March 1555. Godeau, 65.

¹⁴³ This was the valuable Cardinal St. Croce, ' He died, leaving, says the French prelate, worthy people as inconsolable for his death as it gave joy to those who were afraid of the rectitude of his conduct and the severity of his discipline. His surgeon was suspected of poisoning the ulcer he was dressing ; and the enemies of his virtue were believed to have caused this crime to be perpetrated on one who would have restored to the papacy the sanctity of the first ages.' Godeau, p. 66. This suspicion was most probably groundless, but it shows that a pope risks his life if he attempts to act against the interests or inclinations of those who surround him.

¹⁴⁴ On the mass ; on orders and marriage ; regulations for the life of the clergy ; on the qualities of bishops ; and on the administration of his authority. The cup to the laity in the sacrament was left in the discretion of the pope. Some rules were laid down for the erection of new parishes, and the deposition of ignorant incumbents : the visitation of disorderly monasteries by bishops, and the suppression of questings, or begging on the letters of religious privileges, were also ordered. Godeau, 68-70.

of the church.¹⁴⁵ By reserving these to the last, and then suddenly attaching them to the other decrees, the most objectionable and repulsive superstitions, which so many wise and good catholics wished to have omitted or abolished, seem to have been hurried and crowded in when all were fatigued by their protracted sessions. But the papal influence overpowered all other wisdom or religious integrity;¹⁴⁶ and what suited the policy of the Vatican and its cardinal consistory was fixed on every member of its church as their compulsory and immutable and therefore verbal creed—for that belief, in which the mind is allowed no freedom of choice, and which is not left to be the spontaneous adoption of the judgment; but which is enforced on all as the arbitrary imposition and dictated mandate of an irresistible and vindictive power, can only be deemed a verbal assent, very unlike the conviction of the satisfied reason, and the sincere belief of the concurring heart.

¹⁴⁵ Godeau, 70.

¹⁴⁶ The composition of the council leads to this inference. Godeau states that its decrees were signed by the 4 legates, 4 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 25 archbishops, 168 bishops, 7 abbots, 32 representatives of absent prelates, and 7 generals of monastic orders. Of these, 26 bishops were from the French church, 31 from that of Spain, 3 from Portugal, one from Ireland, 3 of Croatia and Moravia, 1 for each of the Illyrian provinces, 3 from Hungary, 2 of Poland, and two from Germany. But *from Italy* ONE HUNDRED and EIGHTY-SEVEN assisted at it from its first convocation to its conclusion. Godeau, 71. Thus above *two thirds* were under the immediate command of the pope. Its decrees were therefore the decrees of himself and his partisans.

HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF
EDWARD THE SIXTH.

CHAP. VII.

HIS ACCESSION—EDUCATION—CORRESPONDENCE AND STUDIES—ALLIANCE OF FRANCE WITH THE TURKS—POLE'S DEDICATION—CRANMER'S REFORMING MEASURES—FALL OF THE ADMIRAL.

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THE death of Henry VIII. had left the throne of England, and the government of the country, vacant of an active mind, which, with all its imperfections and later severities, was highly estimated by the impartial on the continent;¹ and at home, was acknowledged to have been a benefactor, from taste and choice, to the intellectual cultivation of his people. His valuable qualities had concurred with the increased education, the unfolding capacities, and the busy emulation of his subjects; and even

¹ His character, drawn by De Thou, whose praise has sterling value, may be read as a specimen of the reputation of Henry VIII. among honorable and enlightened foreigners. 'Most rich in all the gifts of nature, there would have been no merit wanting in him, if he had been less attached to his pleasures. He changed nothing in religion, after his divorce, but the abolition of the papal supremacy, which he held in execration. During the fourteen years which he lived after this, he raised only good and learned men to be bishops, and he was an admirable patron of men of science and literature.' Thuanus, l. 3, at the beginning. As De Thou adhered to the Catholic church, his 'nihil mutavit' implies, that he thought Henry only pared off some of its non-essential superstitions.

with his own exciting errors, to give the name and power of England a prominence, and an influence throughout Europe, which it gradually lost during the reigns of his two next succeeding children; from the youth of the one and from the retrograding bigotry of the other.² Both these sovereigns, alike in the briefness of their regal dignity; but the contrasts of each other in age, principles, disposition and public conduct, from restricting their governments more peculiarly to domestic concerns—the one in promoting, and the other in annulling the Reformation,—occasioned the nation, for above ten years, to lose all its weight and high estimation on the continent, and to sink below the two competing kingdoms of France and Spain, over whom, under Henry VIII. it had so long predominated.

Edward VI. was but a pleasing boy, in the first portion of his tenth year,³ when his father's death transferred, more early than had been expected, the crown to his young brow. Son of the most transient, but most beloved, and almost the loveliest of Henry's queens;⁴ he had been taken from the nur-

² Ascham has expressed this feeling, as to one branch of his patronage of letters, in his letter to Edward VI. on the University of Cambridge, 'That most prudent prince, your father, excited, to his immortal memory, the greatest praise to himself, and hope to this academy of a peculiar cultivation of learning, when by his 'divino beneficio' he caused the best professors of all languages and of the best sciences to be established in it, and to be endowed by him with most ample remunerations. Among these immortal monuments of your father was the professorship of civil law, which is now vacant.' Ep. Asch. p. 299.

³ He was born 12 October 1537, and acceded 28 January 1547.

⁴ Heylin has thus contrasted, from their pictures and from the judgment of the ladies he consulted, Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour: 'If Queen Anne seemed to have the more lively countenance, Queen Jane was thought to carry it in the exact symmetry of her features; but that advantage was overbalanced by the pleasing sprightfulness of the other, which gained as much upon the hearts of all beholders. There

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sery about four years before his accession, to be educated by Dr. Cox and sir John Cheke, in learning;⁵ and by sir Anthony Cook to princely manners.⁶

He profited so much from their tuition, as to give his watchful parent the gratification of several Latin letters during the ninth year of his age, and to inspire great hopes in all who saw him, of becoming a distinguished sovereign.⁷ He was attached to his

was more majesty in Seymour, and more loveliness in Boleyn. The earl of Bedford, who had beheld both in their greatest glories, used to say, that 'the richer Queen Jane was in clothes, the fairer she appeared; but that the other, the richer she was apparelled, the worse she looked.' Hist. Ref. p. 5. On Thomson's criterion, that

- - - - - loveliness
Needs not the foreign aid of ornament;
But is, when unadorned, adorned the most,

We must give the palm of the truest beauty to Anne Boleyn.

⁵ Edward thus notices his own education, in his journal,—'brought up till he came to six years old among the women. At the sixth year of his age, he was brought up in learning by Dr. Cox and John Cheke, two well learned men; who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues; of the scriptures; of philosophy, and all liberal sciences. Also John Bellmaine, Frenchman, did teach him the French language.' Burnett, v. 4. p. 3.

⁶ Strype's Life of Cheke, p. 22. On 14 December 1550, Ascham thus described him to Sturmius: 'He understands, speaks and writes Latin skilfully, speedily, and all things with judgment. He has studied logic, and is *now* learning Aristotle's Ethics, in Greek: when he has finished this, he will take up Aristotle's Rhetoric.' Ep. Asch. p. 33, 4. Ascham also remarks, that the king's inclination for literature was so remarkable, that he needed no spur to a more expeditious course of learning, and moral prudence. *ib.* 33. In the preceding April he had written, 'Our king, in talent, industry, steadiness, erudition, greatly surpasses both his age and the belief of other persons.' Ed. 6. p. 20.

⁷ Three of his Latin letters to his father, in the year 1546, are printed by Strype, Eccl. Mem. v. 2. p. 506; and one by Ellis, Orig. Lett. 2. p. 135. They express very pleasingly his filial feelings. 'I think, tho I should strive all my life, and labor in every kind of duty, I shall scarcely be able to reach the greatness of your kindnesses. But I will endeavor to please your majesty, and to be the good son of the best of fathers, and to follow the example of your virtue, wisdom and piety.' Jan. 1546. In June, after the king's return from his last war in France, he wrote, 'Tho I have sent you no letters for a long time, it has not been because I was negligent, but that, considering you were so

sisters—both his elders—till he suffered the persuasions or contrivances of others, in the last year of his reign, to change his fraternal feelings into alienation and injustice. He corresponded with them, both before he became king and afterwards, chiefly in Latin;^s and also with his father's last

troubled by military affairs, I thought I should only disturb you by these my childish epistles; but as every labourer desires to amuse his mind after his day's fatigue, I hope they may now rather recreate than tease you, for as you are to me an amiable and benign father, I hope to be to you a most obedient son.' Strype, 507. In August, after receiving some jewels and trinkets, his effusion was: 'If you did not love me, you would not have sent me gifts so precious. You do not give them to make me proud, but to urge me to the study of true virtue and piety, and that I may be adorned and distinguished with all the ornaments which become a prince. If I were not moved by such affection, I should be indeed ungrateful.' Ellis, 135. The next month, he thanked his father for a buck: 'Of all the things which delighted me when I was with you, nothing more refreshed my soul than that you made me so many opportunities of seeing and observing your majesty. My love was animated by your presence, as well from the impulse of nature as because your fatherly regard increased every day more and more toward me. I thank you infinitely, and earnestly wish, when from you, that I may see you again, whenever it will be agreeable to you. The sooner this is, the happier I shall be.' Strype, 506.

^s The Harleian MS. which seems to have been the book he kept for himself, contains a copy of forty-three of his letters, from which Ellis and Strype have printed them. To MARY, before his accession, he says: 'I love you as a brother ought to love a most dear sister who has all the ornaments of virtue and honor in her. I write to you very rarely, but I love you very much.' Ellis, p. 134. In May 1546, after her illness, he thus intimated his brotherly concern: 'I do not, my dearest sister! so much lament that you have not written to me so long, as I rejoice that you have recovered your health; for tho you should not write, I know that you are not wanting in kindness to me. Your restoration gladdens me, because I love you, and your sickness made me sorry. Take care of your health; do not fatigue yourself by writing to me, when illness will not permit you; I shall feel your regard and love, tho you send me no letters.' Strype, 519. To ELIZABETH, in December, his language was: 'The change of place, most dear sister! does not so much vex me, as your departure from me. But nothing can now occur to me more grateful than your letters. I particularly feel this, because you first began the correspondence, and challenged me to write to you. I thank you most cordially, both for your kindness and for the quickness of its coming, and I will struggle vigorously, that if I cannot conquer you, I will at least equal you in regard and attention. It is a comfort to my regret, that I hope to see you shortly again, if no accident intervene.' Strype, 510.

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queen, in the language of affection, and with unassuming ease.⁹ He loved his studies, to which Cranmer urged him; and earnestly pursued them.¹⁰ He wrote kindly to his preceptor Cox;¹¹ and practised himself in Latin, English, and French composition.¹² He began, and kept a diary of the daily

⁹ His letter to queen Catherine, in his ninth year, is in English. In this, he calls her 'Most honorable and entirely beloved mother!' It shews his gentle mind: 'I have me most humbly recommended unto your Grace, both for that your Grace did accept so genteely my simple and rude letters: and also, that it pleased your Grace to vouchsafe to direct unto me your loving and tender letters, which give me much comfort, and encouragement to go forward in such things wherein your Grace beareth me on hand that I am already entered. I pray God I may be able, in part, to satisfy the good expectation of the king's majesty, my father, and of your Grace.' Ellis, 131.

¹⁰ In his letter to Cranmer, of 24 January 1546, where he quotes a remark of Aristippus, and the celebrated passage of Cicero on the advantages of letters, he says, 'From your epistles I have received much fruit, because you exhort me in them to learn good letters, which may be of use to me when I come to the manly age.' Ellis, p. 136. Dr. Cox informed Cranmer, that he then 'read Cato; the Satellitium of Vives, and Æsop's Fables; that he made Latin; and, besides things of the Bible, conned pleasantly and perfectly.' Strype Cran. 427.

¹¹ 'As my duty requires me, I send you, my dear Almoner! my letter, that you may know that I remember you, for if I did not write to you it would be a sign that I had forgotten you, but I now write that I may shew you that I both love you and think of you. Your letters are as pleasant to me as hunting and hawks are delightful to others. They are better treasures; for whoever has learning has a great treasure. It is said, in the Paradoxes of Cicero, 'that he is rich, who is only wise.' Literature indeed is wealth. Farewell, my most accomplished and most beloved almoner. Your most affectionate scholar. EDWARD Prince. Hertford, 9 April 1546.' In July following, occurs a valuable intimation of the young heir apparent's good sense, in thanking his master for the correction of a mistake: 'If I should be sluggish in my exertions, the ants would be better than me, for they labor while I should be negligent. What the Hebrew sage remarks, seems to suit me: 'He becometh poor that worketh with a slack hand, but the hand of the diligent maketh rich.' I thank you, because you have told me of my error. They are indeed my friends, who point out to me my faults. May God, the immortal Being, and the exhilarator of us all, make you joyful, and keep you safe, increase your wisdom, and give you grace to follow his will, that when this life is over you may live with Christ in his eternal kingdom. Best and dearest teacher! adieu.' Strype, 511.

¹² The Harleian MS. contains six of his Latin exercises or declamations. Of these, one, on the question, 'Whether virtue is more preferable

occurrences which interested him;¹³ sought the pleasures of literary conversations; and cultivated, from a congenial nature and intellectual preference, all the feelings of an amiable and gentle character. His mind never rose to his father's energy, strength, activity or decision, nor deviated into his infirmities; but it was studious, industrious, moral and obliging: it never offended by arrogance or ostentation, but was always sensible, placid, well-meaning, and, for his age, more than usually intelligent. Its greatest defects, partly arising from youth and inexperience, were, a facility to the influence of others; the want of that independent spirit, and leading capacity, which would have avoided their bondage; a feebleness in sustaining good resolutions; and the absence of that discriminating judgment, which, amid many opinions, can discern the right counsel, and the ablest counsellor; and promptly select and prefer wisdom and integrity for the constant guide of its public conduct, and for the favorite monitors of its private gratifications.

When Henry was found to have expired, two of his state officers went to Edward, at Hertford, and conducting him respectfully to his sister Elizabeth,

as an act or as a habit;' and another, 'Whether the foreknowledge of things is useful;' are printed by Strype, p. 513-8. A third is, that 'War is sweet to the unexperienced.' They are all dated in June and July 1549. Burnett has printed his translation into Latin, of the 'Reformation of the Order of the Garter,' v. 4. p. 104; his English Essay on 'The State and Reformation of many Abuses in the Realm,' p. 97-110; his 'Collection of Facts concerning a Free Mart in England,' which contains many valuable facts about our commerce at that time; p. 110-17; and his collection, in French, of 'Passages in Scripture against Idolatry,' p. 96. At 12 years old he wrote a book, in French, against the Pope: 'A l'encontre les abus du Monde.' Strype, p. 428.

¹³ It has been printed by Burnett, v. 4. p. 3-96. The original MS. in the king's handwriting, is in the British Museum, Nero, c. 10.

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at Enfield, there disclosed the event of the royal demise, and saluted him in her presence as their king. Three days afterwards he was publicly brought to the Tower of London,¹⁴ as the usual station of his commencing dignity. The first care was directed to inter Henry's corporeal remains with that distinguishing pomp which the exalted rank of his living spirit, and the greatness of the nation he governed, were thought to require. Our reason criticises funeral pomp, from its utter uselessness to the departed, and from our ignorance of what they may be feeling while we are decorating the remains they have reluctantly quitted; but there is so much pain and destitution felt at the loss of great public men, that the general sympathy seeks the solemn display as the last and only mode of expressing its attachment, its approbation and its regret. It is at least more suitable to the awful event, when respect is not perverted to parade, than that contemptuous indifference which tends to diminish the security of the living. Henry had long occupied a large space in the public eye, and his friends made his obsequies correspondent with his reputation. The body was embalmed, and wrapped in velvet and silk, and being laid in lead, and a splendid coffin, was placed under a pall of cloth of gold, in the privy chamber, amid a blaze of lights, where, for five days, prayers were repeated every morning and evening; while thirty gentlemen and chaplains watched it with decorous attention. It was thence conveyed to the chapel, highly decorated amid its black furniture, and placed on a rich hearse,

¹⁴ Edw. Journ. 3, 4.

surrounded by eighty large burning wax-lights, above which depended banners and escutcheons, floating over 'a majesty of rich cloth of tissue, and a vallance of black silk,' fringed with gold.¹⁵ An altar, adorned with all manner of plate and jewelry, was raised at its foot, where mass was continually sung. From these honors it was at length removed, on a chariot as sumptuous as gold, silk and blue velvet could make it, and with a stately procession, of bishops walking in pairs; of barons holding the rich canopy; and of the noblemen who had been selected for the mourners, for its conveyance to Windsor. But the object which must have most fixed the public gaze, was seen seated on cushions of cloth of gold, upon the coffin; 'a goodly image like to the king's person in all points; wonderfully richly apparelled with velvet, gold and precious stones of all sorts; and holding in his right hand a scepter of gold, and in his left the ball of the world, with a cross; while the garter's pearled collar encircled the neck, and its band of gold the knee. His head shone with a crown imperial, of inestimable value.'¹⁶ With this well meant, but unavailing blazonry of human magnificence, it was slowly conducted to Windsor Castle, and buried with devout solemnity in the royal chapel. As the grave was covered, the herald proclaimed the new sovereign with his loudest voice; 'Vive le noble rey Edward!' was the responsive cry, and 'the trumpets sounded

¹⁵ Strype has printed the ceremony from the *Offic. Armorum*, so long as to occupy twenty-three pages in his *Eccl. Mem.* v. 2. p. 289-311.

¹⁶ *Ib.* p. 298.

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with great melody and courage, to the comfort of all that were present.' ¹⁷

These obsequies concluded, the state council, whom the late king had nominated in his will, assumed the executive government.¹⁸ They appointed Edward's eldest uncle, whom they created duke of Somerset, to be their leading organ, to receive foreign ambassadors, and perform those active and efficient functions of the royal power, for which the reigning child was yet unfit; and with the title of lord protector.¹⁹ Some new peers were created.²⁰ An universal pardon to all criminals and offenders was proclaimed, with six important exceptions;²¹ and the stately ceremony of the coronation was performed,²² not-

¹⁷ Stryp. Eccl. Mem. p. 310. He had desired by his will to be buried in the choir at Windsor, and that the bones of his queen Jane should be laid in his tomb. See it in Fuller, and in Heylin, p. 23.

¹⁸ Edward remarks, that 'the council sat every day for the performance of the will, and at length thought it best,' to make the promotions which took place. Journ. p. 4.

¹⁹ 'They also thought it best to chuse the duke of Somerset to be protector of the realm, and governor of the king's person during his minority; to which all the gentlemen and lords did agree, because he was the king's uncle on the mother's side.' Edw. p. 4. His title, as expressed in his official letter, appointing the earl of Shrewsbury his lord lieutenant in seven counties, is 'Duke of Somerset, governor of his majesty, lord protector of all his realms, lieutenant general of all his armies.' Lodge, Illustr. 116.

²⁰ The earl of Essex was made marquis of Northampton, viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick, and lord chamberlain. Sir Thomas Seymour, brother of Somerset, baron Dudley, and lord high admiral. Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, were raised from their knighthood to a baronage; and the lord chancellor Wrottesley to be earl Southampton. Edw. 4. Godwin, Ann. 212.

²¹ They were, the duke of Norfolk, detained still in the Tower; Card. Pole, abroad; Courtenay, the son of the marquis of Exeter, who had been beheaded; Throckmorton and Fortescue, who were in custody; and Pate, the late bishop of Worcester, who was at Rome. God. 213.

²² It occurred on 20 Feb. As he passed thro Cheapside, a ballad with these stanzas, and others, were sung:

withstanding the king's boyish age and delicate health, which made the fatiguing honor, tho gratifying to the noble actors, a dangerous experiment to the person whose station and safety it was directed to secure.²³

The new protector was more distinguished for his affinity to the crown, than for extraordinary talent or superior character ; but he was an active and enterprising officer, and had served successfully in France and Scotland, and recently had won Henry's warm approbation, by forcing the much superior army of Francis to break up from its siege of Boulogne. He was courteous and affable, and had not then displayed any unruly ambition.²⁴ He began his office

Sing up, heart ! sing up, heart ! and sing no more down,
But joy in King Edward, that weareth the crown ;
When he waxeth wight, and to manhood doth spring,
He shall be straight then of four realms the king.

Ye children of England ! for honor of the same,
Take bow and shaft in hand, learn shootage to frame,
That you another day may so do your parts,
To serve your king as well with hands as with hearts.

Ye children that be toward, sing up and not down,
And never play the coward to him that weareth the crown ;
But alway do your care, his pleasure to fulfil,
Then shall you keep right sure the honor of England still.

Strype Eccl. 330.

Edward dubbed on this day 40 knights of the bath and 55 knights *of the carpet*, whose names are printed by Strype from the Herald's Office. p. 327-9.

²³ Strype has preserved the detail of the ceremony on 20 February, in his *Life of Cranmer*, 1. p. 203. The archbishop used the occasion to address a speech to him, exhorting him, like Josias, to see ' idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished, and images removed.' His next sentence was more instructive : ' You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms.' p. 206.

²⁴ ' With the hardy approach of 7,000 Englishmen, he raised an army of 21,000 French encamped before Boulogne, and won their ordnance, carriage, treasure and tents, with the loss of only one man.' Heylin Hist. p. 3.

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with a private and sensible petition to heaven, to execute it creditably,²⁵ and was directed by the state council to lead an army in the ensuing August into Scotland, to repel its meditated aggressions. He summoned hastily to his ranks the forces of the border counties to meet him at Berwick, on the sixth of September;²⁶ and finding the Scottish chieftains advancing into England with determined daring, he moved towards them so rapidly, that on the 10th of that month he fought the important battle of Pinkey, near Musselboro. In this conflict the invading power of Scotland, after a struggle in which victory was for some time fluctuating, was defeated with the loss of 10,000 men;²⁷ a severe and lamentable catas-

²⁵ 'Lord God of Hosts! in whose only hand is life and death, victory and confusion, rule and subjection; receive me, Thy humble creature, into Thy mercy. Thou hast called me to rule: make me able to follow Thy calling. Thou hast committed an anointed king to my governance; direct me therefore with Thy hand. Govern me as I shall govern; rule me as I shall rule. I seek Thy honor only in my vocation: amplify it, Lord, with Thy might. If it be Thy will I shall rule, make Thy congregation subject to my rule. Prosper the king: save Thy people: direct Thy justice. I am ready to do what Thou commandest. Command what Thou wilt. Great things, O my God! hast Thou begun in my hand. Let me be Thy minister to defend them. I commit all my cause to Thy high providence; and so rest to advance all human strength under the standard of THY OMNIPOTENCY.' Strype, p. 312. His commission as Protector, is in Burnett, v. 4. p. 137-9.

²⁶ His letter to the earl of Shrewsbury, dated from New Castle, 18 Aug. 1547, expresses, that it was 'of moment to have a nobleman such as your lordship with us, to have the charge of one of the wards of footmen.' Its directing superscription is curious, but then not unusual; it was to the earl, 'besides Doncaster. Haste, post! haste, for thy life. For thy life, post of Doncaster! see this letter delivered according to the direction. For thy life, haste!' Lodge Illustr. p. 119.

²⁷ On receiving the news of this victory from his letters and messenger, Edward, on 18 September, wrote from Oatlands to the Duke:—'Dearest Uncle, We have at length understood, to our great comfort, the good success it hath pleased God to grant us against the Scots, for your good courage and wise conduct; for the which we give unto you, good Uncle! our most hearty thanks; praying you to thank also most heartily, in our name, our good cousin the earl of Warwick, and all the

trophe ; but so decisive of the relative strength of the two countries, that this valuable nation attempted no similar conflict, till the days of Oliver Cromwell, and the battle of Dunbar.²⁸

Edward had experienced much kind attention from his father's last queen, Catherine Parr, and had written to her, — such were the education and attainments to which the noble women of Henry's court, from his taste, had aspired, — several letters in Latin²⁹ and French,³⁰ as well as in English.³¹ She renewed the correspondence before his coronation, and his answers expressed how much he felt that he had been indebted to her.³² The next day he evinced his

others of the noblemen, gentlemen and others, that have served in this journey, of whose service they shall be well assured we will not shew ourselves unmindful, but be ready ever to consider the same as any occasion shall arrive.' 2 Ellis, p. 148.

²⁸ Cranmer's letter to the bishop of London, directing public thanksgivings for it, describes it as a 'victory almost above the expectation of man, and such as hath not been heard of in any part of Christendom this many years.' 'Above 15,000 Scots be slain, 2,000 taken prisoners, and among them many noblemen ; all their ordnance and baggage of their camp also won.' Strype's Cranmer, 1. p. 219. His unavailing letter, after this success, to the Scottish government, urging the marriage of its Queen Mary with Edward, is in Grafton and Hollingshed.

²⁹ His style to her was pleasing : thus, on 24 May 1546, he calls her 'Regina nobilissima ! mater charissima !' and says, 'You will perhaps wonder that I so often write to you, and in such a short time ; but, for the same reason, you might be surprised that I should do my duty to you.' He subscribes himself 'Tibi, obsequentissimus filius, Edwardus Princeps.' 2 Ellis, 132.

³⁰ His French letter to her notices the beauty of her penmanship : 'I thank you, most noble and excellent queen, for the letters you have lately sent me ; not only for their beauty, but for their imagination. For when I see your *belle ecriture*, and the excellence of your genius greatly surpassing my invention, I am sick of writing. But then I think how kind your nature is, and that whatever proceeds from a good mind and will, will be acceptable, and so I write you this letter.' *ib.* 132.

³¹ One of his English letters, cited before in note 9, implies her attention to his education.

³² This is in Latin, from the Tower, on 7 Feb. 1547, and begins, 'I thank you much for the letter you last sent me, charissima mater ! which is a mark of your signal and daily affection for me.' It ends

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fraternal feelings³³ to both Mary and Elizabeth, by Latin letters to those accomplished princesses;³⁴ and three months afterwards he settled on Mary the royal mansion of Hundsden, near Hoddeson, who made it her principal residence during her brother's reign.³⁵ Elizabeth, who had been carefully taught by Ascham, not only frequently wrote to him, but also, tho not many years older than himself, strove to exhibit in her style some of the elaborate but least natural embellishments of literary composition.³⁶ His affection for her led him to desire her portrait, tho with the delicacy of inquiring if he might make the request; and she took some trouble to accompany it with the artificial flowers of rhetorical diction.³⁷ But emerging

'Your highness has conferred so many benefits on me, that I owe you every comfort which I can contribute to you. Farewell, Regina veneranda!' 2 Ellis, 142.

³³ He assures her, 'As far as relates to myself, I will be to you *charissimus frater et omni benevolentia exuberans*. May the most high and gracious God endow you with his gifts. Tower, 8 Feb.' *ib.* p. 142.

³⁴ His language to Elizabeth implies that he felt her to have been the superior in mind of the two ladies. 'There is very little need of my consoling you, most dear sister! because from your learning you know what you ought to do; and from your prudence and piety, you perform what your learning causes you to know.' So his conclusion: 'Besides your letters *mihi arridebant*; as well because elegant sentences are contained in them, as because I perceive from them that you think of our father's death with a calm mind.' *ib.* 144.

³⁵ It had been forfeited to the crown from the battle of Bosworth; and Henry had made it the chief place for the nursing and education of his children. Ellis, 134.

³⁶ She began a familiar letter from Hatfield about his health, 'Like as a shipman in stormy weather plucks down the sails, tarrying for better wind; so did I, most noble king, in my unfortunate chance on Thursday, pluck down the high sails of my joy and comfort; and do trust, one day, that, as troublesome waves have repulsed me backward, so a gentle wind will bring me forward to my haven.' Ellis, 145.

³⁷ 'Like as the rich man that daily gathereth riches to riches, and to one bag of money layeth a great sort, till it come to infinite, so, methinks, your majesty, not being sufficed with many benefits and gentleness shewed to me afore this time, doth now increase them, in asking and desiring *whether you may bid* and command; requiring a thing not worthy the desiring for itself, but made worthy for your highness' request. My

criticism having marked out similes, as predominant beauties in the classical poets, their imitators had emulated the applauded grace so profusely, that Spain, Italy, and England made it the characteristic of their sermons and orations as well as of their romances and poems; from which it flowed, from the mere memory of cultivated education, into their epistolary composition. That it became the beloved vice of literary diction, dear to both the writers and readers of the gravest productions of the human mind, lord Bacon, Jeremy Taylor, sir Thomas Browne, the historian Fuller, and even our Milton in his prose writings, abundantly evince. If we endure it in Latimer,³⁸ we may pardon it in princess Elizabeth.—A peculiar regard for each other united the king with this studious sister. In tastes, feelings, pursuits, and religion, there was that congeniality of mind, which most strongly attracts and perpetuates reciprocal affection.³⁹

As Francis I. had soon followed to the grave the

picture I mean; in which, if the inward good mind toward your grace might as well be declared, as the outward face and countenance shall be seen, I would not have tarried the commandment, but prevented it; nor have been the last to grant, but the first to offer it.' 'For tho, from the grace of the picture, the colors may fade by time; may give by weather; may be spotted by chance; yet the other, nor time, with her swift wings, shall overtake; nor the misty clouds, with their lowerings, may darken; nor chance, with her slippery foot, may overthrow.' Ellis, 147.

Our Elizabeth might have somewhat shone as a lady authoress, if she had not become a queen.

³⁸ See his Sermons, preached about this time, *passim*.

³⁹ Sir Robert Naunton, who lived in the reign of Elizabeth, remarks, 'Under Edward, she was his, and one of the *darlings* of fortune; for, besides the consideration of blood, there was between these two princes a concurrency and sympathy in their natures and affections, together with the celestial bond, conformity in religion, which made them one, and friends. The king ever called her his sweetest and dearest sister; and was scarce his own man, she being absent; which was not so between him and the lady Mary.' *Frag. Regalia*, p. 2.

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king, whom, tho oftener his endangering enemy than his assisting friend, he had long valued and admired for his qualities and talents, the English government gave his memory the respectful tribute of a solemn mass and requiem, at which Cranmer assisted, with eight bishops, in their rich mitres and pontificals, at St. Paul's, which was hung with black, while over the sumptuous hearse that was placed in the choir, as the representative of the absent reality, the bishop of Rochester preached a funeral sermon.⁴⁰ Peaceful relations were continued with France and with Henry II. its new king, the godson of the deceased English sovereign, till, two years afterwards, the tempting occurrence of a rebellion in Devonshire led the French to a co-operating but unsuccessful attack on the islands of Guernsey and Jersey.⁴¹

While the protector and state counsellors were carrying on the efficient business of the government, Edward continued his studies with unabated perseverance, and enlarged them to subjects with which his royal office would occasion his maturity to be nationally connected. The extent of his inquiries appears to us in the papers and treatises yet remaining, which were drawn up for his use, and are admirable examples to all young princes, of a beneficial direction of their intelligent curiosity. The best rules for conducting prosperously a military expedition,⁴² we may dismiss in this age without com-

⁴⁰ Strype's Cr. 225. These funeral honors were celebrated in June 1547 ; but the French king had died in the preceding March.

⁴¹ Strype's Cr. 268. They were beaten off in August 1549.

⁴² The essay on this subject is entitled, 'Common-places of State,' and contains much sound and statesmanlike advice. It is drawn up by W. Thomas, clerk of the council. It embraces invasions, marches, sieges, defences and seditions, and occupies 13 printed pages in Strype, Ecc. 315-27.

mendation, because all improved mind must now deem war a wilful infliction of evil, which the worst of beings only can delight in; and which all sovereigns, who aspire to future praise, must shew to posterity that they have used every honorable means to avoid bringing on their country, or on any other portion of the human race, before they can receive either its pardon or its praise; it will therefore be wise in every king to decline all education to military dexterity, that neither vanity nor conscious ability may become his bosom tempter to display his qualification. The discussion, 'Whether it be better for a commonwealth, that the power should be in the nobility or the commonalty,' opened a large field of thought.⁴³ Letters 'on the reformation of the coin,' were peculiarly useful to the king of a commercial nation.⁴⁴ Questions on the origin of government, and its different kinds; 'What causeth an inheritor king to lose his realm; the use of religion in a state; what laws are necessary;' and eighty more questions on civil and military policy, which the king himself suggested,⁴⁵ exhibit the royal mind taking spacious

⁴³ This was also by Thomas, and is in Strype, 372.

⁴⁴ From the first of these letters, which are by Thomas, we learn that Edward had sent him 'the notes of certain discourses,' and desired to have one from him every week, which Thomas says, 'I shall most gladly apply to send you, if it be possible in so little time to compass it; as in very deed it were more than easy, if the daily service of mine office required not that great travail and diligence that it doth.' Strype, 389-393.

⁴⁵ These 85 questions are printed by Mr. Ellis from the Cotton MS. Titus, B. 2. with the author's letter to the king, in which he says, these were 'notes of those discourses that are now my principal study; and he sends them to the king, 'imagining with myself that hitherto your majesty hath more applied to the study of the tongues, than any matter either of history or policy, the Holy Scriptures excepted.' New Letters, v. 2. p. 188-195.

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ranges of thought, and seeking unusual amplitude of information. So the reviews of the state of Europe, in order to determine 'what prince's amity is best,'⁴⁶ and to expose the existing state of 'the king's outward affairs,'⁴⁷ were calculated to lead the mind that was to rule the sceptre of England to investigating judgment and to active thought. A paper full of valuable facts on commercial topics, exists among Edward's writings on the reasons for and against establishing a free mart in England;⁴⁸ and also a discussion, by Cecil, whether the government should aid the emperor.⁴⁹ Such applications of a kingly intellect in its youth, amid the blandishments of his exalted station, gave reasonable promise of manly fruitfulness; and when we read in Cardan's own statement of his conversation with the king on astronomy, that the royal boy's remarks on his account of the comets, were more rational than the conceited tho celebrated philosopher's theory,⁵⁰ we perceive

⁴⁶ Strype's Ecc. 377-381.

⁴⁷ Ib. 382-9. Another essay of Thomas for the king's use, is on the question, 'Whether it be expedient to vary with time.' ib. 365-72.

⁴⁸ Burnett has inserted this, v. 4. p. 110-115.

⁴⁹ Burnett, 116-120. The 'articles devised by the king for the more orderly dispatch of causes by his privy council,' are not in Edward's handwriting, but are interlined in several places by it. ib. 121-3.

⁵⁰ 'He asked me what was the subject of my book *'de rerum varietate,'* which I had dedicated to him. I said, in the first chapter I shew the cause of comets, which has been so long sought for in vain.' 'What is it?' 'It is *the concourse of the light of the wandering stars.*' But the king said, 'As the stars move in such different motions, this concourse must be dissipated or moved by their movement.' To this sensible objection to Cardan's idle fancy, this sage chimerically replied, 'It moves after them, and with more celerity, as a rainbow from glass, or the sun shines on a wall.' 'How can that be?' replied the king, 'there is nothing like a wall in the sky to receive this light.' Cardan thought he answered this defeating remark by comparing his concourse with the Milky Way, or the lucid middle space between many lighted candles.' De Genit. l. 12. He says that Edward, then in his fifteenth year, spoke Latin not less 'polite et prompte' than himself. As we know the

an emerging judgment which might have realized, if it had survived, most of the expectations which all who heard of Edward's attainments, in every part of Europe, were lavish in expressing, and perhaps too eager to indulge.

While the death of Henry VIII. had occasioned in England a pacific government by the succession of his interesting child, that of Francis I. had raised to his throne the namesake and godson of the English sovereign, who had been remarked in his childhood for some resemblance to his royal godfather in spirit and appearance; and who having become dauphin by his eldest brother's death, was now, as Henry II. immediately characterized by Charles V. as one who would be an ambitious and disturbing king.⁵¹ The pope heard these prognostications of the emperor with secret joy, as presenting to his use just such a character as he wished to move against the sovereign he most dreaded; and, on his part, expressed to the French ambassador an high opinion of his new master.⁵² Paul III. having affronted Charles by a

largeness of Cardan's self estimation in all things, this was a very great admission.

⁵¹ The emperor, on 2d April 1547, wrote to his ambassador at Rome, that 'of this new king he had received a *buonissimo* report; that he would be a man of much bustle; more than the pope would expect; and that his holiness would find that Henry would be a greater enemy to both than his father had been. That if Francis had drawn the Turkish sultan to his own injury by the hair, this king would pull him by hair, hands and feet; for his immediate object at his outset would be, to make every effort to acquire name and reputation; and that he would pursue his enterprise more with the hope of victory than with the fear of a defeat.' Ribier, v. 2. p. 2.

⁵² Guillart reported to his king, on 11th April, 'I assure you his holiness, and all others here, have conceived *une si grande* expectation of you, that there seems to be necessity of your transcending yourself. He said that it was no small advantage to have acquired so universally such a high reputation, because it always has had so much power in human affairs, that Cæsar confessed he had drawn more victories from it than from his warlike exploits.' *ib.* p. 4.

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letter he had sent, had received rebukes in return,⁵³ over which he brooded with mortification and resentment;⁵⁴ but his desire to revenge them was counteracted by his worldly wishes to aggrandize his family, to which he was sacrificing the interest of the pope-dom.⁵⁵ It was fortunate for the endangered Protestants of Germany that the pontiff had this nepotism, which lessened his power of doing them the mischief he wished, as it also was that Henry II. tho bigotted to Rome, yet, from his passion to distinguish himself, was disposed to befriend them; for the imperial forces at this juncture gained their decisive victory at Mulberg, where the great Lutheran leaders, the landgrave of Hesse and the duke of Saxony, were taken prisoners.⁵⁶

⁵³ The emperor, after expressing that he had been 'grandement' astonished that the pope should have written such a letter, containing things so 'impertinente' to the virtue and prudence of such an old man as he was, adds, 'but tho it has surprised, it has not vexed his majesty; for not only a single pope could not do that, but even seven popes together should not disturb him; but those in his Beatitude's service were ashamed that a pontiff in such years should have fallen into so great an error, an error which in a short time he will know and feel. His Beatitude would then have to think what he had before thought of to very little purpose, unless his holiness should amend by his works what he had uttered in his words.' Ribier, v. 2. p. 2.

⁵⁴ On 27th April, the Cardinal de Bologne wrote, 'I am waiting for the pope's answer. He is gone out of the city to take the air, but it is only to dissipate sa melancholie, for he never supposed that the emperor would have made such a severe reply.' ib. p. 5.

⁵⁵ In the dispatch of the French envoy at Venice, of 27th May, we read, 'As to the pope, to speak the truth, as far as I can judge from all I have heard, there is no great reliance or hope to be placed on him, for he is old, and is not master of himself. All his designs are thought to tend to no other point than to increase and perpetuate 'sa maison;' the establishment of which is now founded on the duke Octavius, whose wife is near the pope, and does all that she wishes with him. So that if he would forget his affections to think of his duty, and would regard only the dignity which he holds to preserve it against the emperor's ambition, yet we must not by any means expect 'grands effets de sa volonté.' ib. 19.

⁵⁶ So inveterate had now become this contest, that their lives were in

The pope in a few months beheld the destruction of the favorite object of his secular vanity in the assassination of his son;⁵⁷ but altho the emperor's successes were perilous to the Lutherans, who were so odious to Rome, yet as they made him also more formidable to the Vatican, we find this pontiff, in November, determining to put himself entirely into the hands of the king of France;⁵⁸ and therefore forming what, with a specious and softened term, he called a defensive league, to which he requested Henry's accession, on the assurance that it would be found the true door to an offensive one,⁵⁹ whose object would be to wrest the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples from the emperor;⁶⁰ and this vicar, as he assumed himself to be, of his Saviour,

danger for their religion. On 4th June, Celius wrote to the constable of France, 'the elector of Saxony was condemned to be beheaded, but, by the interposition of Brandenburg, the emperor agrees to spare his life, on these terms,' &c. The electorate was given to Maurice. Rib. 2. p. 22.

• ⁵⁷ On 7th September, Mervillier informed his court of the assassination of the 'duc de Plaisance, fils du pape.' The pope imputed it to don Ferrand de Gonzague. 2 Rib. 61. On 31st October the cardinal Guise apprises the king that he had expressed to the pontiff, 'le regret que vous avez de la mort du duc Pierre Louise son fils.' p. 73. It is not usual for popes to have children.

⁵⁸ Cardinal Guise, on 11th November, states to Henry, 'The pope said, il etoit resous de se mettre du tout entre vos mains. Il vous offre la ligue defensive.' 2 Rib. 79.

⁵⁹ The cardinal added, 'By your means the Swiss will enter in this league, a quoi le pape vous prie de tenir la main.' p. 79. 'He wishes you to begin by this *defensive* league, laquelle il dit être la vrai porte de l'offensive.' 81.

⁶⁰ 'I will tell you ce qu'il pense pour offenser. Il m'a dit, qu'il n'y avoit que deux lieux pour ce faite—Naples and Milan.' ib. p. 81. We learn from the dispatch of 27th May, that there was then a revolt at Naples, on account of the *Inquisition* that was sought to be established there. As it was begun, the people burst into an insurrection, and remonstrated, that they and their predecessors had always been Catholics; that the attempt grieved them both in their honor and in their property; and that such an institution had never been practised any where but in Spain, where it was notorious that there were many Moors.' ib. p. 20.

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this supreme head of the Christian world, inquired earnestly of the French sovereign if he could not get the grand seignor, the sultan of the Mahomedan faith, who had already pushed his dominions to the Danube, to quarrel with the emperor: or at least to induce him or the dey of Algiers to send to these allies forty or fifty of their galleys.⁶¹ Revenge or hypocrisy could scarcely carry further a christian pontiff and his most christian king. Nor was this an ineffectual advice. Such an alliance was afterwards made; and a Turkish detachment of Mussulman galleys were seen in the Mediterranean united with the French fleet, and ravaging the Christian territories that were faithful to their imperial sovereign.

The pope was at this time persisting in keeping the council at Bologna, where the French king, to please him, ordered his prelates to go;⁶² while the emperor demanded its return to Trent; and his agents meditated a protest which would have been almost a defiance to the papacy.⁶³ Paul received a proposal for surprising Genoa,⁶⁴ and advised the French king to preserve peace with the English, that

⁶¹ The cardinal's words on this curious and unprincipled counsel are, 'M'ayant commande derechef le pape, de vous faire instance, pour savoir, si nous pourrions faire venir le grand seigneur en querelle avec l'empereur; ou, pour le moins, si de lui ou du rey d'Alger on pourroit avoir 40 à 50 galeres.' 2 Rib. p. 81.

⁶² On 30th August 1547, the bishop of Mirepoix announced to the prime minister at Paris their arrival. ib. 54.

⁶³ The mitigating answer of the consistory, given to him in December, was, that the opinion of the whole council must first be taken. In January 1548 the language of the imperial ambassador was more strong: He called Bologna a 'ville suspecte à la nation d'Allemagne,' because it was in obedience to the pope. He pronounced what they should do there to be a nullity, and a protestation was preparing 'vers la sainteté du pape dont le langage approche presque d'un defy.' Rib. p. 102.

⁶⁴ And sent the proposer twice to the French ambassador. Lett. 18 Feb. p. 110.

his blow against Charles might be more effectual ; and, therefore, without abandoning the Scots, to act so as to keep England occupied with them, as the emperor was urging it to hostilities against France.⁶⁵

It had been the leading principles of the foreign politics of Henry VIII. to watch the contending ambition of Charles V. and Francis I., to prevent either from overpowering the other ; to be generally neutral ; but to interfere by his forces against the latter, when he became the endangering party, as England was most interested in preventing the aggrandizement of French dominion. But the state council of Edward preferred, during his minority, to leave these disputing sovereignties more entirely to themselves, with no other intervention than diplomatic solicitations to both to unite in a cordial peace, and offers to act mediatorially to reconcile them ; while their greatest exertions were directed to prosecute the reformation and new arrangement of England's ecclesiastical state ;⁶⁶ some, like Cranmer, aiming only at the establishment of a true and rational system of Christian doctrines, worship, and discipline ; but others, especially the lay lords, more earnest chiefly to dispossess the church of what property and possessions remained to it, and to share among themselves such booty as could be creditably wrested from the unbefriended hierarchy. Foreign affairs

⁶⁵ Rib. 117. De Rohan subjoins, ' His holiness, in imitation of you, intends to compose his guard of Swiss, and therefore intreats you to keep that nation in good will towards you.' ib.

⁶⁶ The president Henault remarks, that Henry's abolition of the papal supremacy only amounted to a schism ; but that Cranmer under Edward changed the established worship, and introduced the Protestant religion into England. Abr. Chronol.

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were therefore little noticed or cared for by the ruling administration; but commissioners were speedily sent into all parts of the kingdom, to visit every diocese, and to inquire into all ecclesiastical concerns. Preachers were also appointed to accompany these investigating delegates, to instruct the people, and to facilitate the official operations.⁶⁷ But if the inclinations of the nation had not turned the care of government chiefly to the subjects of its religious polity, the hopes and efforts of the friends of the Romish power would have unavoidably compelled it to take that direction; as the feared and ever formidable lion, which had awed the papal adherents into quietude, was no longer on the throne; and new prospects and possibilities had arisen from his disappearance.

Altho cardinal Pole, the leader, while he lived, of all the Vatican hostility against the English government, knew enough of Edward's education, and saw enough of the intentions and wishes of those who surrounded his throne at his accession, to have despaired of causing the nation to abandon its achieved independence, for a second subjection to Roman domination, yet the perception of this displeasing certainty did not dispose him to be quiet. His irritabilities or his expectations were still so restless, that he not only reprinted his book against Henry VIII., but took the opportunity of an assumed, tho not real, necessity of accounting for its wilful republication, to

⁶⁷ Heylin's Hist. Ref. p. 34; and see his remarks, 17-19; and Strype's Cranmer, 207-10. The forty injunctions and further orders given to these commissioners for the guidance of their conduct, are abstracted by Heylin, 34-7, and more fully printed by Foxe.

address to Edward a new preface on reprinting it. The main subject of this was a laudatory egotism on himself; yet he also hoped to give it a persuasive efficacy on the impressible and ingenuous mind of the reading king.⁶⁸ But neither Edward nor his council favored the projects of one who had made himself the traitorous tool of the Roman court: 'They concurred with Cranmer, and the wisest of the clergy, in carrying on and completing the Protestant Reformation, on that moderate and enlightened plan which peculiarly distinguishes the established church of England.

The provincial visitations were followed by the preparation of the venerable Homilies of the English church—in spirit so pure, and in many passages so eloquent; and by the recommendation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament, the best

⁶⁸ Quirini has printed it in the fourth volume of his *Poli Epistolæ*, p. 306. It thus addressed the king: 'Altho many things dissuade me from writing to you, O prince! yet I have resolved to make an experiment of those distinguished and royal talents, with which all who come from you constantly affirm that you are endowed.' 'As I am now compelled to bring forward these books again, which I had suppressed for many years, I have wished particularly to send them to thee, O prince! to show you what my mind was towards your father, and to lead you to wipe away his stains.' p. 310. He then detailed his own story of the transactions between him and Henry, 308–338. He admits that Henry's taking and enforcing the title of the supreme head of the church was the reason that he abused him so virulently. 'I consumed a great portion of the books I wrote, in opposing this decree, and the rest in severely defaming the king himself; because he had, *the first*, suffered this decree to be made, and had then proceeded so cruelly to defend it.' *ib.* 308. He ends his rhetorical effusion by urging Edward to return from the example of his father to that of his grandfather and other ancestors; and had the simplicity to add, 'If you would strive for true honor and true glory, I cannot assist your applauded mind in any thing more effectually than to place before your eyes your father's disgrace and turpitude. You have two ways now before you—his or your grandfather's.' 346. The choice of the latter would have again subjected the English church and nation to the despotic yoke of the papal supremacy.

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and wisest then existing, notwithstanding its defects. Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, clinging to the Romish system, opposed this valuable production of a liberal mind, and, tho committed to the Fleet, persisted in resisting it.⁶⁹ A convocation was held simultaneously with the parliament, in which the marriage of the clergy, and the communion in both kinds, were established.⁷⁰ The Universities, which, as well as learning, had been declining,⁷¹ were revived and patronized, under Cranmer's recommendation, whose aid they solicited;⁷² and classical studies began to supersede those of the old schoolmen and canon law.⁷³

During Henry's reign, the annates, the appeals to Rome, its Peter's penny, and dispensations, the mass, the use of images and crosses, holy water,

⁶⁹ Strype's Cranmer, 211-220.

⁷⁰ Ib. 220-5.

⁷¹ 'Ecclesiastical preferments, formerly the peculiar rewards of academies, were now ordinarily enjoyed by mere laymen; learned men were seldom taken notice of, nor were scholars in any repute or value. Neither poor nor rich abode long in the university to attain to any considerable degrees of learning, because of its obscure and neglected condition. The grammar schools also became disused, parents choosing any other calling for their children rather than to bring them up to letters.' Ascham's Epist. to Marq. North, p. 309. Strype, 234.

⁷² Strype, 235, 6.

⁷³ Ascham adduces on this better taste the fact, 'that for oratory, they were applying to Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, as the fountains of loquens prudentia. That they were familiarizing themselves to Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, as the three lights of chronology, truth, and Greek eloquence. That the Greek poets, whom they took delight in, were, Homer, Sophocles and Euripides; the first as the fountain, and the two others as the streams, of intellectual diction and learned poetry; and found these more fertilizing to their minds than Terence and Virgil, whom they had before chiefly read.' Ep. 219.

Sir John Cheke had been made by Henry his Greek professor at Cambridge, when he founded the Lecture in 1540, and greatly promoted the revival of literature there. Str. Cheke, 13-26. He read privately in his chamber, to those who would attend, the poets and orators above mentioned, and also Socrates and Plato, and was preparing to add Demosthenes and Aristotle. Ascham's Toxophilus, p. 24.

and the monasteries, had been abolished, as well as the papal supremacy. The extinction of these, which went beyond Luther, who had allowed the images to be undisturbed,⁷⁴ had ended many of those innovations on the apostolic institutions, which the papal church, too manifestly in imitation of the rites of the pagan polytheism, had progressively adopted.⁷⁵ The calm judgment and enlightened conscience of our excellent prelate successively added other desirable improvements. Led by a correct good sense, and by a right principle—never in extremes, averse from violence, yet firm and persevering whenever confidence and co-operation from those who had the power, enabled him to give effect to the dictates of his judgment—his exertions and counsels gave a new form and beauty to England's religious worship.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ For this permission our Foxe gently blamed him, as 'one small blemish,' and ascribes it to his desire 'to stop the mouth' of those who charged his 'sect for sedition and tumult, and rebellion against magistrates.' p. 788.

⁷⁵ We may consider holy water as among these; for Justin remarked of the Pagans in his day, that 'such as go to their temples and officiate in their libations and meat offerings, first sprinkle themselves with water by way of libation.' Reeves Justin. Apol. p. 109. ὕδατος, or waterer, was the name given to the person who used such a ceremony in the initiation to the Eleusinian Mysteries.' Hesychius.

⁷⁶ In one of his homilies he thus enumerates what he had assisted to remove: 'Let us rehearse some other kinds of papistical superstitions and abuses; as of beads, of lady psalters and rosaries, of fifteen oes; of St. Bernard's verses, of St. Agathe's letters, of purgatory, of masses satisfactory, of stations and jubilees, of feigned relics, of hallowed beads, bells, bread, water, palms, candles, fire and such other; of pardons and such like merchandize.' Homily on Good Works, p. 18. The bishop of Salisbury's prohibition, in 1538, also shews us other practices that were repressed. 'Suffer no night watches in your churches or chapels; neither decking of images with gold, silver, clothes, lights or herbs; nor the people kneel to them, nor worship them; nor offer candles, oats, cake-bread, cheese, wool, or any such things to them.' 6 Burn. Coll. 195. He also orders his clergy 'not to use any girdles, purses, or measures of our Lady,' to be put round a woman in labor. He condemns what were then used in his diocese as 'holy relics,' which he calls stinking

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But the tempers of some individuals, released from the bondage of antient slavery, are apt to become riotous in their new liberty. Hence we find that churches were often profaned by quarrels, by shooting of hand-guns there; by bringing horses and mules into them, and by passing these animals thro them, like a common inn or stable.⁷⁷ The embezzlement of the consecrated vessels, bells, and ornaments, by the churchwardens and inhabitants, in several parishes, was also frequent enough to occasion an official letter from the regal council to restrain it.⁷⁸ That new and wild opinions should be started and defended, it was useless to notice, because impossible to prevent. It was therefore unwise in Cranmer or the clergy to imitate the papal church, in visiting these follies by any serious punishments.⁷⁹ Many such meteors will appear while the mind is ignorant and agitated, and naturally expire, or cease to arise or spread, as the knowlege, tuition, and good sense of the nation increase. Prisons, whippings, or the fiery stake, for such follies, only multiply human misery, without enlarging human goodness. There is much personal misconduct which penal laws will be always ineffective to correct, and which nothing but the interior change of the individual by the opera-

boots, mucky combs, ragged rochets, rotten girdles, pyled purses, great bullocks horns, locks of hair, and filthy rags, gobbets of wood, under the name of parcels of the Holy Cross, and such paltry.' 6 Burn. Coll. 197.

⁷⁷ From the MS. Titus, B. 2. Strype has quoted the proclamation against these demeanors. p. 251.

⁷⁸ It is dated 30 April 1548. Strype, 252.

⁷⁹ See Strype, 253-8. In the same wrong spirit, bishop Hooper was imprisoned in the Fleet, for his dispute about the vestments of the clergy, till a compulsory conformity was extorted from him. 308.

tion of a moral education will finally remove. Our actions alter as our mental tastes improve.

The ordination of the priests and deacons having been amended,⁸⁰ the book of Common Prayer was revised, and the antient rituals called in.⁸¹ As a considerable portion of the people was still attached to their earlier forms, many preferred these to what they considered conscientiously to be culpable innovations; and it is obvious that the ruling powers exerted a coercion which resembles tyranny, in order to repress or overpower the national opposition. It was not unjust for the government to prohibit masses to the Virgin and to the Apostles, in the public cathedrals of the land;⁸² but altho our reformed Liturgy presents to the public use, a combination of intellectual piety and personal devotion for social worship, far superior to all that popes or councils had collected or commanded before; yet, to prevent those who chose, from pursuing their own modes of worship in secret places, before they had felt the merit of the better system, was an unjustifiable stretch of painful power. From this conflicting state of mind, we read without surprise that many churches, even St. Paul's, were suffered to become dilapidated,

⁸⁰ In 1549. Strype, 273.

⁸¹ On 25 December 1549, a general letter to all the bishops of England, signed by the archbishop, the chancellor, and four others of the council, stated that 'there was no intention of bringing in again Latin service, conjured bread and water, nor any such abrogated ceremonies; but that the abolition of these, and the setting forth the book of Common Prayer, were done by the whole state of the realm.' 'The bishops were directed to order the clergy to bring in all antiphoners, missals, and other books of service, to be defaced and abolished.' Strype's Cr. 276. The prayer book was again revised, with the assistance of Bucer and P. Martyr, in 1550. *ib.* p. 300-2.

⁸² The lord protector and the council forbade these on 24 June 1549. Foxe, Acts. Strype, 291.

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and that in several parts the people refused to pay their tithes.⁸³ The conversion of a nation can never be immediately general ; it is usually a gradual process of reflection, feeling, imitation and instruction, advancing every where with unequal steps, and amid much resistance. Even wisdom cannot be duly appreciated but in proportion as we become wise. In 1552, the Articles of Religion were framed, and published as the summary of the doctrines of the church of England at that time ;⁸⁴ and by an act of parliament in the spring of this year, the book of Common Prayer was ordered to be used every where from the ensuing All Saints day ;⁸⁵ and a catechism was prepared ;⁸⁶ but preaching without a license was forbidden.⁸⁷

The most questionable of the measures pursued in this reign, in promoting the Reformation, were the suspensions and imprisonments of those bishops who chose to adhere to their antient system. In these deprivations, and in the confinement of Bonner, who held the see of London,⁸⁸ and of Gardiner, the prelate of Winchester,⁸⁹ we see power in arbitrary and

⁸³ Strype's Cranmer, 293.

⁸⁴ Strype, 390.

⁸⁵ Ib. 415. It was translated into French under the inspection of the lord chancellor, for the benefit of the Protestants in France. ib. 416.

⁸⁶ Ib. 423.

⁸⁷ See the proclamation to this effect in Burnett, v. 4. p. 179. On 1st June 1548, a letter was addressed from the council to the licensed preachers, instructing them how they ought to preach. See it in Burnett, p. 182.

⁸⁸ Bonner, in October 1549, was examined before Cranmer and Ridley, the two state secretaries, and the dean of St. Paul's, for omitting to preach on the king's authority during his minority, as he was directed. We may regret that the witnesses against him should be Hooper and Latimer ; and that his sentence should have been, not only dispossession of his see, but imprisonment in the Marshalsea for the rest of the reign. Strype, 269.

⁸⁹ For censuring the Homily on salvation, and the Paraphrase of

ill-humored exertion ; and creating for these violent men justifying precedents and exasperated motives for retaliating severities on their judges and accusers, when they afterwards acquired the powers of inflicting them. Hethe and Day, the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, were afterwards, in 1551, imprisoned and deprived ; the first for not acquiescing in the new form of ordination, and the latter for not changing the altars of his diocese into tables, and for preaching against the alteration.⁹⁰ There was a spirit of unjust intolerance, and a system of oppressive harshness in these proceedings, which, tho borrowed from the antient system in which all had been educated, we cannot now consider without dislike, surprise, and condemnation. It is extraordinary that men should be so prone to imitate what they feel to be censurable ; their only merit was, that these unjust measures were not aggravated by torture and bloodshed ; but they fixed vindictive resentments in the minds of the sufferers, which soon led them in

Erasmus : on which he said he concurred with those who thought that Erasmus laid the egg which Luther had hatched. He was committed to the Fleet in 1547. He was required by the state council, in July 1550, to sign the 22 articles which were prepared for him, and which included the principal points of the English Reformation. The main objection he expressed was to the king's supremacy ; and refusing steadily to acknowledge this, and also to sign the rest of the articles, while he was a prisoner, he was sequestered for three months ; and after twenty-two sessions and examinations, was deprived of his see, and confined in one of the meaner lodgings in the Tower, with a prohibition of any one resorting to him, or of his sending to any one, or hearing from any. He was to have neither pen, ink, nor paper ; and even his own books and papers were taken from him. Strype, 211-213. 315-323. His letter to Cranmer, and the first part of that to the Protector on his first imprisonment, are in Strype's Appendix, N° 780-792. The rest of this is in Fox. It is but justice to say that they are in a temperate style, and contain some sensible and fair remarks, and can hardly be read without an impression that his imprisonment was an unwarrantable act.

⁹⁰ Strype, 323-333.

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their day of triumph to use these dreadful extremes. The arrest of Tonstall, bishop of Durham, in 1552, was more justifiable, as he seems to have been involved in the knowlege or participation of treasonable practices.⁹¹

The intrigues and fate of the protector's brother, the lord admiral, are among the first disgraces of this brief reign. Daring, arrogant, and extravagantly ambitious, he was also clever, active and accomplished. Allied to the throne by the king's lamented mother, he sought to reach the highest elevations by a presuming marriage. His first speculation was directed to the duchess of Richmond, the widow of Henry's natural son; but she disdaining him,⁹² his next aim was at the princess Elizabeth, notwithstanding her extreme youth; but the council discovering and defeating the plan,⁹³ he was induced, by the rank

⁹¹ Strype, from the MS. of an old council book, 413-5. That Bonner's imprisonment was oppressive, and that he had a right to complain of it as an act of tyranny, few will now deny; but that in his confinement he had not much of a religious mind within him, we may not uncharitably infer from the style of his letter to his friend Lechmere. Some may think it playful; but it is not the style and thoughts of a very serious bishop. 'The pears were so well accepted in every place (where I had many thanks for my distribution) that I intend to send down to you for your fruit again, to have an ekeing either of more pears or else of puddings. Ye know what they mean by that Italian proverb, 'Heaven guard me from the fury of peasants; from the conscience of priests; from him that hears two masses a day; from the quasibuglie of physicians; from notaries, and from those who swear 'by my conscience.' I do not write to sir John Burne, nor to my lady, for any thing; their conscience is not over large; and the like is in Mr. Hornvale, and also my old acquaintance John Badger. But if amongst you I have no puddings, then must I say as Messer, our priest of the hospital, said to his mad horse in our last journey to Ostia, 'to the devil; to the devil; to all the devils with you!' On the feast of All Souls in the Marshalcie.' Burnett, v. 4. p. 234. From this letter it is probable that Bonner became a persecutor rather for his pudding than for his conscience sake.

⁹² Heylin, Hist. p. 31.

⁹³ This attempt forms the 19th charge in the articles of high treason preferred against him. Burn. Records, 4. p. 220.

and rich dower of the queen widow, to limit his aspiring pursuit to an union with her. Mary, whom he urged to assist his suit, declined interfering, and referred him to Catherine's own feelings and decision.⁹⁴ His addresses were secret, and at first prevailed so far as to be accepted, on the condition of his waiting two years. Further attentions obtained a promise to convert the years into months;⁹⁵ and, upon his continued earnestness, she gave him the large additional wealth and consequence he coveted, by becoming his wife. The protector was displeased at the manifest ambition of the match. But the queen resented his dissatisfaction;⁹⁶ and as no law annulled or punished it, the anger of those who objected was only irritating and unavailing censure.

⁹⁴ Mary's sensible answer civilly remarked, 'It standeth less with my poor honor to be a meddler in this matter, considering whose wife her grace was of late; and besides, that if she be minded to grant your suit, my letters shall do you but small pleasure. On the other side, if the remembrance of the king's majesty my father will not suffer her to grant your suit, I am nothing able to persuade her to forget the loss of him who is yet very ripe in mine own remembrance.' Wanstead, Sat. 4 June (1547.) Ellis, Lett. v. 2. p. 150.

⁹⁵ In her letter from Chelsea manor, part of her jointure, intimating these circumstances, she shews the concealment of his courting interviews: 'When it shall be your pleasure to repair hither, you must take some pain to come early in the morning, that ye may be gone again by seven o'clock; and so I suppose you may come without suspect. I pray you let me have knowlege over night at what hour you will come, that your portress may wait at the gate to the fields for you.' Ellis, 2. p. 152.

⁹⁶ She thus describes to her husband one of her interviews with Somerset: 'My lord, your brother hath this afternoon a little made me warm. It was fortunate we were so much distant, for I suppose *else I should have bitten him*. What cause have they to fear having such a wife? To-morrow, or else upon Saturday, at afternoon about three o'clock, I will see the king, where I intend to utter all my choler to my lord your brother, if you shall not give me advice to the contrary. My lord! I beseech you, send me word with speed how I shall use myself to your brother. By your humble, true and loving wife in her heart. Kateryn the Queen.' Haynes' State Pap. 61.

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Her attachment increased as maternal expectations gladdened her heart,⁹⁷ and he had all the benefits of the distinguishing alliance. But they only augmented instead of contenting his proud desires; and her sudden illness and death in the September of the ensuing year, opened to him new chances of a grander gratification. He had, during the life of his royal bride, persuaded her to invite Elizabeth to her manor, and he endeavored to interest the juvenile princess by liberties too familiar to be creditable.⁹⁸ Catherine, who had too much countenanced the freedoms, was at last displeased with them;⁹⁹ and upon her premature death, before she had been twelve months his wife,¹⁰⁰ a new calculation was discovered to be occupying his mind. He had sometime before induced the marquis of Dorset to let his daughter Jane, the celebrated lady Jane Gray, be an inmate in his house on a visit to the queen. There was nothing peculiarly extraordinary in this while she

⁹⁷ Her next letter, after again alluding to the protector's hostility, communicates to her husband the prospect of his being a father, closing with this affectionate sentence: 'And thus I end, bidding my sweetheart and loving husband better to fare than myself. Your most loving, obedient and humble wife: Kateryn the Queen.' *ib.* 62. In this epistle she mentions her maternal condition rather more flippantly than we should expect from the sedate and prudent Catherine Parr.

⁹⁸ Mrs. Ashley, who had the care of Elizabeth, mentioned, upon her examinations, his going into the chamber of the princess at indecorous times in the morning, before she was fully dressed, or had risen, sometimes with the queen, and sometimes alone. At one time she was obliged to run behind the curtains, 'her maidens being there,' and to wait in that situation till he chose to go away. *Haynes' St. Pap.* 99.

⁹⁹ That the queen joined the admiral sometimes in these unbecoming levities, Mrs. Ashley mentions, *p.* 99; and also Harrington, *p.* 93; 'but on one occasion, finding that he had taken the princely girl, then only fourteen years old, in his arms, the queen fell out both with the lord admiral and with her grace also.' *Parry's Confess. Hayn.* 96.

¹⁰⁰ She died in childbed of a daughter, in September 1548. *Godwin Ann.* 227. *Stowe,* 596.

lived ; but his desire to detain her after Catherine's death,¹⁰¹ and the reluctance with which he consented to her leaving him, when both her parents insisted on the separation,¹⁰² announce to us that he was secretly remembering that she was the next heir to the crown after Mary and Elizabeth, and that plans were already in his contemplation to attach to himself the benefit of this splendid contingency, by a union with this interesting lady, or, what he avowed to some, by causing a match between her and the king,¹⁰³ of which he might claim the merit and the benefit. Disappointed by her being withdrawn from his household, he again sought a secret courtship with Elizabeth ;¹⁰⁴ but the state council discovering his machi-

¹⁰¹ The marquis stated to the council, ' that he was fully determined that his daughter, the lady Jane, should no more come to remain with the lord admiral. Howbeit, my lord admiral himself came unto her house, and was so earnest with him in persuasion, that he could not resist him.' Haynes, 76. On 17th September, the admiral wrote to the marquis, ' I was so amazed with the queen's death—and then, thinking that my great loss must have constrained me to have broken up and dissolved my whole house, I offered unto your lordship to send my lady Jane unto you ;' but since, ' I find I shall right well be able to continue my house together.' He adds, that the late queen's gentlewomen and maids would remain, with 120 gentlemen continually abiding in house together, and therefore he means to keep the lady. Hayn. 77.

¹⁰² The marquis answered him two days afterwards, requiring him to ' commit her to the governance of her mother.' ib. p. 78. The lady Frances seconded this letter by one from herself, thanking him for wishing to keep her daughter, but persisting in her request, ' that I may have the oversight of her, with your good will.' ib. p. 79.

¹⁰³ See Harrington's examination in Haynes, p. 83, 4, and p. 94 ; and Parry, 98.

¹⁰⁴ It was in January 1549, that the protector caused the examinations of Elizabeth's officers, and of herself, to take place, which are in Haynes, 88–109. She was at this time turned of fifteen. In the preceding December, when she visited the king, the admiral wished her to use his house. Parry's Exam. Haynes, 95–7. Elizabeth's own statements, ib. p. 102 and 89, shew that he never made her the direct proposition, but that he mentioned his wishes to her confidential attendants, who communicated them to her. See Mrs. Ashley's confessions, her governess, p. 99–101 ; Parry's, her cofferer's, 95–9. Harrington

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nations, and arresting and discharging the attendant of the princess,¹⁰⁵ his insatiate and vindictive spirit pursued with desperation its darkest purposes. He secretly excited the king, tho but ten years old, to throw off all regency, and to take the government on himself, that he might give away as he liked.¹⁰⁶ He encouraged this young sovereign to be lavish of money to his favorites; to be discontented with the protector for not supplying it, and proposed to furnish it insidiously himself.¹⁰⁷ He threatened the state government and his brother with some traitorous appeal to peers whom he wished to influence.¹⁰⁸ He urged

declared, 'there never was any conference of love or marriage betwixt the lady Elizabeth and my lord admiral, that ever he knew of, or that ever he suspected.' *ib.* 94. It was therefore his own presumptuous speculation, and no plan which she assented to.

¹⁰⁵ The protector, on 17th February 1549, announced to Elizabeth, that the council had discharged Mrs. Ashley from 'having the government of her person,' and 'seeing to her good education,' and had appointed Lady Tyrwhit instead. *Hayn.* 107. The admiral had been very inquisitive with her cofferer, about Elizabeth's lands and property, then in her own possession. *ib.* p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ The king confessed that the admiral had said to him, 'You must take upon yourself to rule. Ye shall be able enough as well as other kings, and then ye may give your men somewhat. Your uncle is old, and I trust will not live long. You are but a very beggarly king now. You have not to play, or to give to your servants.' Edward owned other instigations of this sort soon after he had completed his tenth year. The admiral said, 'I was too bashful in mine own matters. Why did I not speak to bear rule, as other kings do.' *Hay.* 74.

¹⁰⁷ We see this in the king's remark, which the marquis Dorset reported: 'My uncle of Somerset dealeth very hard with me, and keepeth me so strait that I cannot have money at my will. But my lord admiral both sends me money and gives me money.' *ib.* 75. Accordingly we find one Fowler's letter to him, for such a dangerous and treacherous supply. The king 'willed me to write to your lordship, desiring you, as you willed him to do, if he lack any money to send to your lordship. He desires you to let him have some money. I asked, what sum I should write for. His grace would name no sum, but as it pleased your lordship to send him, for he determines to give it away, but to whom he would not tell me as yet.' Edward enforced this application by superscribing, in his own hand, 'I commend me to you, my lord! and pray you to credit this writer. Edward.' *Hay.* 75.

¹⁰⁸ The marquis Dorset stated, 'My lord admiral spake these words,

some noblemen, whom he deemed his friends, to retire into the country, and collect their adherents, and especially among the middle ranks.¹⁰⁹ With a true Catiline spirit and reasoning, he was arranging with one of the mint masters to coin money, and even false money, for him; and was calculating the cost of maintaining ten thousand men for a month.¹¹⁰ He

my lord Clinton being behind me: 'If I be thus used, they speak of a black parliament. By God's precious soul I will make this the blackest parliament that ever was in England.' To whom my lord C. answered, 'If you speak such words, you shall lose my lord (Somerset) utterly, and undo yourself.' He then turned and said, 'I may better live without him, than he without me.' Hay. 76. So at another time he disclosed so much of his designs as to say, 'He loved not the protector, and *would not have* any protector. He would have the king to have the honor of his own things; and tho he could not as then do what he would wish to alter the thing, yet let me alone; see me; I will bring it to pass within these three years.' ib.

¹⁰⁹ Thus Dorset deposed: 'He further willed me that I should not trust too much unto the gentlemen, for they had somewhat to lose; but had me make strong with the Franklins (the respectable freeholders) for they were able to rule the commons. Further, he willed me to keep my house in Warwickshire, for it was a county full of men; and the rather, for that my lord of Warwick should not be able to match with me there.' ib. 77. So the marquis Northampton acknowledged his incitation to him 'to go and set up my house in the north country, where my lands lay.' ib. 79; and his bribing this nobleman to second his objects, saying, 'I should lack neither money, nor any other thing that he had,' and at that time gave me certain specialties of a good value; and otherwise in store and plate, shewing me much friendship and kindness.' ib. 80. The earl of Rutland's confession discovered similar practices with him, inquiring what friends he had in his county, and if he could match the earl of Shrewsbury, p. 81, obviously meditating some rebellious combinations. His advice to this nobleman shewed how much he was studying the usual policy of conspirators: 'He counselled me to make much of the gentlemen in my county, but more of such honest and wealthy yeomen as were ringleaders in good towns, for he said, as for the gentlemen there is no great trust to be to them, but, for the other, to make much of them; and sometimes dining, like a good fellow, in one of their houses. I should, by that genteel entertainment, allure all their good wills to go with me whither I would lead them.' p. 82.

¹¹⁰ See the confessions of sir W. Sharyngton, vice treasurer of the mint at Bristol. Hay. 105. He had already coined about 10,000*l.* false money, and clipped good coin to the value of 40,000*l.* Burnett, 3. p. 156. His confession in Strype is guarded. He cannot be certain how much he coined or clipped. Ecc. 2. p. 397.

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also endeavored to raise a faction of partisans in the state, and to collect money and means for war, that he might dispossess his brother of the protectorship. One charge was added, that he was projecting to seize the person of the king, and to place himself in some capacity or other at the head, and in the possession of the government of the country.¹¹¹ Such a conspiracy could only end in the ruin of the wild, unwise and unprincipled speculator. He was apprehended and committed to the Tower. Articles of high treason were exhibited, on which a bill of attainder was passed, inflicting a fatal condemnation.¹¹² Fraternal mercy or interference might have changed the deadly sentence to imprisonment or exile: but it was intercepted, and, when too late, his brother regretted that he had yielded to the prevention.¹¹³ Power in that day had no heart for pity, and no courage to pardon, and was too selfish for moral fortitude.¹¹⁴ Six months after this unsatisfied schemer

¹¹¹ He admitted that he had wished the king were at home in his house, but denied that he meant to remove him 'but by consent of the whole realm.' Hayn. p. 108. He also repeatedly declared that he never intended any personal hurt to his brother. *ib.* 87, 88.

¹¹² The thirty-three articles of high treason against him are in Burnett, v. 4. p. 216-224; but, as Stowe says, 596, he never came to his answer. Godwin states his plan to have been, secretly to vilify and traduce the protector's actions; to corrupt the king's servants by fair words and large promises; by degrees to assure himself of the nobility; to secure his castle of Holt with a magazine of warlike provision, and to collect money; and these things having been ordered with exact diligence, and the exchequer pillaged for supply of money, he unmask himself to some of the nobility, signifying his intention of settling himself on the stern aid of forcibly seizing on the king's person.' 226.

¹¹³ We learn this from Elizabeth's letter to her sister: 'In late days I heard my lord of Somerset say, that if his brother *had been suffered* to speak with him, he had never suffered; but the persuasions were made to him so great, that he was brought in belief that he could not live safely if the admiral lived; and that made him give his consent to his death.' 2 Ellis, 2d series, p. 257.

¹¹⁴ The warrant for his execution, signed by his brother, Cranmer,

had placed the widow of Henry in the tomb, his own beheaded body was, by the execution of legal vengeance, deposited at her side; a just retribution, if the suspicion of society had any foundation, that to achieve the larger machinations of his inflated vanity,¹¹⁵ he had hastened, as she herself seemed to

and twelve others of the state council, is dated 17th March 1549, appointing the following Wednesday for the fatal day. Burn. p. 226. He was beheaded on the 20th. He died, denying that he had committed treason; and whenever we read of bills of attainder, we may infer, that whatever the person has done, he has not committed any legal treason that could be legally proved. They imply the want of that legal evidence or legal crime which would ensure a condemnation. Stowe, 596.

¹¹⁶ Bishop Godwin remarks, that she died 'not without suspicion of poison.' p. 227. Lady Tyrwhyt thus describes one of her last scenes, which we cannot read without some misgivings, altho they may be too uncharitable: 'Two days before the death of the queen, at my coming to her in the morning, she asked me where I had been so long; she did fear such things in herself that she was sure she could not live. Whereunto I answered, as I thought, that I saw no likelihood of death in her. She then, having my lord admiral by the hand, and divers others standing by, spoke these words, partly as I took it, idly:—' My lady Tyrwhyt! *I am not well handled*; for those that be about me careth not for me, but standeth laughing at my grief; and the more good I will to them, the less good they will to me.'

By what follows, it is obvious that her husband applied this to himself.

'Whereunto my lord admiral answered, 'Why sweetheart! I would do you no hurt.' And she said to him again aloud, 'No, my lord! I think so.' And immediately she said to him in his ear, 'But, my lord! you have given me many shrewd taunts.' These words, I perceived, she spake with good memory, and very sharply and earnestly, for her mind was sore unquieted.

'My lord admiral perceiving that I heard it, called me aside, and asked me what she said, and I declared it plainly to him. Then he consulted with me, that he would lie down on the bed by her, to look if he could pacify her unquietness with gentle communication. Whereunto I agreed. And by the time he had spoken three or four words to her, she answered him very roundly and sharply, saying, 'My lord! *I would have given a thousand marks to have had my full talk with Hewke, the first day I was delivered; but I durst not for displeasing of you.*' And I, hearing that, perceived her trouble to be so great that my heart would serve me to hear no more.' She adds, that the queen had such communication as this with him for the space of an hour. Hayn. 103, 4. That the dying lady's impression was, that his conduct had, in some unexpected respect or other, contributed to her then condition, and that lady Tyrwhyt felt that she thought so, and could not avoid sympathizing with her, seem the natural inferences from this unaffected recital.

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hint, the departure of this highly educated, learned, and accomplished woman,¹¹⁶ who deserved a husband more sensible of her value, and more congenial with her intellectual taste.¹¹⁷ That his degradation was necessary to make his factious restlessness powerless to do mischief, and that the public welfare required such punishment to be added as would deter others from imitation, are facts as clear as the circumstance is also lamentable, that Edward, now in his twelfth year, should have consented to put his name to a warrant for the decapitation of the brother of his regretted mother. It was enough that his other uncle,

¹¹⁶ She not only received Latin letters from Edward, 2 Ellis, 132, 141; and from Ascham, Ep. 302; but she herself wrote them. One of her letters to Mary, in Latin, remains, occupying a full printed page in Strype Eccl. v. 2. p. 330. She corresponded, when queen reigning, with the University of Cambridge, in the name of which Ascham thanks her for her benefactions to it, and for the suavitæ of her letters: 'Write to us oftener, *Eruditissima Regina!* and do not despise the term erudition, most prudent lady! it is the praise of your industry, and a greater one to your talents than all the ornaments of your fortune. We admire vehemently your happiness, most happy princess! because you are learning more amid the occupations of your dignity, than many with us do, amid all our leisure and quiet.' Asch. Ep. 303. She procured the king's consent to Cambridge retaining its possessions, and in her letter to doctor Smith, urges the college among its other learning, not to 'forget our Christianity,' but to apply their 'sundry gifts and studies to such end, that Cambridge may be accounted rather an university of divine philosophy, than of natural or moral, as Athens was.' Lett. Cath. in Strype Ecc. p. 338.

¹¹⁷ There is something in the secret ejaculations she penned, which amid their piety, imply an occasional sadness, that, in connection with the preceding circumstances, leads us to think that the husband she had so hastily honored by her second choice, had not made her quite happy: 'Most benign Lord Jesus! Grant me Thy grace, that I may ever desire and will that which is most acceptable unto Thee. Thy will be my will; and my will, to follow always Thine. Thou knowest what is most profitable and expedient for me; give me therefore what Thou wilt, and do with me as it shall please Thee. Thy creature I am, and in Thy hands; I desire not to live to myself, but to Thee; grant me that I may rest in Thee, and *fully quiet and pacify my heart* in Thee. For Thou art the very true peace of heart, and the perfect rest of the soul, and without Thee, *all things begrievous and unquiet*. If Thou withdraw Thy comfort, *keep me from desperation*, O Lord! Thy judgment be righteous, and Thy pro-

the triumphant protector, should have displayed that unnecessary Roman heartlessness, which in these cases we misal patriotic fortitude, as to have concurred in ordering the blow of the fatal axe upon a brother, whom he might have confined or exiled, instead of destroying: but that the king, to whom the only fault of the condemned nobleman had been that he wished to make himself the guardian of his crown and person in the room of the other, should not have withheld that signature, whose suspension would have saved an uncle's life without lessening his downfall, is an imputation on his moral sensibilities, which lettered attainments rather aggravate than atone for. A cultivated child starts instinctively from shedding blood; and yet Edward signed the writ which poured that of one of the most revered relations of our social nature on the public scaffold.¹¹⁸ But even the good men of those days were strange beings. Not only Cranmer signed the warrant for his death, but Latimer preached before the king, in his episcopal robes, in its vindication,¹¹⁹ as if to reconcile or harden his

vidence is much better for me, than all that I can imagine or devise. Give me grace, gladly to *suffer* whatsoever Thou wilt shalt fall upon me, and patiently to take at Thy hand good and bad, bitter and sweet, joy and sorrow. *For tho this life be tedious, and as a heavy burthen to my soul,* O make that possible by grace, which is to me impossible by nature. Thou knowest well that I am soon cast down, and overthrown with a little adversity; wherefore, strengthen me with Thy spirit, that I may willingly, for Thy sake, *suffer all* manner of troubles and afflictions.' Strype, 398-400. For the first lady in the kingdom, in the prime of life, and full of wealth and honors, to breathe these plaintive effusions to heaven, indicates private causes of sorrow which the world were unacquainted with.

¹¹⁸ The council's order for the execution is made conditional, on the king's legal sanction being obtained: 'The king's writ being *first* directed and sent forth for that purpose.' Burnett, v. 4. p. 226.

¹¹⁹ Godw. Ann. 228. Latimer's sermon was delivered nine days after his execution, as if public murmurs had made some public vindication

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young heart to severities,¹²⁰ which if this prelate could not have prevented, he at least ought, in due recollection of his own divine Teacher, never to have encouraged.¹²¹

The catastrophe of one brother perishing under the administration and by the written order of another, could not take place without much social censure.¹²² The policy of statesmen is often at variance with

of it necessary. In this the preacher declared, that during his imprisonment in the Tower he had written to Mary and Elizabeth, 'that they should make some stir against the Lord Protector, and revenge his death.' Stowe, 596.

¹²⁰ The king's notice of this catastrophe, in his journal, is very short and cold: 'The lord Sudley, admiral of England, was condemned to death, and *died* in March ensuing.' p. 8.

¹²¹ In two passages of his printed Sermons, Latimer mentions this unfortunate gentleman; and as they shew us the sentiments of a well meaning man at that time on his character, they deserve a quotation: 'I have heard say, that when that good queen (his wife) had ordained in her house daily prayer, both before noon and afternoon, the admiral gets him out of the way. He was a covetous man; I would there were no more in England. An ambitious man; a seditious man; a contemner of common prayer. I would there were no more in England. Well! he is gone. I wish he had left none behind him.' p. 91. This implies, that the good bishop thought that others were at least as blameable. 'He confessed one fact: He would have had the government of the king's majesty. And wot you why? He said, he would not have him brought up in his minority like a ward. I am sure he hath been brought up so godly, with such schoolmasters, as never king was in England; and he has so prospered under them, as never none did. I wot not what he meant by his bringing up like a ward; unless he would have him not go to his book, and learn as he doth. Now, wo worthe him. Yet I will not say so, neither: but I pray God amend him; or else send him short life, that would have my sovereign not to be brought up in learning, and would pluck him from his book.' p. 64.

¹²² Godwin mentions, that some censured the protector for suffering his brother to be executed without ordinary course of trial, and for faults which might better have been pardoned. *ib.* 227, 8. Heylin thus describes and contrasts the two brothers: 'The admiral was fierce in courage; courtly in fashion; in personage stately; in voice magnificent—the duke, mild, affable, free and open; more easy to be wrought on, but no way malicious, and honored by the common people, as the admiral was more generally esteemed among the nobles. The protector was more to be desired for a friend, and the other more to be feared as an enemy. The defects of each being taken away, their virtues united would have made one excellent man.' *Hist. Ref.* 72.

public feeling : and rarely so, without being tainted with some moral injustice or imperfection. Our sensibilities are sometimes better guides than an argumentative and iron-nerved reasoning : and that action can hardly be right, in which the logic and the feeling are in total opposition. The character of the nation could only be degraded abroad by such revolting bloodshed. It made us seem, to milder tho inferior minds, and not with entire untruth, a semi-barbarous people.¹²³

¹²³ As the infliction of death for human crime is every day becoming more questionable, as to its necessity or utility, in the present state of society ; and whenever it is not necessary, is of itself a crime : it is with the greater pain we read that a nephew and a brother, who had both the power of withholding the execution of the sentence, should have deliberately consigned their relation to it. If fear decided them to give their signature or their sanction, it was an act of cowardice by which, on a pettier subject, they would have been irretrievably disgraced. If personal jealousy, competing ambition, female resentments, or the solicitations of rivals, produced their acquiescence, it was still more degrading, as it was more selfish, and less principled. The guilt or turbulence of the admiral might have justified his humiliation, banishment or imprisonment ; but his death was an act of wilful homicide in his brother, which within three years afterwards became an example of the application and fulfilment on himself of the divine declaration : ' Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.'

CHAP. VIII.

INSURRECTIONS IN THE WEST AND EAST OF ENGLAND, AND
IN THE MIDLAND COUNTIES; CAUSES OF THE COMMOTION;
SKETCH OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN ENGLAND AT THAT
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THE death of Henry VIII. and the accession of a youth but nine years old, had given at first new hopes and spirit to all the friends of the papal cause. Pole, on hearing of the pleasing news, had immediately urged the pontiff to avail himself of an opportunity, which, to his mistaken judgment, seemed to have been expressly sent from heaven;¹ and therefore urged him above all things to establish a cordial conciliation with the emperor, and dispatch to him the cardinal of Trent, as the person most likely to be an acceptable and efficient negotiator of all differences between them.² Charles yielded so far to the solicitations, profit and passions of Rome, as to express to the English ambassador at his court his displeasure at the statutes on ecclesiastical subjects, which the English parliament had enacted;³

¹ 'Occasio a Deo videtur oblata.' Pol. Ep. v. 4. p. 38.

² See his two letters to Paul III. p. 38 & 39.

³ We learn this from Pole's letter of 8 April 1547, from Rome, to the confessor of Charles, expressing his delight at the circumstance: 'I have heard, with great pleasure, that his Cæsarean majesty had addressed the English ambassador with the most severe words, for the innovations and impious decrees which have been introduced and confirmed by the authority of the supreme council of England.' *ib.* p. 44. He urges the confessor to excite the mind of Cæsar in the cause of religion, by frequent exhortations (p. 46); that is, to direct his arms against England.

but, intent on his more immediate interests, he would not advance beyond his verbal censures ; and before the first year of Edward's reign ended, took a similar liberty, in a more offensive tone, with the pontiff himself ; for, elevated by his victory at Muhlberg, he directed his ambassador at the Tiber to make a public protestation against the papal conduct in removing the council from Trent ; to insist on its return,⁴ and to express in no measured terms his dissatisfaction at the explanation which Paul III. had given for the steps he had taken ;⁵ a freedom and a language which stung the pontifical pride so acutely, or disappointed it so severely, that cardinal Pole was commissioned to give the papal answer to the protestation with an elaborate copiousness of resentful rhetoric, which shewed that if the pontiff could not coerce the emperor by men in helms and harness, he could at least annoy him with his soldiers in oratory ; to wound immediately his pride and feelings, and perhaps to raise up substantial military gendarmerie elsewhere for his future humiliation.⁶

⁴ ' You demand,' says the replying cardinal, ' of his holiness, that he should rescind and abrogate the decree of the council, which ordered its translation to Bologna.' Quiri. v. 4. p. 386.

⁵ ' You call the pope's answer to his Cæsarean majesty on the present business, illegitimate, unsuited to the occasion, unfitting, full of fiction and coloring, quite delusory, and neither reason nor law. I repeat only your own words, which I wish had been more modest.' ib. 397. The official reply also expresses the disappointment of the vicarius Dei, that he had received ' not the fruits of sweet peace and concord, but the most bitter wild produce of indecent protestation and rebukes.' ib. 384.

⁶ Quirini has printed it as the ' Responsio Pauli III. given to the emperor's ambassador in the public consistory at Rome.' 382-402. It begins, ' You have given a great cause of grief to our most holy lord, and to the sacred college of cardinals. What could be less expected from his Cæsarean majesty, than that in the very season when he had obtained a glorious victory against those on whom he had affixed the name of rebellion against himself, but chiefly against the Roman church,

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By such, not uncaused, or not ungoverned reciprocations of the mutual selfishness or humors of these pouting potentates, the wisest Sovereign of us all protected, without a miracle, both here and in Germany, the infant Hercules of the Reformation during his cradle growth; when a cordial friendship between these powers and France would have extinguished the endangered blessing, without much difficulty, for ever.⁷

Disappointed in his attempt to allure Edward to make him the mentor to the throne, as he became afterwards, to her misery, to his sister Mary, Pole continued that treasonable intercourse with the supporters of the papacy in England, which he had begun so mischievously⁸ under Henry VIII., and which some of the best men of those times so strongly and so publicly reprobated.⁹ The result of his

when they called themselves Protestants, and that too with the aid of both the money and forces of his holiness, so profusely given as to exceed his proper strength—What could have been less expected, than after such a success, he should return such fruits to the piety and benevolence of his holiness, as to make the end of that war the beginning of protestations against him?’ *ib.* 384. Pole has noted, ‘I read this answer on 1 Feb. 1548, in the secret consistory, by the command of our lord, before the Cæsarean ambassador.’ *ib.* 402.

⁷ One of the stoutest laborers for the popedom could not avoid remarking this: for bishop Gardiner, in his letter to Cranmer, says, ‘If the present state in this world were to be considered, I have many times alleged, and the Protestants take it for a great argument to establish their proceedings, that the emperor was ever letted when he went about to enterprise any thing against them, as Bucer declareth at great length, in a letter written to the world. And when Sleidanus was here in England, he told me the like at Windsor; adding, that I should see *magnas mutationes*. And so I have seen, and have heard marvellous changes since that.’ Letter printed in Strype’s App. p. 781.

⁸ Hist. Hen. VIII. v. 2. p. 466–8.

⁹ Both the reforming bishop Latimer, and the sturdy catholic Tonstall, united in sentiment on this subject. Latimer, in his fifth sermon, called him ‘the king’s traitor.’ ‘I never remember that man but with a heavy heart.’ Yet, recollecting his abilities, candidly remarks, that if he had taken the archbishopric of York, which Henry offered to him, he would

extensive correspondence and secret activity appeared first in Devonshire, where his family interest chiefly predominated. It was in this county that, on Whit Monday, a formidable revolt began, under the patronage of the commander of St. Michael's Mount, and other gentlemen, who soon headed 10,000 men. As if to aid the treason, a rumor was artfully spread, that the king had suddenly died; and as in that case a Romish queen would have instantly succeeded in Mary, who would have rewarded the leaders of the anti-reforming insurrection, the idea, while it was believed, would have the effect of deciding many to join the rebellious standard, who might have hesitated while the treason seemed more perilous to themselves or to their property.¹⁰

These treasonable assemblages being headed by men of rank, who were acting on provided plans, and for determined objects, displayed their more intellectual organization in their articles of complaint and military movements. Seven heads of grievances and requisitions were followed by fifteen more, demanding that cardinal Pole should be recalled from his exile, and made a member of the privy council—thus shewing the great author of their tumultuary

have done much good in that part of the realm, as a learned man and a preaching prelate.' p. 59. But the bishop of Durham was more indignant against him: 'The bishop of Rome hath allowed to his purpose a subject of this realm, Reynold Pole, coming of a noble blood, and thereby the more arrant traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from country to country, to stir them to war against this realm, and to destroy the same, being his native country. This most unkind traitor is his minister to so devilish a purpose: without shame he still goeth on, exhorting thereunto all princes that will hear him.' Sermon on Palm Sunday 1539.

¹⁰ Edward notices in his journal, that he went publicly thro London, in order to contradict this report. p. 8.

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agitations;¹¹—that the mass should be restored with the old system; and that the inclosures should be removed.¹² Profaning their sacrament, by marching with it under a canopy at the head of their banded multitudes, with crosses, banners, consecrated candlesticks, and holy water, they laid siege to Exeter, in such numbers, and so well arranged, that if it had not still possessed its antient wall, and been resolutely defended by its citizens, it must have fallen before their attack.¹³ Paget blamed the mildness of government;¹⁴ recommended the German cavalry in Calais to be sent against them, and vigorous combinations with other forces.¹⁵ The privy seal, lord Russell, moved to repress them, but could not dislodge them from their trenches. He was reinforced by lord Gray with the German horse, and by Spinola with three hundred Italian arquebussiers. Their united efforts at last drove them from their siege, as the inhabitants were enduring the last extremities of famine rather than surrender.¹⁶ The

¹¹ Their twelfth article was: 'We think it very meet, because the lord cardinal Pole is of the king's blood, that he should not only have his pardon, but also be sent for to Rome, and promoted to be of the king's council.' To which Cranmer answered, 'Whosoever shall read his book, will judge cardinal Pole neither worthy to dwell in this realm, nor yet to live; for he doth extend all his wits and eloquence in that book to persuade the bishop of Rome, the emperor, the French king, and all other princes, to invade this realm by force. And sure I am, that if you have him, you must have the bishop of Rome also. For, the cardinal cannot be a subject, but where the other is his head.' Strype's Cranmer, App. 835.

¹² Heylin, 76. Strype Cr. 264.

¹³ Heylin, 76.

¹⁴ Strype Eccl. Mem. v. 2. p. 262.

¹⁵ Strype Eccl. Mem. v. 2. p. 265.

¹⁶ Heylin, 76. King Edward describes the conflicts more minutely in his journal, p. 9. From that time, the citizens of Exeter made the 6 August, the day of their deliverance, an annual feast. Heyl. 76. 'The vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged at the top of his own tower, with his beads at his girdle.' ib. The prin-

royal forces pursued their success; but the insurgents had cannon, were well commanded, entrenched themselves skilfully, stood several attacks, and made active charges before they were subdued.¹⁷ A branch attempted to spread the rebellion into Somerset.¹⁸ Preachers were licensed to harangue from place to place; and earnest addresses were made from the pulpit in all parts, to dissuade the populace from such treasonable disturbances.¹⁹ But as they were resisted and declined in the Western counties, they arose still more menacingly for a time in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Yorkshire.²⁰ These, besides calling for popery again, darted also beyond it, to add political revolution. Their chiefs required that gentlemen

cess Mary had been charged with abetting this revolt, and that her chaplain was active in it; but in her letter of 20 July from Kenninghall, she declares that she had no chaplain there. 'No indifferent person can lay these doings in Devonshire to my charge.' Lett. in Burn. v. 6. p. 258.

¹⁷ See the Lord Privy Seal's letter to the council, in Strype Mem. p. 422-4. Fifteen pieces of brass and iron ordnance were taken. *ib.* On 24 August the lord protector wrote to sir Ph. Hoby, 'The Devonshire men are as well chastised as appeased. The country cometh in daily to my Lord Privy Seal by hundreds and thousands, to crave their pardon and to be put in some sure hope of grace.' Lett. *ib.* p. 424.

¹⁸ 'They have gotten them a band or camp; but they are sent after; and we trust by this, they have as they deserve.' Lett. *ib.* p. 424.

¹⁹ Strype Eccl. 2. p. 262. One of these was from Peter Martyr, whose expressions of the extent of the agitations are very strong: 'We have cause to bewail that a whole realm, and one of the most noble which has lately been in such estate, that all others were envying our wealth and fearing our force, is now so troubled, so vexed, so tossed, and so deformed by sedition among ourselves, that nothing is left unattempted to its utter ruin and subversion.' This sermon, written in Latin and translated, was printed and dispersed. Strype Cran. p. 267.

²⁰ Sir John Cheke took up his pen to appease the turbulence, and wrote 'The Fruit of Sedition; how grievous it is to a Commonwealth.' He said, 'Ye rise for religion: what religion taught you that? You intend to fight: thus for religion, ye keep no religion. Do you prefer the bishops of Rome afore Christ? Men's inventions afore God's law? Ye seek no religion. Ye are deceived. Ye seek traditions. They that teach you, blind you; they that so instruct you, deceive you.' Strype's Life of Cheke, p. 41.

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should not be promoted to places of honor and trust, while the poor were not called to share them; and that all ranks of people should be brought to an equal level.²¹ Of these, Ket, a tanner, became the leader; a counterpart and imitator of the Jack Cade and Wat Tyler of former days; bold, proud and clever, and possessing that cordial hatred of existing government and of superior greatness, which morbid speculation and personal disappointment, much oftener than reason or philanthropy, are always generating in civilized society. The country at that moment abounded with materials for the production of persons like himself, and for the supply of abettors and companions of his most daring undertakings, against whom the vigilance of government was at last directed, as the selfish authors of the civil mischief.²² Ket had derived wealth from his trade, and had therefore more influence in his sedition.²³ Taking

²¹ Heyl. 77. With these Cheke reasoned in this style: 'Ye pretend a commonwealth; how do ye amend it by killing of gentlemen, by spoiling of gentlemen, by imprisoning of gentlemen? Why should ye thus hate them for their riches, or for their rule? If riches offend you because ye would have the like, that is to appair another man's estate, without the amendment of your own. Would ye have all alike rich? That is the overthrow of labour. You seek equality; but as all cannot be rich, ye would be like that every man should be poor.' Strype's Cheke, p. 42, 43.

²² On 8 July a proclamation was issued against those who having 'neither place to inhabit nor any stay to live by; or being condemned of felony and prison breakers; or having run from the wars and sea-rovers, or having departed from the king's garrisons; or being loiterers, were running from town to town to stir up rumors, and raising up tales to gather together the king's subjects, and became ringleaders and masters of the king's people, seeking to spoil, rob and ravin where they might; and so lived and waxed rich, and fed on other men's labor, money and food. Magistrates were ordered to attach all such persons, whether as vagabonds, way-faring men, stragglers, or otherwise: and the king's hearty thanks and twenty crowns for a reward, were promised to whosoever should discover any of them.' Strype Eccl. vol. 1. p. 264.

²³ Three of his manors in Norfolk, 'parcel' only of his possessions,

Norwich, he fixed his station on the hill that commanded it; and under an oak there, which he called the Oak of Reformation, assumed the title of king of Norfolk and Suffolk; held his courts of law, and issued awhile his dictator mandates.²⁴ The marquis of Northampton forced the city with his cavalry, and attacked him, but was driven out of it the next day, with the loss of lord Sheffield.²⁵ The earl of Warwick, an abler soldier, now advanced with the gentry from Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, but did not immediately succeed; at first, he had nearly perished in St. Nicolas' wood.²⁶ Ket stood several conflicts with him, without any ruinous discomfiture, and did not remove till his provisions were intercepted; then, having for three days drank only water, and lived without bread, his men came down from their camp into the plain, and rushed desperately into a pitched battle, which had the usual issue of a disciplined body conflicting with irregular multitudes: above one thousand of the revolvers were killed; the tanner was taken, with his brother, and the whole insurrection was speedily suppressed.²⁷ An abortive imitation in

with all his goods and chattels, were granted by the crown to Thomas Audley, for services against him. *ib.* 271. Stowe mentions him as a tanner, of Windham, who had in lands 50*l.* a year (500 now,) and in moveables 1000 marcs. 597.

²⁴ Heylin, 76; and the King's Letter in Strype *Eccl.* vol. 1. p. 272.

²⁵ King *Edw. Journ.* 10. Falling from his horse, he was knocked on the head by a butcher. Strype *Eccl.* v. 1. p. 272.

²⁶ Stowe *Chron.* 597.

²⁷ Duke Somerset's letter. Strype *Eccl.* 427. *K. Edw. Journ.* 10. Strype, 274. On 6 Aug. the king issued the letter in Strype, p. 272, summoning the Essex gentlemen to be at Walden with their servants, tenants and friends, on the 17th, to act against Ket, whom it describes as 'robbing ladies and widows houses; and killing, spoiling and keeping in fetters, gentlemen, serving-men, yeomen, farmers and others, who have regard of their faith and duty to us.' *ib.* 273. Norwich made the 27th August, the day of its rescue, an annual festival, in commemoration of the victory. Heyl. 77.

Yorkshire, being attacked as it was forming, ended instantaneously in the execution of its leaders, as the next month ended.²⁸ The dangerous turbulence extended also to other counties.²⁹

The causes of these unexpected rebellions deserve our consideration, as they unfold to us the new state into which society in England was revolving. The instigations and plots of the Romish emissaries were the stimulating and contriving agencies; but these would have been ineffectual, if the condition of the national mind had not been such as favored their operation. The unpopularity of the gentry of the country was the principal feature in the public disaffection;³⁰ and this arose from the new system of

²⁸ D. Somers. lett. of 24 Aug. Strype Eccl. 425. Heyl. 78. Sir John Chaundeler, the parson of a parish near Lynn, went to Colchester, to rouse that city into a revolt, where two other priests met him to co-operate with his excitement. Strype Eccl. 275. These rebellions cost the state in money, as valued at that time, 27,330*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* ib. 278. It was after these commotions that the 'lord lieutenants of the counties' were first appointed. ib. Ket, tho taken in August, did not suffer till the following January, (Edw. p. 10) when he was hung in chains on the top of Norwich castle, in an unnecessary derision of his chieftainship. Godw. Ann. 232.

²⁹ The king thus mentions these disturbances in his journal: 'The people began to rise in WILTSHIRE, where sir William Herbert did put them down, overrun and slew them. Then they rose in Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, a piece of Leicestershire, Worcestershire and Rutlandshire; where, by fair persuasions, partly of honest men among themselves, partly by gentlemen, they were often appeased. And because certain commissioners were sent down to pluck down inclosures, they did rise again. Journ. p. 8. To OXFORD, the lord Gray of Wilton was sent, with 1500 horsemen and footmen, whose coming, with the assembling of the gentlemen of the counties, did so abash the rebels, that more than half of them ran their ways; and others that tarried, were some slain, some taken, and some hanged.' Edw. Jour. 9.

³⁰ The protector thus described the whole commotion to sir Philip Hoby, the ambassador with the emperor: 'The causes and pretences of their uproars and risings are divers and uncertain, as ye know is like to be, of people without head and rule, and who would have they know not what. Some cry, 'Pluck down inclosures and parks;' some, for their commons; others pretend religion. A number would rule and direct

inclosing common lands, of converting tillage fields into pasture, of raising the rents, and of combining the smaller farms into large ones. These were again connected with the rise of prices on all things, with monopolies, and with those changes of customs, condition and dealings, which we will attempt with a selecting brevity to display.

It is clear, from the documents of the time, that a new state of the agricultural population of England was then taking place, which was bitterly complained of, because the consequential suffering was as visible as the selfish objects which principally produced it; while the necessities which roused that selfishness into activity, and the national benefits that were resulting from its operation, were neither perceived nor looked for. The effect of the gentry's converting large portions of their tillage land into pasture, and of breeding sheep instead of raising corn; of laying small farms into large ones; of raising rents and increasing fines; and therefore of turning out their former poor tenantry and laboring petty farmers, was strongly felt, and loudly and angrily complained of. Latimer paints it sharply³¹ and re-

things as gentlemen have done. Indeed, *all have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen*, and take them all as their enemies. The *ruffians* among them and *soldiers cashiered, which be the chief doers*, look for spoil. So that it seems no other thing but a plague and a fury among the vilest and worst sort of men; for except only Devon and Cornwall, not one gentleman or man of reputation was ever amongst them but against their wills, and as prisoners.' Lett. Aug. 24, Strype Eccl. 425.

³¹ 'As for turning poor men out of their holds, they take it for no offence, but say the land is their own, and so they turn them out of their shrouds like mice.

'Thousands in England, thro such, beg now from door to door, who have kept honest houses.

'These had such quick smelling hounds, that they could live at London, and turn men out of their farms and tenements, an hundred and some two hundred miles off.' Latim. Serm.

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peatedly;³² his language, well meant, is so warm as to be abusive.³³ The same complaints were also urged by others.³⁴ Ascham represents the evil as lamentingly.³⁵

The inclosure of the common lands, which then abounded in the kingdom, was as severely reprobated by the bishop, who delighted to make his

‘ The great men said, the commonalty lived too well at ease ; they grew every day to be gentlemen, and knew not themselves ; their horns must be cut shorter by raising their rents, and by fines, and by plucking away their pastures.

‘ The commonalty murmured and grudged, and said the gentlemen had all, and that there never were so many gentlemen, and so little gentleness.’ *ib.*

³² ‘ This farmer was not altogether so covetous a man, as for one gentleman to rake up all the farms in the country together in his hands all at once.’ *Lat. Serm.* p. 130.

³³ In March 1549 part of his sermon was: ‘ I certify you extortioners, violent oppressors, ingrossers of tenements and lands, thro whose covetousness villages decay and fall down, and the king’s liege people, for lack of sustenance, are famished and decayed.’ p. 27. ‘ You landlords ! you rent-raisers ! you step-lords ; you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions too much yearly ; for that which heretofore went for 20*l.* or 40*l.* a year, which is an honest portion to be had gratis, in one lordship, of another man’s sweat and labor, is now let for 50*l.* or 100*l.* by the year. Of this too much, cometh that this monstrous and portentous dearth is made by man, notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth.’ *ib.* p. 89.

³⁴ Thus bishop Scory, in his public discourse in 1551, reproveth the covetousness of the rich, by which the poor were so much wronged, from the inclosures, and the converting tillage into pasture. *Strype Eccl. v. 2.* p. 496. Lever about the same time also complained of the gentlemen, for not keeping so good a house, to make their tenants cheer, as their fathers did ; for exacting more fines and greater rents, to make them needy. ‘ As soon as he buys a lordship of the king, by taking of fines, and heightening of rents, and selling away commodities, he maketh the tenants of it pay for it.’ *ib.* 410.

³⁵ ‘ Who then are the real authors ? Those who have every where in England got the farms of the monasteries, and are striving to increase their profits by immoderate rents. Hence the exaggerated prices of things. These men plunder the whole realm. The farmers and husbandmen every where labor, economise, and consume themselves, to satisfy their owners. Hence so many families dispersed ; so many houses ruined ; so many tables, common to every one, taken away, or shut up in holes and corners. Hence the honor and strength of England, the NOBLE YEOMANRY, are broken up and destroyed. Existence is now no longer a life, but a misery.’ He enlarges his picture. *Asch. Epist.* p. 293-5.

sermons a medley of the most earnest divinity, with many personal anecdotes, much gossip, unsparing satire, and domestic politics ; yet all so manifestly the effusions of a good and well-meaning heart, that, altho we smile at his heterogeneous topics and quaint illustrations, we are neither disposed to blame, nor to be offended at his liberties.³⁶ Inclosures had been made and allowed since the reigns of Henry III. and Edward II. with the limitation of leaving sufficient for the use of those who had right of common.³⁷ This right Latimer thought had been infringed, and zealously painted the deprivation in his sermon before the king.³⁸ He ascribed the rebellion to this provocation.³⁹ Edward himself was so impressed by the complaints on this subject, that he has noted it in his

³⁶ ‘ It is the king’s honor, that the commons of this realm be so employed, as it may be, to the setting his subjects on work, and keeping them from idleness. If the king’s honor standeth in the great multitude of his people, then these graziers, *inclosers*, and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the king’s honor.’ Lat. Serm. p. 29.

³⁷ Stat. of the realm.

³⁸ ‘ Let them have sufficient to maintairn them, and to find them their necessaries. A plough-land must have sheep, to dung their ground for bearing of corn. They must have swine for their food, to make their bacon of ; their bacon is their venison ; it is their necessary meat to feed on, which they may not lack. They must have other cattle, as horses to draw their plough, and for carriage of things to the markets ; and kine, for their milk and cheese, which they must live upon, and pay their rents. These cattle must have pasture, and pasture they cannot have if the land be taken in and inclosed from them. So there was in both parts rebellion. Therefore restore them sufficient unto them, and search no more what is the cause of rebellion.’ Lat. Serm. p. 114.

³⁹ ‘ Fear not these giants of England—these great men, and men of power. Fear them not, but strike at the root of all evil, which is mischievous covetousness. [1550.] Covetousness was the cause of rebellion this last summer ; both parties had covetousness, as well gentlemen as commons. 113. I remember mine own self a certain giant, a great man, who sat in commission about such matters ; and when the townsmen should bring in what had been *inclosed*, he frowned and chafed, and so threatened the poor men, that they durst not ask their right.’ Lat. p. 114.

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MS. papers as one of the evils to be attended to.⁴⁰

But he has also noticed, that the great increase of rents was not so much practised by the antient gentry of the country as by the new proprietors,⁴¹ by the farmers making themselves middle men between the real owner and the laboring tenant,⁴² and by manufacturers and tradesmen becoming land proprietors.⁴³

A new species of gentry was arising from this source ;⁴⁴ and it is to these prosperous sons of commerce and industry, who used their fields as they did their mercantile property, to gain as much profit from them as they could, by bargaining or hard dealing, extract, that much of the declamation about gentlemen becoming farmers and graziers must be applied. Latimer urged the possessors of estates to reduce their rents ;⁴⁵ and the king thought that there should

⁴⁰ ' Not considering the sustaining of men by their corn, they turn till-ground to pasture. They build inclosures of wastes and commons, keeping of many sheep and many farms.' King Edw. Remains, p. 102.

⁴¹ ' But the most part of true gentlemen, I mean not those farming gentlemen nor clarking knights, have little or nothing increased their rents.' Journ. p. 101. So the king in another part remarks : ' The state of landed men is ill looked to, for that estate of gentlemen and noblemen, which is truly to be termed the estate of nobles, hath, alonely, not increased the gain of living.' ib. p. 100.

⁴² The king's note is, ' The husbandmen and farmers take their ground at a small rent, and dwell not on it, but let it to poor men for triple the rent they take it for ; and sell their flesh, corn, milk, butter, &c. at unreasonable prices. The farmer will have ten farms, some twenty, and will be pedlar merchant.' Rem. 101.

⁴³ ' The artificer will leave the town, and for his mere pastimes will live in the country ; yea, more than that, will be a justice of the peace, and will think scorn to have it denied him ; so lordly be they now a days ! For they are now not content with 2,000 sheep, but they must have 20,000, or else they think themselves not well. They must have twenty miles square their own land, or full of their farms : four or five crafts to live by is too little. Such hell hounds be they.' ib. p. 101.

⁴⁴ The king thus expresses this fact : ' The grazier, the farmer, the merchants, become landed men ; and call themselves gentlemen, tho they be churls.' ib. 101.

⁴⁵ He says, ' I knew one of the great folk, of tender zeal, who, at the

be limitations to the extent of agricultural tenures,⁴⁶ and that it would be beneficial to the common weal for the property of every one to be restricted to a moderate scale.⁴⁷ The recent rebellions had been so alarming, and, altho subdued, the popular discontent was so great, that a special commission was issued, reciting the laws which had been made to lessen the inconveniences that would arise from the dissolution of the monasteries, and to inquire by juries into their infraction.⁴⁸ Mr. John Hales, one of the deputed persons, stated to his fellow commissioners what the preceding statutes had enjoined,⁴⁹ and called their attention to the five principal points which were to be the objects of their investigation.⁵⁰

motion of his poor tenants, hath let down his lands to the old rent for their relief. One thing comforts me, that the king, when he cometh of age, will give example by letting down his own lands first, and then enjoin his subjects to follow his example.' Lat. Serm. p. 30.

⁴⁶ Edward has noted down, as one of the remedies he was projecting : ' Nor one man to have more than two farms, nor than 2,000 sheep ; one benefice, and one art to live by.' Rem. p. 100.

⁴⁷ ' No one part of the body doth serve for two occupations ; neither ought the gentleman to be a farmer, nor the merchant an artificer, but each to have his art particularly : it is hurtful immoderately to enrich any one part. This country can bear no merchant to have more land than 100*l.* (a year) ; no husbandman or farmer to be worth above 100*l.* or 200*l.* ; no artificer above 100 marks ; no laborer much more than he spendeth.' Edw. Rem. 99. ' The present value of those allotted sums would be from six to ten times the amount of the above figures.

⁴⁸ See it in Strype's Eccl. v. 2. p. 348-51, dated June 1549, founded on the act of 4 Henry 7. and 25 and 27 Hen. 8.

⁴⁹ ' That no man should keep upon his own lands or farms above 2,000 sheep ; nor in the same year occupy more than two houses of husbandry in one parish. That those who should have the scites of any of the suppressed monasteries, that were under the yearly value of 300 marks, should keep continued house and household upon them, and occupy as much of the land in tillage as had been so used for twenty years before.' See Hales' Charge, in Strype, ib. 351.

⁵⁰ ' They were ' The decay of towns, villages, and houses of husbandry ; converting arable ground into pasture ; the multitude of sheep ; the heaping together of farms ; the not keeping hospitality and household of the scites of the dissolved monasteries.' ib. 352.

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The real fact was, that the progressive course of national improvement was abolishing the old yeomanry of the country, and substituting instead a minor gentry, and the present farmer. The reign of Edward VI. was the period in which this transition from what had been good and valuable into what would be still better, was taking place. Latimer has drawn, in his own father, an interesting picture of

THE ANTIENT YEOMAN.

‘MY Father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own: he had only a farm of three or four pounds a year at the uttermost; and *hereupon*, he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for 100 sheep, and my mother milked thirty kye. He was able and did find the king a harness [man] and his horse, while he came to the place where he should receive the king’s wages. I buckled his harness, when he went to Blackheath field.

‘He kept me to school: or else I had not been able to have preached before the king’s majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds, or twenty nobles a piece. He brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbors; and some alms he gave to the poor: and all this he did from the said farm.

‘But he that now hath it payeth £.16. by the year, or more, and is not able to do any thing for his prince, for himself, nor for his children; nor to give a cup of drink to the poor. Where ye had a single too much, ye have enhanced the rent; and now have double too much. But, let the preacher preach,—nothing is amended.’⁵¹

That these ‘noble yeomanry were broken up and destroyed,’ we have remarked to have been complained of by Ascham;⁵² and the consequence was, as Latimer declared, that ‘thousands were begging, who had kept honest homes;’⁵³ that many former

⁵¹ Latim. Serm. p. 30.

⁵² See before, note 34.

⁵³ See before, note 30.

villages were disappearing and antient towns decaying;⁵⁴ and that pastoral solitudes appeared, where a rustic tenantry had been active and happy.⁵⁵ The yeoman was converted into the day laborer and the servant;⁵⁶ and from the language of the contemporary authorities, tho it seems rather warmly tinted, we cannot doubt that there was much local and temporary depopulation, and severe individual pauperism and distress.⁵⁷

On the personal sympathies and morality of those proprietors who bent their resolution to produce and witness this misery among their existing tenantry, in order to multiply their incomes and enjoyments, it is unnecessary and now unserviceable to make any observations. Every one has a legal and social right of employing his property as he pleases; and how far he will make his use of it compatible with the comforts of others, must be always a matter of his

⁵⁴ Thus Hales stated, ' Towns, villages and parishes, do daily decay in great numbers. Houses of husbandry and poor men's habitations be utterly destroyed every where, and in no small number. Husbandry and tillage is greatly abated, and the king's subjects wonderfully diminished.' Hales' Charge, in Strype, p. 352.

⁵⁵ So Latimer affirms: ' For where have been a great many householders and inhabitants, *there is now but a shepherd* and his dog.' p. 29.

⁵⁶ All such proceedings do tend plainly to make the yeomanry slavery.' Lat. Serm. p. 30.

⁵⁷ The royal commissioner was emphatic on this point: ' The force and puissance of the realm consisted not in riches only; but chiefly in the multitude of people. But it appeareth, good people! that the people of this realm, our native country, is greatly decayed, thro the greediness of a few men, in comparison, and by this ungodly means of gathering together goods; and by pulling down of towns and houses, which we ought all to lament. Where there were a few years ago 10 or 12,000 people, there be now scarce 4,000. Where there were 1,000; now scarce 300. And in many places, where there were very many able to defend our country from landing of our enemies, now, almost none. Sheep and cattle that were ordained to be eaten of men, hath eaten up the men. The places where poor men dwelt, clearly destroyed. Lands improved to so great rents; or such excessive fines taken, that the poor husbandmen cannot live.' Strype, p. 359.

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private consideration, with which no one, without infringing the common freedom of all, can ever interfere. He will act most uprightly, who makes it a question of moral conscience as well as of pecuniary benefit; and the tender cautions of benevolence on this delicate and difficult theme will be found occasionally as applicable to every class of society as to the ejecting landlord. But that no national detriment resulted from it—no diminution of the riches, food, and prosperity of the country at large—is clear to every one who surveys the general state and progress of England with a comprehensive impartiality.

One expressive coincidence was, that it was not rents only which were raised, or land incomes alone that were sought to be enlarged. Every thing was advancing in price. Bishop Ridley referred this universal effect to unfeeling avarice.⁵⁸ The emperor's minister complained to sir William Paget, that, against our treaties, we were exacting more for our wool;⁵⁹ and yet, tho our cloths were complained of for frauds in the dealers,⁶⁰ and altho he taxed their

⁵⁸ In July 1551, his language was, 'The world is grown into that uncharitableness, that, as it appeareth plainly, one goeth about to *devour* another, moved with unsatiable covetousness—that greedy and devouring serpent, covetousness.' Lett. to the Preachers in London, 25 July 1551. 4 Burn. Ref. 318.

⁵⁹ On 24 July 1549, he wrote 'D'Arras stated to me two points, which the emperor desireth to have reformed. The first was, That our merchants, contrary to our intercourse, do enhance the prices of their wools; and will not sell at such prices as they are bound by the intercourse.' Lett. Pag. 24 July 1549. 4 Burn. 251.

⁶⁰ Latimer thus describes it: 'If his cloth be eighteen yards long, he will set it on a rack and stretch it out with ropes, and rack it, till he has brought it to twenty-seven yards. When they have brought it to that perfection, they have a pretty feat to make it thick again. He makes a powder for it; and plays the apothecary. They call it 'flock-powder.' They do so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderful to consider. Oh! that so goodly wit should be so ill applied!' Serm. p. 43.

importation, his Flemish subjects were eager to have them.⁶¹ So that this augmentation of price was not beyond the ability or willingness of other nations to pay. If the landlord advanced his rent, the farmer was also demanding more for his produce.⁶² All trades were doing this :⁶³ the king particularizes the fact as to every order of his people,⁶⁴ and very impartially observed, that the gentry were straitened in their circumstances by this fact,⁶⁵ and were even driven to make agriculture a supporting trade.⁶⁶ He thought this a hardship to which they ought not to be subjected; and that as the military defence of the country then rested on them, they were entitled to have adequate rents,⁶⁷ but not so much as would de-

⁶¹ King Edward penned the following remarks on this subject: Having first noted, 'The ill working of our cloths make them less esteemed,' (Rem. p. 113;) he afterwards wrote: 'As ill as they be made, the Flemings do, at this time, *desire them wonderfully*; offering rather to pay the imposition of the emperor, than to lack them.' ib. p. 114.

⁶² We learn this from Latimer's increpation, who did not see the remedial applicability of his own fact. 'The too much which these rich men have, causeth such dearth, that poor men, which live of their labor, cannot with the sweat of their face have a living; *all kinds of victuals is so dear*. Pigs, geese, capons, chickens, eggs, &c.; these things, with others, are so unreasonably enhanced, that, if it thus continue, we shall be at length constrained to pay for a pig a pound.' Latim. Serm. p. 29.

⁶³ Latimer observed of merchants, 'no kind of ware can be had, except we give for it too much.' Serm. p. 29.

⁶⁴ 'Merchants have enhanced their ware; farmers have enhanced their corn and cattle; laborers, their wages; artificers, the price of their workmanship; mariners and boatsmen, their hire for service;' and, with a spirit more enlightened than his worthy bishops, Edward adds, 'Whereby they *recompense* the loss of things they buy.' Rem. p. 100, 101.

⁶⁵ 'Their housekeeping is dearer; their meat is dearer; their liveries dearer; their wages greater.' ib. p. 101.

⁶⁶ 'The gentleman, constrained by necessity and poverty, becometh a farmer, a grazier, or a sheep master.' ib. 101.

⁶⁷ 'The husbandman must pay such rent, and so sell things that come of the increase of the ground, as that the estates of gentlemen and serving men (in war) may do the commonwealth the service they ought to do.' Edw. p. 99. 'The gentleman ought to labor in service of his country; and be painful in ordering it.' ib. 100.

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press the English into the debased condition of the French peasantry.⁶⁶

This general advancement of prices did not arise from any deficiency in the production or supply of the commodities ; they were never more abundant.⁶⁷ The most popular theory of the accounting cause, was the usual belief of a pernicious monopoly : Every one was monopolizing. As if there could be such a thing as universal monopoly. All buying, in order to sell again for a profit, was denounced to be so ; and not only declaimed against as discreditable, by the prelate, whose attention to his clerical duties precluded his acquiring just notions on trade,⁷⁰ but was even

⁶⁶ ‘ The gentlemen and serving men ought to be provided for ; yet not to have so much as they have in France, *where the peasantry is of no value* ; nor yet meddle in no occupations.’ Edw. ib. The rents, and produce, and other things were at the same time also advancing in France ; for M. de Rochechouart, who was living at this time, says, in his interesting little sketch of his own life, that his father left him four hundred livres of rent, out of which he had to pay his mother 175, leaving him but 225 livres to live upon. ‘ If at present the lands produce me more, it is because the bushel of corn was then worth but quatre blancs, and is now worth six sols. The tithes and land taxes have also increased two parts, and in like manner also the disbursements.’ 3 Castel. Mem. Add. p. 242. So that the rise of prices was a general movement of things in Europe.

⁶⁷ Hales mentioned this as a truth, ‘ All things at this present, *saving corn*, which by reason that it is in poor men’s hands who cannot keep it, is good cheap, be so dear as they never were ; victual, and all other things that be necessary for man’s use. And yet, there never was more cattle, specially sheep, than there is at this present. But the cause of the dearth [dearness] is, that those that have it, may chuse whether they will sell or no ; and will not sell but at their own prices. All corn would be likewise [dear] if it were in their hands, and might be well kept.’ Charge, p. 359.

⁷⁰ ‘ Landlords have become graziers ; and burgesses are become regraters ; and some farmers will regrate and buy up all the corn that cometh to market, and lay it up in store, and sell it again at an higher price, when they see their time.’ Latim. p. 130. ‘ I heard a merchant say, that he had travelled all the days of his life in trade, and had gotten 3 or 4,000*l.* by buying and selling ; but in case he might be licensed, or suffered to do so, he would get 1,000*l.* a year, by only *buying and selling of grain* here within this realm.’ ib.

thought by the king to be a public disadvantage.⁷¹ Even the multiplication of industry,⁷² and the expanding spirit of foreign commerce and adventure, were deemed injurious; because its produce, costing more to make or bring, obtained higher prices than had formerly been paid:⁷³ a singular obloquy, considering the great risk and losses which all maritime trade was subjected to, when navies pirated oftener than they fought, and no insurance companies existed to remunerate on capture.⁷⁴ Exportation seems to have been dreaded like a night-mare.⁷⁵ Prices

⁷¹ Edward wrote: 'They now-a-days use much to forestall; not only private markets of corn and victual, whereby they enhance the price; but also send to the sea to ships abroad, and take the wine, sugar, dates, or any other ware, and bring it to London, where they sell at double the price.' Rem. p. 102. These notes of the king probably represent to us what he had heard from his state counsellors.

⁷² Our good bishops saw nothing but evil in trade, from the rise of prices; hence he complains, 'Aldermen now-a-days are become colliers. They be both woodmongers and makers of coals. There cannot be a poor body buy a sack of coals, but it must come thro their hands. I wish he might eat nothing but coals for a while, till he had amended it.' Serm. 130.

⁷³ By the proclamation of 22 Sept. 1549, 'Whoever shipped over sea any thing therein mentioned, or to Scotland, should forfeit his ship and ware, half to the lord of the franchise, and half to the finder; and whoso bought to sell again, was to incur the monstrous penalty of forfeiting all his goods, farms and leases; one moiety to the informer, and the other to the king.' Edw. Journ. p. 28.

⁷⁴ The petition of the thirty imprisoned debtors in Ludgate, in 1554, affords an instance of such losses. 'They state, that from the piracies and shipwrecks, and from the usury and bad debts which they had suffered, they had been reduced from a state of affluence to such poverty as to owe 10,000 l. for which they were then confined. Asch. Epis. p. 275.

⁷⁵ Thus Edward notes, among the 'Ills' he must attend to, the 'making vent with hoys only, into Flanders, conveying of bullion, lead, bell-metal, copper, wood, iron, fish, corn, and cattle, beyond sea.' Rem. p. 102. So again: 'The merchants adventure not to bring in strange commodities; but loiter at home; send forth small hoys with two or three mariners; occupy exchange of money; buy and sell victuals; wood and such like things out of the realm, and sell their ware unreasonably.' ib. 101. Correspondently with this mistaken impression, the proclamation of 22 Sept. 1549, ordered, 'That no kind of victual, wax, tallow, or candle should be carried over sea, except to Calais, on pain of forfeiting the ship and ware.' Edw. Journ. p. 28. The proclamation of the ensuing May, attacked 'Carriers over sea of victual.' ib. 37.

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were set on corn of all sorts, butter, cheese, and poultry, by proclamation.⁷⁶ Strange restrictions were imposed on fair trading:⁷⁷ and stranger still in such a country, with so much civil freedom as England, the magistrates were ordered to inspect the farmer's barn, and compel the sale of his corn at what they should deem a reasonable price.⁷⁸ And yet it was not in England only that consumable and mercantile goods had become dearer. Lord Paget found that his expenses of living had equally increased in France, and therefore felt that he was entitled to receive a larger rent from his possessions.⁷⁹ Even the medical world were attacked for rapacity and inhumanity, because their fees also participated in the general augmentation.⁸⁰ But alarm, suspicion, and

⁷⁶ This was done by the proclamation of 19 Oct. 1549. *Edw. Journal*, p. 29.

⁷⁷ By the proclamation of 22 Sept. 'No man was to buy or sell the selfsame things again, except brokers, and these were not to have more than ten quarters of grain at once.' *Edw. Journ.* p. 28. And the proclamation of 12 May in the next year, 1550, denounced 'Forestalling men that sell dear, having plenty enough.' *ib.* p. 37.

⁷⁸ 'The proclamation of 22 Sept. ordered, 'That all justices should divide themselves into the hundreds, and look what superfluous corn was in every barn; and appoint it to be sold at a reasonable price; also, that one must be in every market to see the corn bought. Whoso brought not corn to market, as he was appointed, was to forfeit 10*l.*; unless the purveyors took it up, or it was sold to the neighbors.' *Edw. Journ.* p. 28.

⁷⁹ In his letter of 7 July 1549, he wrote to the protector, from France: 'Is victuals and other things so dear in England, and no where else? They are as dear in other realms, as they be in England. They are indeed, and that I know full well; for I spend twice as much as I did at my last being here, and yet I keep no greater countenance.' *Strype Eccl.* v. 2. p. 432. This is like what Ascham felt, in his expenditure in our metropolis: 'How can I support a London life on 20*l.* when these last five months I have consumed above 40*l.* tho I live parca, restricteque.' *Epist.* p. 260. See note 68.

⁸⁰ Latimer made this one of his topics of inculcation. 'Now at our time physic is a remedy prepared *only* for rich folks, not for poor, for the poorman is not able to wage the physician. Physicians now-a-days seek only their own profit; how to get money; not how they may do good

mistake were pervading society. That fraud was habitual in trade, became a general impression;⁸¹ and it was publicly declared from the pulpit, with repeated emphasis, that taxation was corruptly evaded by deceit in the payer and by connivance in the assessor.⁸²

unto their poor neighbors. They are commonly all wealthy, and ready to purchase lands; but to help their poor neighbors, that they cannot do.' Serm. p. 104. 'The probability is, that the world were beginning to seek better advice than the possets and traditional remedies of their dames and nurses, or than the exorcisms and charms of their relics and superstitions; and that there were not medical men enough to meet the new demand. The drugs also of the alchemists were far more costly than the herbs and simples with which, until this time, all society had been content.

⁸¹ Thus the king: 'The artificers work falsely; the clothiers use deceit in cloth; the masons in buildings; the clockmakers in their clocks; the joiner in his working of timber; and so all other almost, to the intent they would have men oftener come to them for amending their things, and so have more gain, altho at the beginning they take out of measure.' Remains, p. 101. So Latimer: 'The merchant commonly in every city teacheth his prentice to sell false wares.' Serm. p. 128. 'The craftsman or merchantman teacheth his prentice to lie, and to utter his wares with lying and forswearing.' p. 82. He adds, 'Go to men of authority; Go to lawyers, you will find stuff enough.' 'Consider and examine all estates, and ye shall find all their doings furnished with lies.' ib.

⁸² Latimer thus strongly proclaimed these evasions: 'I fear this realm be full of thieves; for he is a thief that withdraweth any thing from any man, whosoever he be. Now I put the case. It is allowed by the parliament that the king shall have one shilling of every pound, and there be certain men appointed in every shire which be valuers. Now, I either corrupt the valuer, or swear against my conscience that I am not worth an 100*l.* when I am worth 200*l.* Here I am a thief before God, and shall be hanged for it in hell. Now how many thieves think ye there are in England?' Serm. p. 88. He made this practice the subject of another sermon: 'When parliament is gathered together, and it is there determined that every man shall pay a fifteenth; then commissioners come forth; and he that in sight of men, in his cattle, corn and sheep, and other goods, is worth an 100 marks, or 100*l.* will set himself at 10*l.* he will be worth no more than 10*l.* to the king. Tell me now whether this be theft or no. His cattle, corn and sheep, shall in every man's eyes be worth 200*l.* besides money and plate. He will give with his daughter 4 or 500 marks, and yet, at the valuation he will be a 20*l.* man. Doth he not rob the king?' Serm. p. 104. He also notices that 'In the cardinal's time, men were put to their oaths, to swear what they were worth. It was a sore thing, and a thing I would wish not to be followed. O Lord! what perjury was in England by that swearing.' 106.

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Great changes had indeed taken place in every part of English society ; mostly for the better, altho in some points antient evils were continued. The new patrons of church livings followed too much the censured examples of their predecessors, in making them but the means of temporal livelihood :⁸³ and many of the clergy continued their old secular habits, and began to buy landed property.⁸⁴ A spirit of insubordination was arising in every part of society, from the universal claim and full enjoyment of the grateful liberty which the Reformation had so suddenly procured to them.⁸⁵ What money they saved

⁸³ Thus Latimer describes a patron to be one who careth not what manner of man he taketh, or else is covetous, and *will have it himself*, and hire a sir John Lack-latin, which shall say service so that the people be nothing edified. 121. This abuse on another occasion he more indignantly detailed: 'What do you patrons? ye sell your benefices; or give them to your servants for their service; for keeping of hounds; hawks; for making of your gardens. These patrons regard no souls. What care they for souls so they have money? Many strive with each other at law to be patrons of benefices. What do they strive for? Even which of them shall go to the devil first.' Serm. p. 100.

⁸⁴ 'Our spirituality, what do they? Some be clerks of the kitchen; some surveyors or receivers.' p. 125. So he urged at another time, as still applying: 'Ever since the prelates were made lords and nobles, there is no work done. They hawk, they hunt, they card, they dice, they pastime in their prelacies with gallant gentlemen, with their dancing minions, and with their fresh companions.' p. 16. Their antient habits had not yet fully altered: 'The clergy of our time have procured unto themselves a liberty to purchase lands. Think ye not that such doings savored somewhat of worldly things?' Serm. 96. On these topics we must recollect what Latimer also informs us; that 'when the abbeyes were put down for their enormities, the same abbots were made bishops, to save and redeem their pensions.' p. 38.

⁸⁵ The all-vigilant bishop remarked this: 'I never saw so little discipline as is now-a-days. Men will be masters. They will be masters and no disciples. The people regard no discipline. They be without all order. Where they should give place, they will not stir one inch; yea, where magistrates should determine matters, they will break into the place before they come, and at their coming not move a whit for them. If a man say any thing to them, they regard it not. They that be called to answer will not answer directly, but scoff the matter out. In Popery they had a reverence, but now we have none at all.' Serm. 92.

from the disuse of their enslaving superstitions, was not applied to better purposes.⁸⁶ Great irreverence became fashionable during the celebration of divine service, which indicated that but small impressions of religion were actuating those who attended ;⁸⁷ and even preaching, which is usually so popular, that many are led erroneously to prefer it to their prayers, was often unwelcome, or postponed to any temporary gratification,⁸⁸ or resorted to as a convenient soporific.⁸⁹ There was indeed so much to reprehend and

⁸⁶ This caused Latimer to observe, 'I wish ye would bestow as much upon this necessary office of salvation [preaching] as in times past ye bestowed in pilgrimage, in images, in gilding and painting, in masses, dirges, trentauls, chauntreys, and such vain things.' p. 101.

⁸⁷ Even at St. Paul's Cross, which the better orders most attended, we find this complaint: 'It is a disorder that folk shall be walking up and down in the sermon time, as I have seen in this place this Lent.' p. 71. 'There shall be such a hussing and bussing in the preacher's ear, that it maketh him oftentimes to forget his matter.' p. 73.

⁸⁸ Latimer gives us an instance of this sort from his own experience: 'I came once myself to a place, riding on a journey homeward from London; and I sent word over night into town, that I would preach there in the morning, because it was a holiday; and methought this would be an holiday's work. The church stood in my way; and I took my horse and my company, and went thither. I thought I should have found a great company in the church; but when I came there, the church door was fast locked. I tarried there half an hour and more. At last the key was found; when one of the parish comes to me and says, 'Sir! this is a busy day with us. We cannot hear you. It is Robin Hood's day. The parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood. I pray you hinder them not.' So I was fain there to give place to Robin Hood. I thought my rochet should have been more regarded, tho I were not. But it would not serve: it was forced to give place to Robin Hood's men.' Serm. p. 75.

⁸⁹ We learn this from a fact mentioned by our zealous old preacher, of 'a gentlewoman of London.' One of her neighbors met her in the street and said, 'Mistress! whither go ye? Marry, said she, I am going to St. Thomas of Acres to the sermon; I could not sleep all this last night, and I am going now thither, because I have never failed of a good nap there.' Lat. p. 72. Some preachers would have been indignant at this. Not so our acute minded reformer: He had the good sense to add, 'I had rather you should go for a napping to the sermon, *than not to go at all*. I had rather you should come of a naughty mind, or from novelty, or curiosity, than to be away; for tho ye come for an ill purpose, yet peradventure you may chance to be caught, ere you go. The preacher may chance to catch you on his hook.' *ib.* Latimer

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to improve in every part of society, when the critical eye had begun to discriminate and to look for its defects, that even preaching was discountenanced by many, as a dangerous promoter of popular discontent.⁹⁰

There is nothing which our venerable reformer more lamented than the disuse of the practice of the military bow. He describes himself as having thoroly learnt the art, with all its superior English excellence, from his father ;⁹¹ and he loudly blames the abandonment of his favorite exercise for more domestic and sedentary amusements.⁹² He did not see that

was so earnest for this duty, as to say, that if a pulpit could not be obtained, 'a good preacher may declare the word of God sitting on a horse, or preaching in a tree : ' tho he acknowledges that other prelates, 'if this should be done, would laugh it to scorn.' Serm. p. 74.

⁹⁰ Latimer confesses that this imputation was made on himself: 'Some say preaching now-a-days is the cause of all sedition and rebellion ; for since this new preaching hath come in, there hath been much sedition ; and therefore it must needs be, that the preaching is the cause of the rebellion here in England. We preachers have come and spoken to you. We have drawn our swords of God's word, and stricken at the roots of all evil, to have them cut down ; and if ye will not amend, what can we do more ? ' 114. 'Here was preaching against covetousness all the last year in Lent, and the next summer followed rebellion. Ergo, preaching against covetousness was the cause of rebellion.' 115. With all my unfeigned respect for this worthy old gentleman, I cannot but admit that he did occasionally step a little beyond the religious duty and fair license of the pulpit. The '*citra* and the *ultra fines*' are applicable at all times to every moral obligation. The just '*modus in rebus*' is always the true virtue.

⁹¹ 'My poor father was as *diligent in teaching me to shoot*, as to learn me any other thing. He taught me how to draw ; how to lay my *body* in my bow, and not to draw with strength of *arms*, as other nations do, but with strength of the body. I had my bows bought me according to my age and strength ; as I increased in these, so my bows were made bigger and bigger ; for men shall never shoot well, except they be brought up in it.' Serm. 70.

⁹² He says, 'The men of England in times past, when they would exercise themselves, were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting. This art hath been much esteemed in this realm. It is a gift of God, that he hath given to us to *excel* all other nations withal. Now it is turned to glossing, grilling, and luxury *within* the house.' He urges the *king*, before

the increasing use of artillery and musquetry made this weapon less useful in war, and that the abolition of its practice was quietly producing a more peaceful population. Nothing tempts so much to the immoral employment of weapons of violence, or to the engendering of the spirit which delights in it, as the habit of practising their use. The ability acquired creates a desire and a delight for its exhibition, and an arrogance of temper and bearing, from the belief of possessing a power to support it. All disuse of arms was therefore a good to the public at large, and favored the operation of the other civilizing causes that were in action.

It was a great advancement that the gentry began to send their sons to college for education; tho when Latimer observed that it was for their general improvement, and not to prepare them for the church, he misjudged it to be a mischief,⁹³ and ascribed the suggestion to that personage who, having real sins enough to answer for, ought not to be loaded with the unjust imputation of imaginary ones.⁹⁴ It was also an inconsistency in his judgment, not to perceive that an university education was above all things well adapted to remove that incompetency of the noble laymen for civil employments, which had occasioned so many to be given to the clergy.⁹⁵ But the value

whom he was preaching, 'Charge justices, upon their allegiance, that this singular gift be practised, and not be turned into bolting, glossing, and vice within the towns.' Serm. 70.

⁹³ 'There be none now but great men's sons in colleges, and not to be preachers.' ib. 62.

⁹⁴ 'The DEVIL causeth *great men* and esquires to send their sons to the universities; and put out poor scholars that should be divines, for their *parents* intend *not that they shall* be preachers, but that they may have a shew of learning.' Serm. 73.

⁹⁵ Thus he truly preached, that if educated, they would not, when

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of education was strongly felt;⁹⁶ and yet college students appear to have diminished, most probably from the increasing desire for home education.⁹⁷ That taste for handsome architecture, which had been enriching Italy with edifices that still excite the traveller's admiration, was now beginning to animate the English mind;⁹⁸ but the love of self-indulging enjoyment was also spreading, and altering both the temper and habits, and diminishing the influence, of the great and rich.⁹⁹ There was, however, a credit-

they came of age, give themselves to other vanities. 'If the nobility be well trained in godly learning, the people will follow the same train; for truly, *such as the noblemen be, such will the people be.* The only cause why *noblemen* be not made lord presidents is, because they have *not* been *brought up* in learning. Therefore, appoint teachers and schoolmasters.' Serm. 17. He forgot that he had justly asked, 'Why are not the noblemen and young gentlemen of England so brought up in knowlege of God and learning, that they may be able to execute offices in the commonweal?' p. 17.

⁹⁶ Hence Latimer exclaimed, 'Thus much I say unto you, magistrates, If ye will not maintain schools and universities, ye shall have a brutality.' Serm. 125.

⁹⁷ 'I think there be at this day 10,000 students less than were within these 20 years, and fewer preachers; and that is the cause of rebellion. If there were good bishops, there should be no rebellion.' Lat. Serm. 124. Latimer ascribed it to the yeomanry not being able to put their sons to school. Hence he says, 'Universities do wonderfully decay already.' p. 36.

⁹⁸ 'All the affection of men now-a-days is in building gay and sumptuous houses. It is in setting up and pulling down; and never have they done building.' Lat. p. 130. But in remarking this, he pleads the cause of those who were employed, without being promptly remunerated. 'I pray you, so build, as that the king's workmen may be paid. They make their moan that they cannot get no money. The poor laborers, gun-makers, powdermen, bow-makers, arrow-makers, smiths, carpenters, soldiers, and other crafts, cry out for their duties. They be unpaid some of them three or four months; yea, some of them half a year; and some put up their bills this time twelvemonth for their money, and cannot be paid yet.' p. 120.

⁹⁹ 'Now they banquet all night, and lie a bed in the day time till noon. Ye lie a bed till eight or nine or ten of the clock. I cannot tell what revel ye have over night, whether in banqueting or dicing, or carding, or how it is; but in the morning, when poor suitors come to your houses, ye cannot be spoken with. They are driven off from day to day that they cannot speak with you in three or four days; yea, a whole month, sometimes a whole year, ere they can come to your speech.' Lat. p. 117.

able series of personal accomplishments for every respectable person to attain, without which he was inferior to those who were considered to be the ornaments of polite society.¹⁰⁰

Among the topics of Latimer's well-meant philippics, one that often roused his indignant eloquence was that on which, with all our present querulousness on the legal profession, we must feel that we have long attained the most honorable and satisfactory improvement. This was the impossibility of getting justice done in the legal tribunals of the country against the great and rich. The judges were either too cowardly to do their duty,¹⁰¹ or were corrupted to violate it.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Ascham thus enumerates their desired qualifications: 'Therefore, to ride comely; to run fair at the tilt or ring; to play at all weapons; to shoot fair in bow, or surely in gun; to vault lustily; to run, to leap, to wrestle, and to swim; to dance comely; to sing and play on instruments cunningly; to hawk, to hunt, to play at tennis, and at all pastimes generally, which are joined with labor and are used in open place, and in the day-light, and which contain some fit exercise for war, or some pleasant pastime for peace. These be not only comely and decent, but also very necessary for a courtly gentleman to use.' Asch. Schoolmaster, p. 63.

¹⁰¹ 'Now-a-days the JUDGES be *afraid* to hear a poor man against the rich; insomuch, that they will either pronounce against him, or so drive off the poor man's suit, that he shall not be able to go thro with it.' Lat. p. 47. 'Belike good judges were rare at that time. And trowe ye, that the devil hath been asleep ever since? No, no: he is as busy as ever he was. The common manner of a judge is, he looketh high over the poor. He will be had in admiration; in adoration. Well! shall he escape? Ho, ho! Est Deus in cœlo. I will tell you, my lord judges! ye should be more afraid of the poor widow, than of a nobleman, with all the friends and power that he can make. The tears of the poor fall down upon their cheeks; but then go up to heaven and cry for vengeance before the Judge of widows, the father of orphans.' p. 47. The term poor, as thus used at this time, often included what we now call our middling classes.

¹⁰² The king had heard what made him note down 'The lawyers and judges have much offended in corruption and bribery.' Edw. Remains, p. 102. Latimer exclaimed, with his usual freedom, 'I must desire my lord protector's grace to hear me in this matter; that your grace would hear poor men's suits yourself. Let them not be delayed.

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We have taken this short review of some of the prominent feelings and habits of this period, that as we proceed in our history of its transactions, we may carry in our minds a more correct notion of the state of English society at this period. We will close the picture by adding in the note Latimer's sketch of the London citizens, because in their present mind, actions and sensibilities, we all have the gratification of observing a most remarkable and elevating contrast.¹⁰³

The saying now is, that money is heard every where. If he be rich, he shall soon have an end of his matter. Others are fain to go home with weeping tears, for any help they can obtain at any judge's hand. Hear men's suits yourself: put it not to the hearing of these velvet coats; these up-skips.' p. 40. He mentions a woman as then lying in the Fleet, 'and would fain be bailed, offering to put in sureties worth a thousand pound; and yet *she cannot be heard*.' p. 41. And another gentlewoman, who complained to him of a great man keeping her lands from her. On the day of hearing, 'the great man brought on his side a great sight of lawyers for his counsel. She had but one man of law; and the great man shakes him so, that he cannot tell what to do. So that when the matter came to the point, the judge desired her to let the great man keep the land. I beseech your grace look to these matters; hear them yourself.' p. 40.

He details an incident in Denmark, which shews the use and importance of our antient kings sitting as judges in our law courts. 'The common judges could not alone venture or be trusted to do their duty against the great. In this case a lord had seized the lands of a priest, and came triumphantly to the legal court; sure that the judge dared not decide against him. But it happened that the king sat that day, called him in, heard the case, and awarded immediate restitution.' p. 136.

¹⁰³ In 1548 he stated, 'London was never so ill as it is now. In times past men were full of pity and compassion: now there is no pity. For in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold; he shall lie sick at their door, between stock and stock, and perish there for hunger. In times past, when any rich man died in London, they were wont to help the poor scholars of the Universities with exhibitions; they would bequeath great *sums of money toward the relief of the poor*. When I was a scholar in Cambridge myself, I knew many that had reliefs of the rich men in London. But now, I can hear no such good report; and yet I inquire for it, and hearken for it. But now charity is waxen cold; none helpeth the scholar, nor yet the poor.' Sermon. p. 15.

CHAP. IX.

ACCUSATION AND DEATH OF THE LORD PROTECTOR; FOREIGN TRANSACTIONS.

THE insurrections had scarcely terminated, when a conflict of power began between the protector and the council of state, which the swords of both were drawn to decide, and which threatened for a few days to divide the realm into the worst of all civil wars—a military struggle between the competing and factious great—an evil prevented in this case only by the fewness of those who chose at the last crisis to support the duke. Two things placed him at variance with the nobility and gentry of the land; an abusing irritability of temper, which increasing upon him as he became older, made his protectorate offensive to those who approached the court;¹ and the opinion, not discreditable either to his feelings or his judgment, which he had expressed, that the insurgent people had some grievances to complain of, and should therefore be patiently heard, and mildly treated, and with every possible redress.² His iras-

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¹ His ostensible friend, sir William Paget, in May 1549, thus admonished him of his failing; 'Of late your grace is grown in great cholerick factions whensoever you are contraried in that which you have conceived in your head. Unless your grace do more quietly shew your pleasure in things wherein you will debate with other men, and hear them graciously say their opinions when you do require it, that will ensue whereof I shall be right sorry, and your grace will have first cause to repent. No man will dare speak to you what he thinks, tho it were never so necessary, which in the end will be dangerous unto you. In council your grace nips me sharply sometimes.' Lett. 8 May, in Strype's Eccl. 428.

² This is the main subject of Paget's second letter to him of 7 July 1549. Stryp. ib. 429-37.

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cible infirmity, the most unbecoming of all imperfections in every one of high official rank, and indeed in all classes of society, had personally affronted many;³ but his political measures, to lessen the inclosures, restore the appropriated commons, and to break up the sheep lands for resumed tillage, disposed the great landed interest of the country to desire the conclusion of his regent power. Their angry voice required exemplary punishment of the rebellious peasantry, who had endangered them; and the protector was not inclined to enforce the severities they urged. His reluctance was not only declared to be the cause of the turbulence,⁴ but was also unjustly imputed to a dark and deep ambition of securing, by his forbearance, a mob popularity for the achievement of daring and treasonable objects.⁵ His sacrifice of his brother was remembered to his disadvantage; and tho he had been first nominated to attack

³ Paget mentions an instance. 'Poor sir Richard Alte, this afternoon, after your grace had very sore, and too much more than needed, rebuked him, came to my chamber *weeping*; and there complaining, as far as became him, of your handling of him, seemed almost out of his wits, and out of heart. Your grace, peradventure, thinketh it nothing; but words spoken by the lord protector goeth to a man's heart.' He adds a very important warning: 'A subject in great authority as your grace is, using such a fashion, *is like to fall into great danger and peril of his own person*, beside that to the common weal.' Lett. Strype's Eccl. 428.

⁴ His friend thus intimates this charge: 'And what is the cause? Your own lenity; your softness; your opinion to be good to the poor. The opinion of such as saith to your grace, 'O! Sir, there was never man had the hearts of the poor as you have. O! the commons pray for you, Sir:' they say, 'God save your life.'" Lett. Strype's Eccl. 430.

⁵ Sir William very fairly acquits him of this insidious purpose: 'I know your gentle heart right well, and that your meaning is good and godly, *however some evil men riot to prate here*, that you have some greater enterprise in your head that lean so much to the multitude. I know, I say, your meaning and honest virtue; but, Sir, it is a great pity that ever warm weather should do harm. It is pity that your too much gentleness should be an occasion of so great an evil as is now chanced in England by these rebels.' Lett. 7 July, p. 431.

the Norfolk revolutionists, yet, from some dislike or distrust, the council had sent Warwick in his stead.⁶ The minute facts of the progressive struggle have not been preserved. He had assumed a command over the council, that even foreigners had remarked ;⁷ and in a few weeks after Ket's suppression, in the first week of October, we find the state lords placing themselves in a treasonable crisis against each other, with mutual demonstrations of resorting to the decision of military force. Persuading or compelling the king to accompany him to Hampton Court, the duke armed five hundred of their retainers :⁸ and issued thence his letters to the nobility,⁹ and proclamations to the neighboring towns, to assemble in arms to protect their sovereign. As they joined him, he conveyed Edward, with a large body of horse and foot, to Windsor Castle ; and while he sent to the London magistracy for the immediate levy of one thousand well-harnessed men, he wrote to his opposing colleagues, that he was sorry to see them bent to bring things to extremities by violence ; that if they took no other way than that, he should defend himself to extremity of death, and leave the issue to heaven ; but that he was still agreeable to reasonable conditions, altho they had signified none to him, nor did he understand what they required.¹⁰

⁶ Strype's Eccl. v. 2. p. 272, 3 ; part 1.

⁷ A Spaniard declared that he saw Somerset riding a goodly horse, so strong and big as to carry himself and all the king's council upon his back. Strype's Eccl. vol. 2. App. 431.

⁸ His language on 6 Oct. 1549, to earl Shrewsbury was: ' We most earnestly pray and require you to come hither to the king, as ye tender his good preservation and our earnest and hearty acquainted friendship.' Lett. 1 Lodge, p. 135.

⁹ On 6 Oct. Edw. Jour. p. 11.

¹⁰ Stowe, Chr. 597, 8. To the earl of Warwick he wrote the next

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The lords crossed this letter with one from them, written the same day, to such of their late associates as were then with Somerset, assuring them that they meant only the king's safety, and the good governance of his dominions; that if the duke would at any time have heard reason from them, and acknowledged himself a subject, their meaning was to have communed quietly with him, for the redress of all things, without any disturbance of the realm; but as he was raising great forces, and spreading untrue reports of them, they were compelled to assemble such themselves: yet, if he would leave the king, disperse his levies, and submit to justice and reason, they would do nothing but what became good subjects and true counsellors. They urged, that they were almost the whole council of the government, and desired an amicable and pacific conference.¹¹

As this passed to Windsor, the same cabinet lords in London explained to the lord mayor the misconduct of the protector, and by their official missive to the common council, desired two thousand men to aid them on the king's behalf, and that the city should be kept in strict watch both day and night.¹²

day with a more personal appeal, reminding him of their friendship from their youth: 'I protest I never meant worse to you than to myself; wherefore declare to me and the world your just honor and perseverance in friendship.' Lett. ib. 598.

¹¹ Lett. of 7 Oct. from MS. Cal. B. 7. in Ellis, v. 2. p. 168. Its signatures shew us that nearly all the council were against him. They are, the chancellor lord Rich, the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick, Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Southampton, besides sir R. Sadler, Cheyne, Petre, North, Gage, Southwell, and Dr. Wotton, ib. They immediately issued a proclamation against Somerset. See it in Stowe, 599.

¹² Stowe, 597. King Edward's own account implies his opinion, that his uncle was in the wrong. 'The council, about nineteen of them, were gathered in London, thinking to meet with the lord protector, and

The few lords who had sided with the duke at Windsor, were, Cranmer, who, tho admirable in his religious feelings, was almost always wrong in his political conduct ; so dangerous it is, and ever will be, to mingle politics with piety—the great and busy world of man with all the nobler objects of his higher destiny—sir William Paget, who remained with the protector from personal attachment, while disapproving of his conduct—and sir Thomas Smith. But all these were rather friends and monitors of the duke than his determined adherents : and wishing by mediation to avert a desolating collision, they answered the appeal to themselves by intimating, that it must have been a misconception of each others intentions, which had alarmed both to arm themselves ; that if the preservation of the common good did not operate on each side, both parties, as well as the king and country, would be cast away. They solicited the London cabinet so to use their wisdom and temper in their determination, as that no blood should be shed, and no cruelty used. They had conferred with the duke on the disputed points : he did not think it ‘ reasonable to be thrust from his office against his will in violent sort, as he had been called to it by the peers in parliament, and by themselves ; but if the king and realm may be otherwise well served, he passeth little by the place he hath.’ They intreated that he might not be driven to extremity, by putting his life in danger ; and they instructed sir Philip Hoby, as their agent, to negotiate an amicable arrange-

to make him amend some of his disorders. He, fearing his state, caused,’ &c. Jour. 11. On 13 Oct. his protectorship was revoked. Str. Eccl. 2, p. 288.

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ment.¹³ This mild and wise address, which breathes all the spirit of Cranmer in its genuine nature, produced all the good results which benign and soothing measures usually occasion.

The council yielded to its kind reasoning, but desired the writers not to let the king remain in the guard of Somerset's men, sequestered from his old sworn servants; and that he should not be removed from Windsor; and, intimating their personal responsibility on this head, sent their propositions, 'by which way things may soon be quietly and moderately compounded.'¹⁴ The absent lords intimated, that what they were resolutely doing was for the king's safety, and that Somerset might be apprehended, if they wished it.¹⁵ The protector now found, as the crisis approached, that he could not reckon on the adherence of any force that would be sufficient to carry his purposes violently into execution; declared he did not mean to molest his opponents, and invited them to Windsor.¹⁶ On 12th

¹³ Stowe has inserted this letter, p. 599. It is in parts pathetic pleading. 'Life is sweet, my lords! and they say, you seek his blood and his death, which, if you do, (when you may have been otherwise conformable to reason,) and by extremity drive him to seek extremity again; the blood of him and others that shall die on both sides shall be justly required at your hands. Wherefore, good my lords! we beseech you, again and again, if you have conceived any such determination, to put it out of your heads, and incline your hearts to kindness and humanity, remembering that he hath never been cruel to any of you, and why should you be cruel to him?' *ib.*

¹⁴ Their letter of 9 Oct. in Ellis, p. 171. They also wrote to the king, who thus describes its contents: 'Another to me, to declare his faults, ambition, vain glory, entering into rash wars in my youth, negligent looking on Newhaven, enriching himself of my treasure, following of his own opinion, and doing all by his own authority.' Jour. 12.

¹⁵ The letter of 10 Oct. of the London Cabinet to sir W. Paget, states these facts. *ib.* 175.

¹⁶ His articles are in MS. Cal. B. 7. p. 407; and in Ellis, p. 173.

October, the ruling lords rode down to this place; committed Somerset into immediate custody; and two days afterwards, entering the metropolis, thro Holborn, at Newgate, conducted him thro the streets, lined with 'householders standing with their bills as he passed,' to the Tower, with four of his supporters.¹⁷

Twenty-nine articles of offensive conduct were exhibited against him:¹⁸ of which the substance was, an undue assumption and exercise of authority in himself alone; improper reprehensions of the king's counsellors, for their official opinions; grant of crown lands, benefices, and bishoprics, without counsel with the cabinet; debasing practices on the coin;¹⁹ and, what had evidently decided the aristocracy of the land to overthrow his power, his siding with the people against the gentry, both in sentiment and favoring conduct on the recent commotions;²⁰ a charge which operated to punish him for the honest exercise of his judgment, and which, if it had stood alone, would have entitled him to our forbearing respect; but if he actually supplied any money to foment the evil,²¹ and encouraged its continuance by

¹⁷ Stowe, 600. Earl Warwick was made admiral of England; sir Th. Cheney sent ambassador to the emperor, and Dr. Wotton made secretary. Edw. Journ. 12.

¹⁸ Stowe details them, 600, 1.

¹⁹ This is curiously expressed, 'You commanded multiplication and alchemy to be practised, thereby to abate the king's coin.' ib. 601.

²⁰ 'Ye have many times affirmed, that the nobles and gentlemen were the only causes of the dearth of things; you caused proclamations to be made against inclosures, you giving commissioners authority to hear and determine the same causes; you suffered the rebels and traitors to assemble, without any speedy subduing or appeasing them.' ib. 601.

²¹ 'You did comfort and encourage divers of the said rebels, by giving to them divers sums of your own money, and by promising to divers of them fees, rewards and services.' ib. 602. This was the conduct charged on the duke of Orleans, against the government of Louis XVI.

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an expressed approbation of the insurrections while they were raging,²² these were actions which no possibility of benevolent pity or of political reasoning can rescue from the suspicion of treasonable meditations.

Somerset signed a written acknowledgement of the specified offences in December;²³ and six weeks afterwards sent a humble and supplicatory submission, and intreaty for pardon, with a promise of amendment.²⁴ He was released in a few days more, and dispossessed of his protectorate; but in April was reconciled to his compeers, and admitted to a seat in the council.²⁵

The conciliation seemed complete. Family bonds united him with his most competing rival, Warwick;²⁶ and the ministerial amity lasted for eighteen months; but it then burst into a deadly explosion. Five days after the addition of new dignities to others,²⁷ he

²² 'You have said in the time of rebellion, that *you liked well* the doings and proceedings of the said rebellious and traitors; and that the covetousness of gentlemen gave occasion to the common people to rise, *saying* that, *better it were* for the commons to die than to perish utterly for lack of living.' *ib.* 602.

²³ Stowe has printed it, dated 23 December 1550. p. 602.

²⁴ It was penned on 2 Feb. 1550. See it in Stowe, 603.

²⁵ On 8 April. Stowe, 604.

²⁶ On the 3d June, his daughter was married to earl Warwick's eldest son and heir, the lord Lisle. *ib.* Edward's account is, 'Which done, and a fair dinner made, and dancing finished, the king and the ladies went into two anti-chambers made of boughs, where first he saw six gentlemen of one side and six of another, run the course of the field twice over.' *Jour.* 20. The next day, Warwick's third son was married to a knight's daughter, 'after which, there were certain gentlemen that did strive who should first take *away a goose's head*, which was *hanged alive* on two cross posts.' *ib.* 20. Both king and nobles thought it a proper recreation, thus to torment the poor animal, for the sake of shewing some momentary dexterity.

²⁷ Warwick, on 11 Oct. 1551, was created duke of Northumberland; Dorset, the duke of Suffolk; Wiltshire St. John, the marquis of Winchester, besides other promotions; the celebrated Cecil, then secretary, was also knighted. *ib.* 605.

was arrested on a new charge of treasonable conspiracy, and, with Lord Gray of Wilton, five knights, and divers gentlemen, was deposited in the Tower; to which the next day his duchess was also committed.²⁸

There was no actual treason personally against the king; but that he was forming a plot to regain possession of the governing power, and to overthrow the new duke of Northumberland and subvert the state council, in order to substitute himself and his friends in their stead, are facts which, what remains of the evidence against him, sufficiently proves. The machination was discovered by sir Thomas Palmer going to Northumberland, and in his garden revealing to him that Somerset had planned with his friends to invite him, the marquis of Northampton and others, to a banquet; to set upon them, and to cut off their heads;²⁹ to raise, by the apprentices, an insurrection in London, seize the great seal, and destroy the horses of the cavalry guards.³⁰ The object was to possess themselves of the government, by an imitation of one of Cesar Borgia's villanies.³¹

No immediate notice was taken of this information; but a week after, Somerset, from some indications which alarmed him, sent to the secretary Cecil, that he suspected some ill. The statesman answered, that if he were not guilty, he might be of good courage; but if he were, he had nothing to say, but to lament him.³² Somerset returned the minister a letter of

²⁸ Stowe, 605.

²⁹ Edw. Jour. 52.

³⁰ Ib. 'He declared also, that Mr. Vane had 2,000 men in readiness. Sir Th. Arundel had assured my lord, that the Tower was safe.'

³¹ He destroyed the chiefs of the Ursini at Senigaglia, at a banquet to which he had invited them. See Hist. Henry 8. v. 1. p. 88.

³² Edw. Jour. ib.

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defiance,³³ and two days afterwards was in custody.³⁴ His confederates were also arrested, as well as the informer.³⁵ New confessions corroborated and amplified Palmer's account;³⁶ and involving the earl of Arundel, that nobleman was also apprehended;³⁷ and in December, the infatuated duke was put upon his trial, and asserted the falsehood of all that had been deposed.³⁸ He afterwards modified his denial with these distinctions: he admitted that he had assembled men, but it was for his own defence; he owned that he had spoken of killing the duke of Northumberland, the marquis, and the other lords, but he had finally determined the contrary.³⁹ The

³³ Edw. Jour. ib.

³⁴ 'He was found in a stable of his mansion at Lambeth, under the straw.' ib. 53. 'The *duchess*, Crane and his wife and chamber keeper, were sent to the Tower, for devising these treasons.' ib.

³⁵ '19 Oct. Sir T. Palmer confessed, that the gens d'armes, on the muster day, should be assaulted by 2,000 footmen of Mr. Vane's, and my lord's hundred horse, besides his friends which stood by, and the idle people which took his part. If he were overthrown, he would run thro London, and cry 'Liberty! Liberty!' to raise the apprentices and rabble. If he could, he would go to the Isle of Wight, or to Poole.' Edw. Journ. 53.

³⁶ Crane also confessed, 'That the place where the nobles should have been banqueted, and their heads stricken off, was the lord Paget's house; and how the earl of Arundel knew of the matter as well as he. Bren also confessed much of this matter. The lord Strange confessed how the duke willed him to be his spy in all matters of my doings and saying.' Edw. Journ. 55.

³⁷ On 8 Nov. ib. 57.

³⁸ Edw. Jour. 59. The arraignment contained five charges: 1. Raising and assembling men, to kill Northumberland. 2. Resolving to resist his attachment. 3. Plot for killing the horse guards. 4. Intent to rase London. 5. And to assault the lords, and devising their death. Heylin, 115.

³⁹ Edward, after mentioning this qualification of the projected murders, has added, in his Diary, the impression that he 'yet seemed to confess he went about their deaths.' p. 60. Heylin justly remarks, that, 'hoping to make his fault seem less by a fair confession, he made it great enough to serve for his condemnation.' p. 115. The assertion, that he had changed his determination about killing them, was an admission that he had intended it.

crown lawyers reasoned, that by a former statute, to conspire to kill a privy councillor, like Northumberland, was a capital offence; ⁴⁰ and to devise an insurrection in London, was treason. But Northumberland desired the peers not to consider any attempt against his person to be of that character.⁴¹ No evidence appears to have been introduced but the confession of his confederates, which they swore to before the judicial lords,⁴² and his own admission. The peers acquitted him of high treason, but voted him to be guilty of treasonable felony, which equally affected his life.⁴³ He confessed afterwards that he had hired a Frenchman to assassinate his political enemies, which the purchased scoundrel on his examination admitted.⁴⁴ He was detained on his sentence till the latter part of the following month, and then beheaded on Tower-hill.⁴⁵

His fate excites our regret, and his misconduct

⁴⁰ Edw. 59. The Stat. 3 Henry 7. made this offence punishable by death; and the 3 & 4 Edw. 6. c. 7. had recently enacted, 'That if twelve persons assembled to kill a privy councillor, and on proclamation did not disperse, it should be treason.'

⁴¹ Edw. Jour. 60.

⁴² 'Twenty-two peers and nobles, besides the council, heard Sir T. Palmer, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Crane, and Newdigate, swear that their confessions were true.' Edw. 58. Twenty-six lords sat on his trial. *ib.*

⁴³ Edw. 60.

⁴⁴ We learn this fact from the King's Journal: '3 Dec. The duke told certain lords that were in the Tower, that he had hired Bertivill to kill them; which thing Bertivill examined [stated] on confession: and so did Hammond, that he knew of it.' p. 60. Burnet says, 'The king also, in his letter to Barnaby Fitzpatrick, then in France, wrote, that the duke seemed to have acknowledged the felony; and that after sentence, he had confessed it, tho he had formerly vehemently sworn the contrary.' Hist. Ref. v. 3. p. 292.

⁴⁵ On 22 Jan. 1552. His speeches are in Foxe and Burnet. He denied any treason against the king or realm, but was silent as to the conspiracies for which he suffered. Of his confederates, Vane and Partridge were hanged, and Stanhope and Arundel beheaded, all knights, on 26 Feb. Godw. 251.

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our surprise, that a man of the highest rank in the kingdom, below the sovereign, should meditate murder for his personal exaltation, and be so insensible to the depravity of the conception, as to hire and combine with others to effect it. He deserved the execution of his legal doom as much as any conspiring assassin merits such an infliction. But yet, still to see blood—nothing but blood! It is revolting to our present sense of rectitude and humanity. Nor can we avoid recoiling, with aversion and displeasure, to find that the criminal suffered, even if he deserved to suffer, by his royal nephew, after seven weeks interval—and the middle space devoted to the joyous festivities of Christmas—again signing his name to authorize another uncle's extinction, who meant no personal evil to him, and who was planning no hostility against him.⁴⁶ It is a second instance of Edward's facility to evil persuasion, and of moral insensibility to the most common and most indispensable of all our human sympathies; and as he was now in his fifteenth year, and displays in his literary remains much indication of mental reflection and discrimination, it is difficult to withhold from the act our most emphatic censure.⁴⁷ Happy is the golden mediocrity

⁴⁶ Having been found guilty only on the felony, and not on the treason, the public, observing that the axe which had preceded him in the procession to his trial, was put down on his coming out after its conclusion, thought he had been acquitted, and so clamorously applauded, that the shouts at Westminster Hall were heard at Charing Cross. Edw. 60. Stowe, 606. Godw. 247. At his execution, sir Anth. Brown being seen riding toward the scaffold, 'All hoped he had brought a pardon, on which there was a general shouting, 'Pardon! Pardon! God save the king!' many throwing up their caps.' Burn. 3. p. 297. Several dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, for sacred relics. Godw. 251.

⁴⁷ Edward's entry of the final catastrophe, in his Journal, is merely '22 Jan. The duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill,

of life, in which the heart can cherish its sensibilities, and the mind pursue its love of knowledge and improvement, unstained and undisturbed by the jealousies of power, the competitions of the ambitious, and the infelicities of state grandeur and of demoralizing or debilitating luxuries!

From these domestic incidents, we may turn our glance, for a short time, to the transactions on the continent, which England was then most interested to notice. No actual war took place between Henry II. and Charles V. for four years after the accession of the former, in 1547, tho both kings lived in that state of jealous mistrust of the other, which created a continuing probability of national hostilities. The French sovereign was impatient to distinguish himself, yet remembered too well what France had suffered from the imperial invasions, to commit it again to the chance of arms, merely to please the court of Rome, or to suit its temporary interests. He waited till events should arise to give him a reasonable probability of successful hostilities; and therefore the peace which had been made between Francis I. and Charles V., at Crepy,⁴⁸ in 1544, remained for seven

between eight and nine o'clock in the morning.' p. 65. The duke's treasures and lands became forfeited to the crown on his conviction; of these, *Covent Garden*, and the seven acres, called *Long Acre*, were granted to J. Russell, earl of Bedford. Strype's Ecc. v. 2. p. 540. Mr. Ellis, in his Second Series of Letters, has printed Cecil's MS. of the questions put to the duke while in the Tower: they show the practices of which he had been accused or was suspected. v. 2. p. 214. From the third of these, it appears that he went 'to Ely Place, to apprehend the duke of Northumberland, then Earl of Warwick,' but desisted from executing his purpose; yet afterwards repented that he had not done it. And from the fifth, that he had conferred with some persons about taking the Isle of Wight, and fortifying Poole. ib. It is therefore probable that he had involved himself in some treasonable machinations, far more decidedly than his unfortunate brother.

⁴⁸ It was signed 17 September 1544. Its dangerous article to the

years undisturbed. In the meantime Henry aimed to strengthen his maritime frontier, by obtaining Boulogne from the English; and his influence in Scotland, by procuring its queen, the celebrated Mary, to be educated in France, preparatory to her marriage with his son.

The emperor endeavored to reconcile the protestant and catholic parties in Germany, by that system of doctrine and discipline, which is contained in the public document called 'The Interim.'⁴⁹ It was composed at Augsburg, by some of the most moderate of the contending leaders.⁵⁰ Charles thought he had accomplished a grand undertaking by its construction; but as it did not go to the extent desired by their respective followers, it was angrily attacked the next year by Calvin;⁵¹ some cities refused

Reformation was, that the two kings agreed to 'employ all their care and their forces for the re-establishment of the antient religion, and of the unity of the church.' 2 Heiss Germ. Emp. 88.

⁴⁹ It was completed in May 1548, when the emperor recommended it in a speech from his throne to the diet at Augsburg, by whom it was adopted. It became a favorite plan of Charles, as such a fair accommodation of the contended points, which every Catholic might assent to; and certainly if contrasted with all the decisions of the council of Trent, claims a superior confidence and character. But as it did not suit the political objects and machinery of the papal hierarchy, the confessor of Charles at one time refused him absolution, unless he would recal it.

⁵⁰ Its chief author was Julius Pflug, a benevolent, enlightened and amiable Catholic, who was at that time counsellor to George duke of Saxony, and was afterwards made bishop of Naumberg. Erasmus classed him with Sadolet and Bembo, as 'in dicendo felicissimorum.' Of their common style he warmly exclaims, 'qui candor orationis! quam felix facilitas! quanta sensuum sanitas! quam omnia coherent! amnes, qui limpidissimi in morem inoffense labuntur! I can love such Ciceronians with my whole soul.' Ep. 1170. Pflug died in 1564, æt. 61. Erasmus addressed to him, in July 1530, his conciliatory treatise, 'De amabili ecclesiæ concordia.' He had asked Erasmus to be a 'Sedatorem hujus tempestatis,' who, as an attempt to be so, composed that treatise in a commentary on the 84th Psalm, 'In quo Divinus ille Spiritus mire nobis commendat ecclesiæ concordiam.' See it in Brown's Fascic. 1. p. 437.

⁵¹ In 1549 Calvin republished it with his opposing criticism, entitled,

it ;⁵² and the bishop of Fano was directed by the pope to remonstrate strenuously against it.⁵³ The emperor represented to the envoy of the Vatican, that he knew no other way to restore peace and repose to his empire, and that his holiness ought not to complain, as every honor which belonged to his dignity had been preserved.⁵⁴ This care to please the pontiff only made the Protestants the more discontented with some part of the arrangement ;⁵⁵ and when Charles left Germany, they treated his conciliatory modification with contempt.⁵⁶

In the autumn of 1548, the probabilities of the emperor's rupture with France increasing, Henry II. intimated to his ambassador, that Charles would find that any attack on him, whose fortune and forces he had never put to a trial, would be too hazardous to be lightly undertaken ;⁵⁷ that he had been long pre-

' *Vera Christianæ Pacificationis et ecclesiæ reformationis ratio.*' And an ' *ignotus typographus*' having attacked him on the sanctification of infants, and the baptism of women, he published, in 1550, an angry appendix, in which he descends to say of his critic, in the same style which so often disgraced Luther and sir Thomas More, ' *Forte bene potus, vini aut cervisiæ suæ fumos in me exhalavit.*' He adds, ' but it may be that some one even fasting, ' *cum turbulento cerebro*' has made an attack upon me ;' as if none but those that were drunk or mad could differ from him in opinion.

⁵² Sir P. Hoby's letter, July 1548. Strype's Mem. v. 2, p. 172.

⁵³ Ribier, v. 2, p. 143.

⁵⁴ The dispatch from Rome, on 14 May 1548, states this. Rib. ib.

⁵⁵ Sir P. Hoby informed the protector, that the articles to which the Protestants could not agree, were ' on the authority and power of the church ; on confirmation ; penance ; the ceremonies and use of the sacrament ; the memory, intercession, and invocation of the saints ; the sacred unction ; the Eucharist ; the pope.' Strype, p. 175.

⁵⁶ The French king, on 15 Dec. 1548, informed his ambassador, ' The emperor is still at Brussels, where he continues ' *sa diette*,' for the recovery of his health. He is urged to return to Germany in the spring, for every day the towns and states are revolting from him, who, since his absence, have disputed and condemned his Interim, and have returned to their former mode of living.' Rib. 176.

⁵⁷ The king stated these points in his Memoire to the cardinal Bellay ;

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paring for such a contingency;⁵⁸ that England was not in a condition to do him harm,⁵⁹ and that he could easily embroil it,⁶⁰ nor did he fear any thing from the civil discussions in his kingdom.⁶¹ To be still more ready for vigorous hostilities, he put in action the papal counsel, of applying to the Ottoman Porte for the assistance of his fleet.⁶² The war was still suspended, and the French clergy resisted the pope's intention of diminishing the pluralities of the cardinals.⁶³

adding, as to himself, that 'the emperor should find that he had no want of a *Cœur grand et magnanime*,' nor of valiant men.' Ribier 2, p. 172.

⁵⁸ 'Since his coming to the crown, he has not lost time, but has collected a great quantity of artillery and other necessities, both for defence and attack, and is re-establishing his *gend'armerie*, and paying them every quarter, to be able to make better head than ever.' 173.

⁵⁹ 'He is not so attached to the English, but that he always holds both ends of the cord; and they are at present reduced to such an extremity, for want of men and money, from the length of time since they had a war, in which they are '*plus excessifs en despende*' than any other nation, that it will be very difficult for them, if not impossible, to be able to strike a great blow in any place for a long time, unless they be aided from other quarters.' *ib.* 173.

⁶⁰ 'If the king had not more than one thing to think of, he could so embarrass them, that they would not 'know on what side to turn themselves.' He added, that the fortresses in Scotland had been made impregnable; that the English could undertake nothing there, and all the entrances were closed against them.' *ib.*

⁶¹ 'No gentlemen, or others of quality, favor the emotions. These occur only from the artisans, *gens mechaniques*, and others of a low and vile condition.' After noticing the executions done by the duke of Aumale and the constable, he says, 'The poor people will, therefore, never dare to return to such proceedings.' *ib.* 174.

⁶² On 15th December 1548, the king wrote to D'Aramon, his envoy at Constantinople: 'Remember what I expressed to you in my other dispatch, to be urgent in the preparation and equipment of the GRAND SIGNOR's fleet, and for him to send 50 or 60 galleys well fitted out, which, under the favor of my maritime forces, will be able to make '*un grand exploit et effet*' for the common good of affairs between us, to the prejudice and damage of the infractors and violators of the treaty of truce.' Rib. 176. On 4th of the preceding February, the emperor expressed to the Grand Turk his gratification at receiving his powers for the confirmation of the truce. *ib.* 106.

⁶³ On 1st March 1549, occurs the letter of the cardinals, bishops and priests, on the pope's decree, that *no cardinal* should have more than one church. Rib. 194. But in May we find the pope insisting that those who had pluralities should resign them, pursuant to his decree made two years before. *ib.* 213. The king desired that this might not have a retroactive operation. *ib.* 215. The pontiff took time to consider.

In the summer of 1549, the pope demanding Placentia of the emperor, his nuncio ventured, with an unusual flight of rhetoric, that was more like impiety than eloquence, to summon him to meet the pope within six months before the tribunal of the Almighty, if he refused it.⁶⁴ Charles mildly answered, that he was ready to appear there, and maintain what he had done as to this city, whenever Providence should call him to its bar.⁶⁵ The pontiff then resolved to act with vigor against him,⁶⁶ accused him of meaning to create schism out of the council of Trent,⁶⁷ and proceeded to negotiate a warlike alliance with the French king,⁶⁸ which the chancellor Olivier thought was only an artifice of his holiness to make better terms with Charles.⁶⁹ Henry then went to wrest Boulogne from the English ;⁷⁰ and at the end of the ensuing autumn,

⁶⁴ Marillac, on 20th June 1549, apprised his sovereign, that on the pope's making this requisition, the emperor answered, that he could not be convinced that Placentia belonged to the church, and that Parma would be useless without it. The nuncio then said, ' That as jacobin et precheur, he cited the pope, the emperor, and Granville, to appear in six months at the tribunal of God, where he wished also to be himself, to gain a hearing from the great Judge, as he could not find reason upon earth.' Rib. 217.

⁶⁵ ' The emperor answered modestement sans s'échauffer.' ib. 217. He must have felt too much the advantage he derived from such irreligious bombast, to be angry at its acrimony.

⁶⁶ So Bellay wrote on 12th July. ib. 227.

⁶⁷ The cardinal of Ferrara, on 14th Aug. reported this to Henry. 231.

⁶⁸ The articles for his military league, proposed by the pope, were, that Henry should defray half of his expence in keeping on foot 4,000 infantry and 600 light horse as his guard ; and one-third of all further increase. That his nephew, duke Horatio, should have Parma, or an equivalent in France ; that the king should protect the council at Bologna ; and if he were attacked, the pope should furnish him with pay for 7,000 soldiers. Rib. 234, 5.

⁶⁹ See the French chancellor's letter, in Rib. 234—40.

⁷⁰ On 24th August 1549, the cardinal Guise relates what passed in the French camp before that town, Rib. 241, where we find him in the following October. ib. 245.

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the pope, after celebrating the ceremony of his coronation, by a sudden attack of illness, which lasted only four days, was withdrawn to that awful state to which his nuncio had summoned him five months before, in his theatrical attempt to intimidate the emperor.⁷¹

⁷¹ On 5th November 1549, one dispatch noticed the celebration made on the 3d, p. 251; and in the next of the 7th we read, 'On Wednesday, the 6th of this month, a catarrh fell suddenly on the pope, which in a short time so reduced him, that few expect his cure. Before it was known, the cardinal Farnese sent off four couriers to Naples, Tuscany, Bologna and Venice; stopped all passengers at the posthouses, closed the gates of Rome, and placed watches on the walls.' p. 252. 'The pope died on the 10th.' ib. 'On the 7th of the following February the cardinal de Monte was chosen to succeed him.' ib. 264.

ON THE FIRST INTERCOURSE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ENGLAND,
IN THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI. AND MARY.

ONE of the most exciting events for the time in England, was the results of that voyage which was undertaken as the reign of Edward VI. was closing; and which became what a Spaniard then called 'a discovery of New Indies,' tho it was no more than a discovery of the northern shores and ports of RUSSIA. The Spaniard, in 1555, thus describes, in a letter to his Castilian lord, 'how the English had found out unas nuevas Indias:' 'A ship went from England to the northern regions with merchandize, under an English captain named Ricardo. Adverse weather drove him to an unknown port, in a large and spacious country, which appeared fertile and very rich, and which had not been discovered till then, and therefore was not in the charts, nor marked in el mappa mundi. He found that it was inhabited, and by people who were Christians, and governed by a valorous prince called Ivan, who, learning what they were, gave them very Christian treatment.' The writer details a few further particulars to his Spanish master, and inserts a copy of the emperor's letter to Edward VI. This little tract was printed in Spanish, at Madrid, in 1555.

The real facts concerning this 'discovery' are stated by Hackluyt; and the following may be selected as the most interesting and authentic particulars of our first transactions with a country which now overshadows half the world.

On 10th May 1553, 'the voyage intended for the discovery of Cathay or China, and other regions,' set forth by Sebastian Cabot, governor of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, 'was begun by

Sir Hugh Willoughby, who sailed with three ships from Deptford to the Northern Ocean. On the 18th September, sir Hugh, with two of his ships, having parted from the Edward, entered a haven or river in Lapland, called Arzina, near Regov, where they soon afterwards perished from the severity of that frozen country.' Hackl. 265-70. His account is printed from sir Hugh's notes, which were found on the place.

To one of these ships, the Edward, Richard Chancellor was appointed captain. He separated from sir Hugh Willoughby in a storm, and sailed to the Wardhus, in Norway, to wait for the arrival of the other vessels; but as they did not come, he proceeded alone on the purposed voyage.

He sailed northward in the then 'unknown part of the world; he came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the sun, shining clearly upon the huge and mighty sea.' Availing themselves 'of this perpetual light for certain days, they came to a great bay, which was 100 miles, or thereabouts, over.' They entered and cast anchor within it, and seeing a fisher boat, Chancellor, with a few men, went towards it; but the natives, 'amazed with the strange greatness of his ship, for in these parts they had never seen the like,' began to fly. He overtook them. 'In great fear, as men half dead, they prostrated themselves before him, offering to kiss his feet,' but he, by signs and gestures, encouraged them; and, being dismissed, they spread such a report of the arrival 'of a strange nation, of singular gentleness and courtesy, that the common people came down, offering victuals freely, and not refusing traffick.'

They learnt that the country was called Russia, or Muscovy; and that Ivan Vasilivich 'ruled and governed far and wide' around. Hackl. 280-4.

This was called at the time 'the discovery of Russia.' p. 283. The haven was that which is now named Archangel. Richard had the spirit to travel from it thro the country in a sledge, 1500 miles, to Moscow, to see its emperor. He was introduced to him in his palace, where he found 100 courtiers, all apparelled in cloth of gold down to their ancles. Ivan was 'in a very royal throne, having on his head a diadem of gold, with a sceptre garnished with jewels.' His robe was of goldsmith's work, and 'there was a majesty in his countenance proportioned to the excellence of his estate. On the one side of him stood his chief secretary; on the other side, *the great commander of silence*, both arrayed in cloth of gold. Then there sat the council of 150 in number, in like sort arrayed, and of great state.' p. 286.

The emperor received them courteously, and invited them to dinner, to which, two hours after, they were called in the golden court. 'They find the emperor sitting upon a high and stately seat, in a robe of silver, with another diadem on his head. Our men being placed over against him, sat down. In the midst of the room stood a mighty cupboard, on which was placed the emperor's plate, so much that it could scarce sustain the weight; most of the vessels of very fine gold, with certain silver casks, *not much differing from the quantity of our firkins*, wherein was reserved *the emperor's drink*. On each side of the hall stood four tables, each covered with very clean table-cloths, whereto the company ascended by three steps. The guests were all apparelled with *linen without* and with *rich skins within*. The emperor, when he takes any bread or knife into his hand, doth first of all cross himself upon his forehead.' p. 286.

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‘ Before the coming in of the meat, the emperor himself, according to an ancient custom, doth first bestow a piece of bread upon every one of his guests, with a loud pronunciation of his title ; ‘ The great duke of Muscovy, and chief emperor of Russia, doth give thee bread ; ’ whereupon all the guests rise up, and by and by sit down again. The gentleman usher and servants then bring in the dishes, and, having done his reverence to the emperor, *puts a young swan*, in a golden platter, upon the table, and immediately takes it thence again, and delivers it to the carver to be cut up. The meat is then distributed with the like pomp and ceremonies. All the dishes and drinking vessels for the use of an hundred guests were all of pure gold. There were 140 servitors arrayed in cloth of gold, who in the dinner time changed their habit. Dinner being ended, and candles brought, the emperor calls all his guests by their names, in such sort, that it seems miraculous that a prince otherwise occupied should so well remember so many.’ p. 287.

The emperor gave Chancellor his letters of compliment to Edward VI. expressing these friendly feelings: ‘ Willing that you send unto us your ships and vessels, with good assurance on our parts to see them harmless : and if you send one of your majesty’s counsel to treat with us, your country merchants may have all kinds of wares, and make their market where they will in our dominions : they shall have their free mart, with all free liberties, thro my whole dominions, to come and go at their pleasure.’

Such was the beginning of our actual knowledge of Russia, and of our intercourse with it. It had no gold coins, but only silver ones for traffic, and copper for popular use. ‘ The common houses were made of fir wood, all square, with narrow windows, covered with a transparent skin like parchment ; the roofs were covered with the bark of trees. Inside were benches against the walls, ‘ which they usually sleep upon, for the common people *know not the use of beds*.’ Their dress was chiefly woollen. Their caps broad beneath, ending upward in a peak ; and the ‘ *loftier* these were, the greater their birth was supposed to be, and the greater reverence is given them by the common people.’ p. 292.

Such was Russia in 1554. But this ‘ discovery ’ of it gave such new excitement to the spirit of adventure, that a company of Russian merchants was formed the next year in London ; and on 1st May 1555, the articles for a second voyage, by Richard Chancellor, were made, which are in Hakluyt, 295–8, who has also printed their first agent’s account of their entertainment on this their second voyage, written from Moscow, 27th November 1555, p. 299. ‘ They went with queen Mary’s letter, passing thro ‘ a great room, where stood many small tuns, pails, bowls, and pots of silver, all gilt.’ The emperor called the queen his cousin, and said, that he was glad to see them. ‘ We went *one by one* to him, *and took him by the hand*.’ He sent them meat and drink at dinner from his own table, and afterwards gave them ‘ a cup of drink with his own hand.’ ib. 300.

Elizabeth continued the intercourse, and made a treaty of alliance and commerce with him. In one of his letters to her, he asked for an asylum with her, for himself and nobles, in case of a revolution in Russia ; which she promised. He desired her to send him one of her physicians, and Dr. Jacobs went accordingly. Ptchela, or Northern Review.

In 1560, one of our merchants there, Henry Len, gave this specimen of their speedy method of determining law-suits on property :

‘ I owed 600 roubles to a Russia merchant, who claimed double that sum of me. It was necessary to have recourse to the judgment by lot, (jerebo). An immense crowd assembled in the Kremlin. In the front of the hall were the judges. I and my antagonist were called in. I was allowed to sit down, and in order to reconcile us, we were advised to divide the difference. I agreed to give 100 roubles more than I owed, but he refused it. The judges then took two small balls of wax, put my name on one and his on the other, and then calling a stranger to both out of the crowd, threw them into his hat, and bade him with a naked arm draw out one. He did so, and it was mine. I then paid only my 600 roubles, from which a tenth was stopped by the crown for the fault of the demandant ; and the people made great acclamations to heaven for thus manifesting the honor of the English merchants.’ The Vestnik Yevrodoni, cited by Ferussac in his Bull. Univ. 1828. N° 1. p. 84. Hist.

CHAP. X.

CONTINENTAL TRANSACTIONS—PERSECUTIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT—ITS CONDUCT TO MARY—THE KING'S ILLNESS—PLANS TO SET ASIDE MARY AND ELIZABETH.

BOOK II. **ALTHO** the French were repulsed in their attempt to retake Boulogne while the insurrections were agitating England,¹ it was agreed in the following March to cede it to them within six months, on payment of four hundred thousand crowns.² Within this pacification Scotland was included. When the French ambassadors came to complete it, they were entertained with running at the ring; bull baiting and bear baiting; fair suppers; 'the bear hunted in the river, wild fire cast out of boats, and many pretty conceits.'³ Occupied with its extensive war with the emperor in Italy, Flanders, and Germany, the French government anxiously maintained its friendly relations with England to the end of the reign, to keep this nation from joining its powerful arm to the imperial hostilities.

¹ 'After firing above 20,000 shot on the town from their long battery, they made an assault, and failed. They planted ordnance on the sand hills, and sank a galley with stones, to prevent victuallers from supplying the town. The ship was taken up by the garrison.' Edw. Jour. 11.

² Edw. Jour. 13. It was too expensive to be kept. It was indeed of no use beyond a national trophy, as Calais gave all the facility that could be wanted for landing in France. The peace was proclaimed 28 May 1550. Strype, 342.

³ The king's description, p. 20. A marriage was afterwards proposed between him and the French king's eldest daughter Elizabeth, but neither party was to be bound till she reached twelve years of age. *ib.* 40, 1. The articles of the marriage are in Strype's *Ecc.* v. 2. p. 476. They were ratified in December 1551. p. 508.

Our intercourse with the emperor was more complicated, but the discussions with him never went beyond amicable negotiations. He complained, that by the peace with Scotland the league was broken with him;⁴ but his chief interferences were limited to obtain for the princess Mary a license to have mass.⁵ Yet credible information was given to the English cabinet, that plans were on foot to convey her privately out of England to Antwerp,⁶ and then to combine an external war from the imperial forces, with an inward conspiracy to place her on the throne, with the re-establishment of popery.⁷ The coast of Essex was therefore watched to defeat their schemes, as the vicinity of the imperial ports in Flanders, and its regent queen, made it always a practicable risk.⁸ When the alarm of these

⁴ Edw. Jour. 15. 'It was answered that the French king, not I, did comprehend them, saving that I might not invade them without occasion.' ib. A treaty of peace had been signed between Edward and Charles, on 31 Jan. 1548. Strype's Ecc. v. 2. p. 122.

⁵ The first application for this, which the king notes, is in April 1550, 15. This was denied, but renewed the next March, when no answer was given, ib. 33; but a month after Edward has noted, that Dr. Wotton was sent to 'declare this resolution: that if the emperor would suffer an ambassador with him to use his service, then I would his.' p. 35. Strype details this more fully, Eccl. M. v. 2. p. 469. 'In September 1551, the imperial request was renewed, that she might have her mass, but it assented to. p. 48. In the ensuing January the same urgency was made, but denied.' ib. 63. Strype.

⁶ '13 July 1550. Sir John Gates was sent into Essex, to stop the going away of the lady Mary; because he was credibly informed, that Scipperus should steal her away to Antwerp. *Divers of her gentlemen were there*; and Scipperus, a little before, came to see the landing places.' Edward, p. 24. The next paragraph shews the measures taken to prevent it.

⁷ Edward, p. 27.

⁸ The information came from the English ambassador with the Hungarian widow, who was governing Flanders for her brother Charles V. At the vigilance of Gates seems to have been effectual; for Edward marks, on 14 August, 'The queen said Scipperus was but a coward;

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machinations was repeated, the navy was prepared to counteract them;⁹ but the activity of France in its military exertions so fully occupied the attention and consumed the resources of the emperor, that he could attempt no hostilities against England; and in July 1552 was so pressed by the French invasion of Luxemburg as to call for assistance from it, in pursuance of a treaty made ten years before.¹⁰ A civil refusal was agreed upon by the state council,¹¹ and given;¹² but a discovery having been made, that France was meditating, if she made peace with Charles, to employ her forces to attack Calais, and invade England at Falmouth, while the duke of Guise entered it from Scotland,¹³ intimation was afterwards conveyed to the emperor, that as the Turk was invading Christendom, England would willingly join the empire in a confederacy to resist the menacing aggressor,¹⁴ apparently with the object of directing this

and for fear of one gentleman that came down, durst not go forth with his enterprize to my lady Mary.' Journ. 27.

⁹ Edw. p. 39, in June 1551. In July ships were also made ready 'to defend, if any thing should be attempted against England, by carrying over the lady Mary.' ib. 41. At the end of the next month also, 'Certain pinnaces were prepared, to see that there should be no conveyance over sea of the lady Mary secretly done.' p. 47.

¹⁰ In the late reign, at Dordrecht, in 1542, which stipulated, that if either was invaded, 5,000 footmen or 700 crowns a day for four months should be supplied by the other. Edw. p. 82. The French king, and the German princes also, urged him to join their league. Strype's Eccl. v. 2. p. 559.

¹¹ Edw. 83.

¹² Ib. 84.

¹³ The information of this plan was given by one of Somerset's adherents who had fled to France. Edw. 87. The council immediately sent to their ambassador at the French court, the letter about it, dated 24 Sept. 1552, which Strype had printed from Galba, B. 12, p. 571, with secretary Cecil's reasoning on the propriety of breaking with the French, and joining the emperor. 573. The ambassador endeavored to discredit the reports.

¹⁴ This was resolved upon by the council, 19 Sept. 1552, 'after long reasoning,' three days after the intelligence reached it of the Parisian

martial energies to that distant quarter. The solicitations of his opponents, the German Protestant princes, to aid them and their persecuted religion against the imperial and papal hostilities, were also taken into consideration. They required large pecuniary supplies.¹⁵ A friendly answer, without immediate compliance, was returned.¹⁶ The emperor continued to make no public infraction of his amity with Edward; but his secret intrigues endeavored to abet civil factions against him.¹⁷ Thus it appears that the cabinets of both France and Spain were so decidedly Romish in their ecclesiastical policy, that their quarrels with each other alone preserved England from their united attacks to subvert its Protestant government.

The great wish of the emperor, as age advanced upon him, was to procure his son Philip to succeed to the imperial crown, instead of his brother, that the same great circle of dominion which he ruled might descend unbroken to his filial successor.¹⁸ His next desire was to obtain from the pope an ecclesiastical reformation, and a confirmation of his Interim, till the

projects. The instructions to Morison for his address to the emperor, are in Strype, 577-83: with council's letter of 24 Sept. Edw. 88. The emperor 'thanked us for our gentle offer.' p. 91.

¹⁵ The first aid asked was, 400,000 dollars. Edw. 54. The three princes who applied for this were, 'Duke Maurice of Saxony, the duke of Mecklenburgh, and the marquis John of Brandenburg.' ib. 57.

¹⁶ 'First, that I was very well inclined to make bargain with them I knew to be of my religion. 2dly, I would know whether they could get any such strength of other princes, and therefore will them to open the matter to the duke of Prussia, and to all princes about them, and to get the good will of Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, &c.' Edw. 57.

¹⁷ 'Nov. 24. Thomas Gresham came from Antwerp hither. He shewed certain instructions given 1548, upon the admiral's fall, to a gentleman that came hither, that if there were any here of the admiral's faction, he should do his uttermost to raise an uproar.' Edw. 95.

¹⁸ Lett. 29 July 1550. 2 Rib. 284.

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council of Trent ended ;¹⁹ and wishing also Parma, he proposed to the holy see to become its vassal for it, if it were conceded to him.²⁰ But the king of France was now completing his military preparations for another conflict with Charles. Having obtained the cession of Boulogne, and a peace from the English government, under the difficulties which embarrassed it,²¹ on the promised payment of the four hundred thousand crowns,²² he directed his ambassador at Constantinople to inform the grand signor of these his successes,²³ and was gratified to learn that his solicitations at the Mussulman court had been so availing, that the sultan agreed to send ' his Beglerbeg of the sea ' to attack Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria,²⁴ as a diversion against Charles in his favor. With this prospect of harassing the emperor and his Christian subjects with the invasions of the Turkish sabre, he began the year 1551 with a renewal of a continental war.²⁵ But a new pope was now ruling in the Vatican ; and altho his predecessor had been so long coquetting with the French sovereign, Julius III. now astonished Henry by declaring

¹⁹ Lett. 31 Dec. 1551. 2 Rib. 278.

²⁰ Lett. 26 Feb. 1551. ib. 315.

²¹ The king thus describes his own view of these: ' The English being tired of the war, and weak in men and money ; knowing it would be very difficult to resist me ; reflecting on the heavy losses they had sustained, and were suffering daily in Scotland, where they had no more any strong places, and seeing also the divisions and popular seditions in the chief provinces of England, which were increasing every day ; balancing these with the chance of losing Boulogne, the council has made peace,' &c. Lett. 27 Sept. 1550. 2 Rib. 288.

²² Henry adds, ' Which is not one tenth of what the war has cost them.' ib.

²³ They are the subject of this his letter to D'Aramon, of 27 Sept. ib.

²⁴ So the secretary Phebus wrote to Henry II. from Constantinople, on 3 August 1551. ib. 312.

²⁵ The dispatch to the king, of 26 Feb. 1551, states the beginning of it. ib. 315.

decidedly against him.²⁶ Indignant at this misleading versatility of the papal government, this king published a declaration inculcating its conduct.²⁷ He had remonstrated with the holy father four months before, that if he took up arms it would put all Christendom into combustion ;²⁸ and now charging him with involving all Italy in the flames of war,²⁹ he threatened him with acting towards him as the French monarchs had been accustomed to do against turbulent pontiffs ;³⁰ and began the battle by forbidding his subjects to send any more money to Rome for their benefices, and ordered his garde des sceaux to provide the due means to obviate the effects of the papal interdicts that might follow.³¹ The pope exhibited his political attachment to Charles, by creating the unusual number at once of fourteen cardinals, all of the imperial party.³² But the French diplomatists sarcastically smiled at the peril of his feeble hostilities ;³³ and before six months more had revolved, the ' politic handling ' of the Vatican, to use one of Wolsey's favorite phrases, always vacillating to the changing breezes of temporary interests, veered

²⁶ This we learn from the cardinal Ferara's letter to him, of 8 April 1551. 2 Rib. 317.

²⁷ See it in Ribier, dated 4 October 1551. p. 344. ²⁸ Ib.

²⁹ ' Yet our holy father, without regarding these remonstrances, instead of putting Christianity in peace, has thus chosen de mettre sa main aux armes et embraser toute l'Italie en guerre.' ib.

³⁰ ' We have therefore informed him, that we shall provide ourselves with the remedies which the Christian kings, our predecessors, have been accustomed to use in such troubles, when the popes, instead of establishing and reforming the church by good counsels, example and learning, do quite the contrary, and by turbulent agitations of war disturb the Christian commonwealth.' ib. 344.

³¹ Ib. 343, 5.

³² Lett. 27 Nov. 1551. ib. p. 357.

³³ Forquevaux wrote, on 7 Oct. to Beauregard, ' You may think what issue a war will have which a *pauvre pape* begins to make with borrowed monies.' Rib. 350.

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round to an accordance with France, because his holiness had at last discovered that he ought not, and now resolved that he would not, 'mix religious with temporal things, as the emperor desired.'³⁴

The state policy adopted by the most Christian king at this moment exhibited what in literature would be deemed an infringement of the Horatian rule, not to unite a horse's head with a fish's tail ; not to combine the incongruous, nor ally the dissimilar. But good critics advise from the everlasting principles of right and truth, while statesmen act on the transient expediency of temporary circumstance. Thus Henry II. while joining the pope with a renewed cordiality, also united himself with the Protestant princes of the empire, whose new faith he was opposing and persecuting in his own dominions,³⁵ as cordially and as unscrupulously as he had done with the Mussulman crescent, the fanatic enemies of every Christian church. The figures and scenes of his political tapestry were so strongly contrasted, that in one part we see his queen, the notorious Catherine de Medici, the devoted Hecate of the papacy, arresting Catholic preachers, who had directed their sermons against an alliance with the heretical princes ;³⁶ and soon afterwards we behold her royal husband ordering the captain general of his galleys

³⁴ Lett. 4 March 1552, p. 382. That this pope was now establishing his sanguinary inquisitions, we learn from Sleidan's letter from Trent, Feb. 1552. Julius has 'Inquisitores acerrimos throughout the parts of Italy under his dominions, and in other places.' Asch. Ep. 402.

³⁵ In the same letter to Ascham, Sleidan adds, 'I think you have seen the French king's edict against the Lutherans, published last September ; I met it in print at Padua.' Asch. Ep. 403.

³⁶ On 2 April 1552, the queen ordered the cardinal Bourbon to arrest some preachers who had declaimed against an alliance with the princes of the empire. Rib. 389.

to sail with his fleet from Marseilles to join his Turkish confederates in their devastation of the Neapolitan territory,³⁷ and desiring an apology to be made to the grand signor for not having equalled his Mahomedan celerity.³⁸ The French king disclosed the project of his land campaign, in pursuance of the sultan's expectations,³⁹ and expresses an exulting hope that from the popular disaffection, and the emperor's inadequate forces there, and with the aid of his turbanned allies he shall accomplish a grand exploit⁴⁰—the favorite and inherited dream of his father and ancestors—the addition of Naples to his Gallic crown. But as the Italians dreaded his acquisition of this coveted prize as much as he desired it, they interfered to request that he would conciliate his differences with the emperor; and the prospect of the pope again changing sides, compelled him to submit to a reluctant truce; but he limited it to two years duration, from the hope that by that time he should have persuaded the Venetian aristocracy to consent to his Neapolitan aggrandizement.⁴¹

³⁷ On 22d June 1552, the king apprized his ambassador at Constantinople, 'that he had ordered La Garde to raise 2,000 foot, besides his ordinary number, and to go straight to the coast of Naples, to meet the fleet of the grand signor, which, according to *mon advis*, he will find to have arrived there.' Rib. p. 390.

³⁸ 'Etant bien marri, that its departure could not be earlier; but this was not possible, because this resolution could not be taken till after we had heard that of the grand signor, suivant laquelle.' ib. 391.

³⁹ 'Suivant laquelle je fais aussi assembler 18 or 20,000 infantry, and 2,000 horse, as well in the Parmesan as in the other places of Italy, where they can the most promptly unite themselves to march straight by land to the kingdom of Naples, under my cousins the prince of Salernum and the sieur de Termes.' ib. 391.

⁴⁰ 'This gives me good hope, that nous y ferons quelque chose de bon; avec l'aide de la dite armée du G. S. as his bassa general will accommodate himself to what shall be required.' ib. 391.

Lett. ib. 391.

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The powerful arm of Charles had been arrested in the midst of its triumphs, by an unexpected enterprise of Maurice of Saxony, whom he had raised to that electorate, but who had now become his eager enemy. The duke suddenly marched upon his friend with such secrecy and rapidity, that the emperor could scarcely save himself from a personal captivity by flying from Inspruck in haste, and leaving there most of his baggage and conveniences,⁴² in a resentment which he uselessly resolved should be implacable.⁴³ Henry II. was then at Spire, and delighted with seeing the emperor thus hunted, to adopt his own metaphor, he turned immediately on the queen of Hungary, who was going with her forces to revenge her irritated brother ; and his advance forced her to relinquish her intentions, and to leave the German Protestants to the full enjoyment of their redeeming success.⁴⁴ Henry not only saved them from the attack of the queen's Flemish forces, but had, since he joined his army, profited by the moment to seize for himself the rich imperial cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and to obtain the command of Lorraine, which would secure to him a free passage at all times

⁴² Lett. 22 June 1552, p. 391. The emperor, tho ill with the gout, was moved in a litter as the day broke, and, accompanied by his brother Ferdinand and their domestics, was taken to Villacho on the Drave without any equipage or baggage, which Maurice divided among his troops the same day, reserving only Ferdinand's property, from personal friendship. Charles set the duke of Saxony free on his flight. Hass. v. 2. p. 113.

⁴³ His ambassador at Venice said, that he would never forgive the duke Maurice for it; and if his life should not be long enough to punish him for it, he would, by his will, charge his son to do so. Rib. 392.

⁴⁴ The king describes these events with great glee in his letter, p. 392. This victory procured for the Protestants the treaty of Passau, by which Charles released his two princely captives, and granted to the Protestants the liberty of enjoying their religion, and the possession of the ecclesiastical property which they had seized, and the privilege of being judges of the imperial chamber.

to the Rhine.⁴⁵ In a few days more he took Ivoy, which had been deemed impregnable; ⁴⁶ and the speedy surrender of Montmedi gave him the possession of what was then the strongest city of Luxemburg.⁴⁷ Impatient for the gratification of his largest hope, he sent a galley to the viceroy of Algiers, urging him to increase the grand signor's fleet in the Mediterranean, by the addition of his own, instead of keeping it inactive in his port, that he might assist in overwhelming the Spaniards, from which he would derive great advantage.⁴⁸ The Turks agreed that their fleet should not do any damage to the papal territories; ⁴⁹ and on the 6th of July their crescent floated at the pharos of Messina, and made its first descent, in faithful discharge of its diplomatic contract, on Rhegium, in Calabria. Under the inspection and encouragement of the French ambassador in their fleet, the Mussulmen laid waste the country with flames for thirty miles along the shore.⁵⁰ They were projecting to extend the ravages to Naples, but desisted, at his request to save a friendly noble's

⁴⁵ Lett. 22 June, 1551, p. 396. He desires that the bassa may be informed of these successes. Rib.

⁴⁶ On 22d June 1552, he wrote that he was before it with a battery of 30 cannons; and on 27th June he mentions its capture, with 3,000 foot and 300 horse, and 150 men at arms. Rib. p. 397.

⁴⁷ Ib. p. 397.

⁴⁸ Ib. p. 396.

⁴⁹ On 25th June, Codignac wrote from the Bosphorus to the king, that the grand signor granted this favor to his request. p. 397.

⁵⁰ On 22d July 1552, D'Aramon his ambassador, who was now with the Turkish fleet, in a dispatch from Terracina, informed his sovereign at Paris, that their allies had 'burnt all the villages and castles on their descents, for twelve or fifteen miles along the shore, and, without making any stop, the said captain of the fleet, following the coast, intended to spread the flames from one end of it to the other, but the contrary wind forced him to stand off; but he had touched at two other places, and the country for fifteen miles along the shore, did not, says this French gentleman, make *moins beau feu* than the said Rhegium.' ib. 403.

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estate;⁵¹ and then proceeded to this interesting city, in order to attack it with their united forces,⁵² but on arriving at its beautiful bay, they were irritated to find that the French fleet, which had been stipulated to meet them, had not arrived. They would not risk the dangerous enterprise alone; and after waiting a few days without seeing a French pendant, they remonstrated at the palpable evasion, and determined to return to the Hellespont.⁵³ The envoy solicited them to have a little more patience, and the fleet of his countrymen would appear; and they agreed to remain a month at Corsica for its arrival.⁵⁴

The sultan was at this time prosecuting his campaign by land against the emperor in Hungary; and the king of France was apprised that he had taken the strong fortress of Temiswar, and had summoned Transylvania to submit to his power.⁵⁵ Henry II. thanked him warmly for what he had done,⁵⁶ and urged him to have a large army ready for the next year's operations;⁵⁷ and requested him to let his fleet winter in Italy, to distress Charles more deeply,⁵⁸ promising that it should have every supply which his

⁵¹ 'He was thinking of extending these incursions up to Naples, if I had not represented that chief part of these lands between Pullecastro and Naples belonged to the prince of Salerno, who was in your service. This was the cause he desisted.' Lett. 22 July, 1552, Rib. p. 404.

⁵² 'He came straight to Naples on the 15th, and took post at its bay, near the Isle of Procida, which was found abandoned.' ib.

⁵³ Ib. 404. He describes his efforts to detain them. ib.

⁵⁴ Here he humanely adds, 'I will try to get them to make descents on Elba and Piombino.' ib. 404.

⁵⁵ Codignac's lett. of 24th October, p. 407.

⁵⁶ Lett. of 23d November 1552, from Henry to sultan Solyman. p. 409.

⁵⁷ 'That, setting off together in complete concert, we may tirer fruit au dommage et ruine de common enemy, of which we may at this time have greater hope than ever.' 409.

⁵⁸ 'Pour plus endommager notre dit enemy et lui abaisser son orgueil.' ib.

kingdom could afford.⁵⁹ The sultan refused afterwards to lend him fifty galleys to act with his fleet, but promised to have a navy of one hundred and fifty ships ready to attack the Spaniards in the spring.⁶⁰

In the summer of 1553, the emperor made a serious invasion on France;⁶¹ but his army against the Protestants of Germany was defeated by Maurice, with the result, that lessened his mortification at the failure, of the Saxon prince dying, after his victory, of the wounds he had received in gaining it.⁶² The Turkish fleet again sailed to the Mediterranean to distress the subjects and friends of Charles, in subservience to his rival's ambition; and descents on the peaceful christian population of Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and Corsica, were the consequence of this unchristian confederacy.⁶³

While these transactions were passing abroad, the government at home was occupied discredibly with ecclesiastical persecutions. Neither Edward nor his state cabinet can be cleared or defended from the defaming charge of attempting to force the religious conscience, and of punishing its resistance. The utmost which can be alleged in their behalf can only be, that the Roman hierarchy had fixed the habit and the principle so strongly and so generally in the world, that our first reformers were contaminated by the system under which they had been born and

⁵⁹ Lett. 23 Nov. 1552, p. 409.

⁶⁰ Lett. of D'Aramon, of 20 Jan. 1553. ib. 433.

⁶¹ And took Terouenne and Hedin. King's letters of 8th and 16th July. Rib. 439, 442.

⁶² Ib. 442.

⁶³ These devastations were made in July, and the two following months. Letters 31st July to 26th September. Rib. 442-457.

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educated; and that an entire new generation of reformed spirit was required to arise, before the intellect could feel that to burn a fellow-creature alive was a ghastly act, which lowered human nature below the wildest brute. It was equally horrible, whether done by a Cranmer, a Calvin, or a Bonner; or whether the agonized sufferer was a Jordan Bruno, a Servetus, a Jean Bocher, or a bishop Latimer. The retrospect is unpleasing. Let us hope that the Catholic and every branch of Protestantism now unite in one resembling regret, that such melancholy deeds should have been perpetrated by either of their predecessors.

The persecutions in the reign of Edward, and under the prelacy of Cranmer, consist of the persons actually burnt,—of the compulsory changes produced on others,—of the conduct towards the bishops Gardiner and Bonner, who in the next reign retorted the scourge under which they had been made to smart,—and of the behaviour of the crown to the princess Mary.

The persons burnt were happily not many, but were enough to shew the direful principle in actual operation. The error or absurdity of their opinions rather aggravates than vindicates the crime of such a punishment, because folly has a natural mortality about it which sooner or later would expire of itself. Their heresy was a misconception of our Saviour's nature, which it was for piety to regret, but not for humanity to have punished. The violence was more unpardonable, because one was a powerless female, and the other an unprotected foreigner. Joan of Kent thought that the Messiah derived no fleshly substance

from his earthly mother, but from some interior energy; and for this distinction, she in one year, and for opinions which are called Arianism, a Dutchman, whom his society in London had thrown from it, was in the next, unpityingly burnt alive.⁶⁴ That it is now only necessary to state such facts, in order to produce their immediate execration, evinces a superiority in the present race of Europe to their ancestors, which every class may make their incontestible distinction.

That two priests should be arrested and condemned for keeping relics,⁶⁵ which however useless of themselves, their associations of thought had accustomed them to revere; that Anabaptists should be taken into custody and examined; and that dissenting congregations in Kent and Essex should be broken up, and their teachers and leaders be held to bail, and brought into the ecclesiastical court, chiefly for objecting to the doctrine of predestination;⁶⁶—that, not content

⁶⁴ See Joan's sentence, reciting her notions, in Burnet, v. 4. p. 229. Joan's execution was so deliberately done, that eleven months elapsed between her examination, in April 1549, and her destruction on 2d May 1550. The king, to his high credit, objected to sign the warrant for her death, until Cranmer's unjustifiable importunity extorted from him both his signature and this accusing remark, that he would lay all the responsibility of the act before God upon the archbishop. Heylin, p. 89. But the very severity of the rebuke was his own condemnation for sanctioning the cruelty, as it was a confession of his conviction that it was abominable. Edward had not right feelings on the destruction of human life, for he has thus coolly entered the poor Hollander's fate in his diary, on 7th April 1551: 'A certain Arrian of the strangers, a Dutchman, being excommunicated by the congregation of his countrymen, was, after long disputation, condemned to the fire.' p. 35. Cranmer's name appears with Latimer's to the one sentence, and with Ridley's to the other. 4 Burnet, p. 231.

⁶⁵ Stowe, 594.

⁶⁶ Stowe's Chron. 596. Strype's Eccl. v. 2. p. 370. Their tenets on this point were, 'that no man was so chosen, but he might damn himself; nor any so reprobate, but that he might keep the divine commandment and be saved. That the predestination was not certain, but conditional; and that the doctrine of absolute predestination was meeter for devils than for Christian men.' ib.

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with these attacks, a royal commission should be issued in the next year to Cranmer, five bishops, the two state secretaries, and above twenty laymen, to correct and *punish* those who believed and worshipped in their own way ;⁶⁷ and that within the last nine months of Edward's reign, another commission should be taken and acted upon by Cranmer and other bishops, to make inquiry after heresies, and for the examination and punishment of erroneous opinions,⁶⁸ were actions so unworthy of a reign, and of men whose great principle of ecclesiastical activity, and great claim of personal happiness, was the right and liberty of thinking with unfettered conscience on religion, as their improved judgment decided ; and of emancipating their own faith from all hierarchal tyranny, that it is painful to remark the oppressive inconsistency of those who both counselled and executed such objectionable measures. Their attacks on Gardiner and Bonner, the imprisonment and deprivation of these bishops, only shewed that ' *mutato nomine ; de te, fabula narratur.*' Their persecutions proved that they differed from their adversaries more in the verbal faith and in the external ceremony, than in the spirit, the feeling, and the action. But that dissimilarity cannot be very great which appears only in the arithmetical number of its victims. By burning and persecuting any, the reformers justified the principle of the Romanist cruelties, and gave them the right and merit of retaliation whenever they

⁶⁷ ' All Anabaptists, and such as did not duly administer the sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer.' Jan. 1551. Strype, p. 385.

⁶⁸ Strype, v. 2, part 2, p. 219.

could recover the power. Nor were such attacks at all availing on such men as Bonner and Gardiner. These were too firm in purpose, and too fierce and sturdy in temper, not to love the battle which exercised and distinguished them, instead of being intimidated by it. The persecutions which they endured, unsubdued, for their firm adherence to what they chose to support, gave them an intellectual greatness of character, and a distinction of moral fortitude, which justly increased their reputation. The privations which they suffered, trained and determined them to be persecutors themselves, with the approbation of their own feelings, as soon as the movement of events placed them in the chairs of power. Both were sent to the Fleet in one year, to be set at liberty some months afterwards ; to be subjected to repeated examinations, and at last to be imprisoned again, one in the Marshalsea and the other in the Tower, while their sees were taken from them.⁶⁹ The government gained nothing but defeat by this contest : while the degradation and the danger threw some portion of a martyr's character around the persevering inflexibility of the resisting, and made them the admiration of their partisans, whom it excited to resentment, imitation, and grateful reverence.

⁶⁹ Bonner was committed to the Fleet on 11th Sept. 1547, and Gardiner on 25th. Stowe, 594. Released in December (Strype, 107.) Gardiner was admitted to preach before the king in the ensuing June ; but his sermon giving offence, he was sent to the Tower. Stowe, 596. On 1 Sept. 1549, Bonner, preaching at St. Paul's, was accused for it, examined for four days, and then on the 21st committed to the Marshalsea, and deprived. Stowe, 597. So Gardiner, in a subsequent year, was taken from the Tower to Lambeth six several days, to be examined and disputed with ; and at last, on the 14 Feb. 1551, remanded to the Tower and deposed. Stowe, 605.

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But that compelling spirit which they would have most stoutly opposed if directed against themselves, the king, the cabinet, and the leading prelates exerted pertinaciously against one, who, from birth, education, affinity and station, had many claims to the most forbearing exemption. That every precaution should have been taken to prevent the emperor, the pope, or the French, from withdrawing the princess Mary from the kingdom, to make her name the battle-standard of their interested policy, was both wise humanity and a national duty. That a liberal superintendence without personal constraint, and if possible without any affronting visibility, should have been appointed, to prevent others from misleading her, to be the tool of their passions or convenience, would have been also justifiable and fair. Her name, and proximity to the succession as heir presumptive to the crown, could not but be regarded by Romish priests, foreign intriguers, and those domestic factions which regretted the vast improvements of the Reformation, as convertible materials for assisting their disturbing purposes. Courteous vigilance, with a due respect to her rights of conscience and honorable character, must have been therefore equitable in itself and unobjectionable even to her. Edward's conduct to her was at first brotherly and kind. He invited her to court, to pass her Christmas holidays with him and her sister Elizabeth.⁷⁰ But after this civility, she took one step, under Gardiner's incitations, which may have first begun to terminate the fraternal intercourse, and manifestly was both

⁷⁰ This was at the end of 1547. His letter is in Strype's *Eccl.* v. 2, p. 92.

ungracious and improper: She chose to address a letter to the protector, accusing him of a 'naughty liberty and presumption,' in the measures he was pursuing against popery, and characterising them as nothing 'but fantasy and new fangledness.'⁷¹ Somerset, with good temper, referred her expressions to bad advisers,⁷² and reminded her, that the persons whose religious opinions she preferred and was professing, had often conspired her father's death, and had excited rebellions against him.⁷³

This rebuke recalled Mary from the attempt of leading a dangerous opposition to the existing government, to that retired life and unoffending conduct which were more congenial with her natural disposition; and the king in the next year fulfilled their royal parent's will, by giving her lordships and manors, which could not be less in value, in our present estimation of money, than twenty thousand pounds a year.⁷⁴ But about two years afterwards,

⁷¹ Strype, p. 92.

⁷² 'Madam! as these words, written or spoken by you, soundeth not well, so can I not persuade myself that they have proceeded from the sincere mind of so virtuous and so wise a lady, but rather by the setting on and procurement of some uncharitable and malicious persons, of which sort there are too many in these days. The more pity.' Lett. in Burn. v. 4. p. 162.

⁷³ This passage of the duke's letter is another evidence of the treasonable attacks which had driven Henry VIII. into his most censured severities: 'Those stiff-necked Romanists or papists, did not they cause his subjects to rise and rebel against him; and *constrained him to take the sword in his hand*; not without danger to his person and realm? Why should your grace so shortly forget that great outrage done by those generations of vipers unto his noble person, only for God's cause? Did not some of the same ill kind also, I mean that Romanist sect, as well within his own realm as without, *conspire oftentimes his death*, which was manifestly and *oftentimes proved*, to the confusion of some of their privy assisters?' Lett. Burn. p. 163.

⁷⁴ They produced then the annual sum of 3,489*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* Strype's Eccl. 155.

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we find this cordiality fully changed into mistrust and molestation. The mutation may have arisen from alarms that were not unfounded. The belief that the emperor was contriving to convey her out of England for his own ambitious purposes, occasioned the chancellor and state secretary to go down, to request that she would return with them, and reside near the court. She agreed to move to Hundsdon, but not to the palace.⁷⁵ The chancellor's illness in August prevented a compulsion at that time;⁷⁶ but a direct persecution soon began, for in the fourth month afterwards her chaplains were taken up for saying mass in her house.⁷⁷ She attempted to save them from the scourge of an oppressive law, by discredibly denying the fact,⁷⁸ instead of asserting her private right, both as a princess and as an individual, to worship at home as she pleased; and in the following March she was legally summoned to Westminster, to answer to the tyrannical accusation.⁷⁹ She came to London in princely, but not unbecoming or too ostentatious state,⁸⁰ and was examined before the king and council. There she courageously declared she would neither alter nor conceal her religious sentiments.⁸¹ A distinction,

⁷⁵ Edw. Journ. 22 & 28 July 1550, p. 25.

⁷⁶ Edw. 26.

⁷⁷ Edw. 30.

⁷⁸ Edw. 30.

⁷⁹ *Ib.*

⁸⁰ 'March 15, 1551. The lady Mary rode thro London with fifty knights and gentlemen, in velvet coats and chains of gold, afore her; and after her, fourscore gentlemen and ladies, every one having a pair of beads of black, to make an open profession, *no doubt*, of their devotion for the mass, which she had lately been required to lay aside.' Strype's *Eccles.* 445.

⁸¹ Edward's own words will best shew his deliberate feelings as he penned them. '18 March. The lady Mary, my sister, came to me at Westminster; where, after salutations, she was called with my counsel into a chamber. Here was declared, how long I had suffered her mass,

not very intelligible or satisfactory was taken, between constraining her belief, when they were forcing her to abandon her worship, and exacting her civil obedience as a subject.⁸² They gave her a goodly banquet, and allowed her to go back to her mansion in Essex.⁸³

Cranmer, Ridley, and another bishop were then consulted, who gave an odd opinion, that to license sin was sin, and yet that the king might wink at it for a time.⁸⁴ The council finally determined to refuse Mary liberty to have mass, and to imprison those of her servants who had heard it.⁸⁵ Such was the consistency of those who, if freedom of conscience were not a natural right, and its quiet exercise no crime, had been in all their reformation guilty of the most extensive, deliberate, and persevering criminality.

Her chaplain, Dr. Mallet, afterwards performing mass at her request, was committed to the Tower.⁸⁶

in hope of her reconciliation ; and how, now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, *except I saw some short amendment, I COULD NOT BEAR IT.*’ p. 33.

⁸² ‘ It was said, *I constrained not her faith : but willed her* not as a king to rule, but as a subject *to obey* ; and that her example might breed too much inconvenience.’ Edw. 33.

⁸³ At Newhall, (Strype, p. 445.) she pleaded a promise, thrice repeated, of the king and council, that she should have leave to have mass said before her, and be exempted from the danger of the statute. Their written answer was, that ‘ a promise was indeed made a good while ago to the ambassador, that mass in her own closet should be suffered and winked at ; but *that it was to be but awhile*, till she were better informed, and *only a few* of her own chamber to be present with her. But that, *to the rest* of her household the communion service should be used.’ ib. 449. As if any good mental effect or spiritual benefit could arise from compelling the most barefaced hypocrisy in the most solemn act of a Christian’s devotion. It is surprising that the legislature did not feel its own criminality in commanding such wilful dissimulation at a moment so awful.

⁸⁴ Strype, 451. Edward adds to their decision, ‘ so all haste possible might be used.’ p. 33.

⁸⁵ Ib. 451.

⁸⁶ On 27 April. Edw. 36.

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She thrice remonstrated in vain at this indignity and injustice.⁸⁷ Their answer expressed the most determined prohibition of the rite which constituted the most important portion of her public worship.⁸⁸ The king addressed her a soothing letter from himself, to persuade her compliance. She thanked him for his kind solicitude, but repeated, with mild and easy dignity, her unaltered adherence to what she deemed right.⁸⁹

Altho she was in rank the second person of the kingdom, and her domestic devotions might have been passed unnoticed, while public attack produced public criticism and extended notoriety, neither the sovereign nor his cabinet would leave her unmolested. Her servants were again arrested and threatened; and the king wrote to her peremptorily, 'that he was minded to take a more earnest regard to the reformation of her family.'⁹⁰ Her comptroller and officers were ordered to deliver the council's mandate to her. She was 'marvellously offended with them,' and charged them not to declare it, or 'they should not take her thereafter for their mistress, but she

⁸⁷ Edw. 36. Strype, 452.

⁸⁸ 'They would see not only him, but also all others, mass-sayers and breakers of order, straitly punished. And as for the promise, they had not nor would give none, *to make her free from the punishment of the law in that behalf.*' This was in June 1551. Edw. 40. Strype, 452.

⁸⁹ From Richmond, 16 July. 'I have no more to answer, but that I shall ever remain your majesty's most humble sister and servant, according to such letters as I have written to your highness, correspondent to my first mind and answer, made at the first opening of the matter to me. From the which, as I neither have varied from the beginning, nor will vary hereafter, so, if any man have said the contrary, I assure your grace that he hath done it without my consent or commission. I beseech our Lord to send your majesty long life, with good health and perpetual felicity.' Strype, 453.

⁹⁰ Ib. 454, from MS. Otho, c. 10.

would immediately depart out of the house.⁹¹ Her indignation was visible, from her frequent change of color, and passionate and unquiet manner. As they desisted, that they might not bring on her old disease, the lord chancellor and two other ministers went down a few days afterwards to execute, with their more resolute insensibility, what her own friends in duty and in humanity had compassionately shrunk from.⁹²

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She received on her knees the king's letter, as the chancellor delivered it, and kissed it, distinguishing the respect as paid to his hand, not to its contents. She desired the visitors to be short, as she was not well at ease; and their legal chief declared the determination of the cabinet, that she should no longer use the private mass, nor any other divine service than was set forth by law.⁹³ Does the inquisition, did the pagan emperors, exact much more? She was to charge her chaplain not to say mass, and her servants not to presume to hear it, or any other than what the existing law allowed. She told them, that she would obey the king in every thing that her conscience permitted, and would gladly suffer death to do him good; but preferred to lay her head on a block, than to use any other service than had been allowed her

⁹¹ Strype, 455, from MS. Titus, B. 2. Her letter to Edward, dated 19 Aug. is in Ellis, v. 2, p. 176.

⁹² Strype, 457. Edw. 46. Mr. Ellis has printed their report in his Letters, v. 2. p. 179-182.

⁹³ Ellis, p. 180. She added, 'Altho her good sweet king have more knowlege than any other of his years, yet it is not possible that he can be judge of these things: for if ships were to be set to the seas, or any other thing to be done touching the policy or government of the realm, I am sure you would not think his highness yet able to consider what were to be done; and much less can he, in these years, direct what is fit in matters of divinity.' ib. p. 180.

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at her father's death. If her chaplains would not recite the mass, she could not hear it; but 'none of your new service shall be used in my house, or I will not tarry in it.'⁹⁴ On their announcing that they had dismissed her old comptroller, and brought a new one, she asserted her right to choose her own servants, and if they imposed any on her would go away immediately. 'I am sickly; I would not willingly die, but will do the best I can to preserve my life; but if I shall chance to die, you of the council will be the cause of my death.' Taking her ring from her finger, she gave it on her knees to the chancellor, to present to the king, as a token of her regard and duty. As they withdrew, she added an unnecessary and undignified taunt.⁹⁵ After this interview, all consideration to her feelings or dignity was laid aside; her servants were committed close prisoners to the Tower, in separate confinement, and debarred from all writing materials.⁹⁶ The intolerant captivity was continued for eight months, when her solicitations procured their release, with liberty to repair to her again.⁹⁷ As summer began, she made a courteous visit to her brother, with a goodly

⁹⁴ Ellis, p. 181.

⁹⁵ As they were in the court, waiting for one of her chaplains, she called to them from her window, to send her comptroller to her. 'For,' said she, 'since his departing, I take the accounts myself of my expenses: and have learned how many loaves be made of a bushel of wheat. But my father and mother never brought me up to baking and brewing; and, to be plain with you, I am weary of mine office, and therefore if my lords will send mine officer home, they shall do me pleasure; otherwise if they will send him to prison, I beshrew him, if he go not to it merrily.' Ellis, 182. The woman here rather overcame the princess: for it looked like stooping to jeer those whom, as the representatives of her sovereign, she had just received with the most high-bred respect.

⁹⁶ Strype, 458.

⁹⁷ 'They were set at liberty 24 April 1552.' ib.

company, in her barge, at Greenwich,⁹⁸ which she repeated on his illness in the next February, with a more splendid company of lords and ladies, knights and gentlemen, than had accompanied her before,⁹⁹ without being an unbecoming or unusual pomp for her quality.¹⁰⁰ She withdrew again to her country retirement, while that plot was forming to dispossess her of the succession, of which the celebrated John Knox charges the marquis of Winchester to have been one of the most active abettors or contrivers, and with that coarse abuse of her which the lowest vulgarity could as indecorously have expressed.¹⁰¹ She wrote from Beaulieu, in the middle of May, a civil letter to the king, expressive of her regret at his indisposition,¹⁰² which was the last intercourse of friendship that passed between her and her royal, and now slowly dying, brother.

The last important transaction of this reign, in continental affairs, was an attempt to mediate a peace between France and the emperor; ¹⁰³ an act more

⁹⁸ Strype, 586, on 13 June 1552.

⁹⁹ They were 200 in number. Considering their attempt to dethrone her within five months afterwards, it is curious to read, that the duchess of Suffolk and Northumberland were part of her train, and their two dukes met her at the outward court, and conducted her to the king. Strype, v. 2, part 2, p. 30.

¹⁰⁰ Her company was only half of the number which a nobleman chose to come with a week after her. 'On 17 Feb. the earl of Pembroke came riding into London with 300 horse, and before him 100 gentlemen with chains of gold, all in plain blue cloth, with badges on their sleeves, being a dragon; and so to Bernard Castle, which was his place.' Strype, *ib.* 31.

¹⁰¹ In his Faithful Admonition, he speaks of this minister, who was the lord treasurer, under the Jewish character of Sobna: 'Who was most bold to cry, Bastard! Bastard! Incestuous bastard Mary shall never reign over us? Who was most busy to say, Agree to his grace's last will, and never let that obstinate woman come to authority? She is an arrant papist. She will subvert the true religion; and will bring in strangers, to the destruction of the commonwealth? Sobna, the treasurer.' Knox.

¹⁰² See it in Strype, v. 2, p. 110.

¹⁰³ Strype's Eccl. v. 2, part. 2, p. 28. This industrious compiler has

moral and generous than politically wise, as it was this conciliation which the pope and his partisans were so eager to produce, in order to turn the united forces of those great powers upon the states and churches both in Germany and England, which had thrown off their supremacy to Rome; and to crush them into subjection to its yoke. The emperor's debilitating illness for many weeks suspended all personal negotiation with him;¹⁰⁴ but preparations were made to levy a new army, in addition to his forces then in Picardy, and he threatened to invade Champagne, and to march on Paris.¹⁰⁵ Dr. Wotton expressed to the French court the king of England's desire to be the mediator of a good peace between those contending governments.¹⁰⁶ The friendly offer was courteously received, and the French king stated his grievances and his terms;¹⁰⁷ but the demands of the French court rose into such an extravagance, probably from the increasing indisposition of Charles, as to make all mediatorial interference illusory.¹⁰⁸ When the English envoys procured an audience with

put together, from the letters of the ambassadors, and the dispatches of the government to them, the main facts of these negotiations.

¹⁰⁴ In April 1552, he was so unwell 'that he kept himself close, gave no audience, and was not seen abroad.' Strype, 81. It was believed that he was deranged. In May the English ambassadors could get no certain intelligence of his condition, *ib.* 84; nor in that month was any access to him permitted. *ib.* 94.

¹⁰⁵ Lett. of Noailles, of 7th May, in Vertot's *Ambass.* Noaill. 2. p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ The constable states their promotion, in his dispatch to Noailles of 7th May. p. 9-16.

¹⁰⁷ These form the articles sent by the king to Noailles, which Vertot has printed. p. 17-24.

¹⁰⁸ The king demande premierement that the duchy of Milan, and the county of Ost, should be restored to him. In like manner the realms of Naples, and Sicily, and Arragon; also the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, with Tournay and its county. The restoration likewise of the kingdom of Navarre. *Amb. Noaill.* 2. p. 23.

the emperor, they found him sitting in a chair, with his feet on a stool, and looking very pale, weak, lean and feeble, tho his eyes were lively. He declared his disposition to peace upon the offer of reasonable conditions;¹⁰⁹ and the English cabinet thought that what the French required partook so little of this character, as to instruct its ambassadors not to mention them to him, but to urge the commissioners of France to more suitable proposals.¹¹⁰ Nothing occurring of this description, the English council, only six days before it lost its sovereign, instructed its representative to state frankly to Charles all that they had done to accomplish a pacification, and if their efforts continued to be ineffective, to provide for their return, with honor to their own king, and in continued amity with his imperial majesty.¹¹¹

Edward's last illness was now advancing rapidly to its fatal termination. At times unwell before his accession, he became more frequently so afterwards. In the spring of 1552 a combination of two diseases weakened still more his infirm constitution.¹¹² His Christmas festivities afterwards were celebrated with an unusual magnificence and joviality.¹¹³ It was the first time that he had kept them in kingly state, and

¹⁰⁹ This interview was on the 8th June 1552. Strype, 97.

¹¹⁰ Strype, 98, 9.

¹¹¹ MS. Galba, B. 12. from which Strype has printed the dispatch, dated Greenwich, 1st July 1553, and signed by twenty-three of the royal council. 100-2.

¹¹² 'April 2. I fell sick of the measles and small-pox.' Edw. Journ. p. 70.

¹¹³ 'Dec. 23. The king removed from Westminster to Greenwich, to keep his Christmas there; and began to keep state, and had a lord of misrule, who ordered the sports and pastimes for the king's diversion in such great variety and royal pomp as scarcely ever had been seen before.' Strype, 30.

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it was his last. Their dangerous excitement, their fatiguing joyousness, their late hours, and table indulgencies, were immediately followed by a consumptive cough, so alarming and exhausting, that the lord of misrule and his merry tumults may be more justly supposed to have produced the fatal change in the king's ever delicate health, than either grief for his lost uncles, or poison from Northumberland, in that 'nosegay of sweet flowers which was presented to him as a great dainty on new year's day.'¹¹⁴ As the pulmonary malady is that in which death advances with a slow and smiling progress, and imparts such occasional spirits and short promises of improvement, that the declining sufferer rarely feels his danger, and the nearest friends will scarcely believe it, hope brightened and vanished to return and disappear with welcomed delusions thro all the ensuing spring. He was placed in form on his throne to see the new parliament, on the first of March ; but to accommodate his debility, instead of a state procession, they came to him quietly at Whitehall, and opened their session in a chamber which was there fitted up for their reception, while the chancellor made for his sovereign the official speech.¹¹⁵ In April he received and knighted the lord mayor ; and gave to the city municipality his palace of Bridewell, to be a workhouse for the poor and impotent ; and St. Thomas's Hospital, in

¹¹⁴ Godw. 253. The Italian letter of the 24th July, places the dangerous cough in 'i primi giorni di Febraro.' Lett. Pris. v. 3. p. 135. It never left him. 'La tosse nol lasso mai.' ib. The young duke of Richmond had died in the same way. ib. Stowe, 609.

¹¹⁵ Heylin, 137. The parliament was dissolved at Whitehall on the last evening of the month, 'at seven of the clock at night.' Stowe.

Southwark, for the sick.¹¹⁶ In the week after May day, some flashes of reviving animation seduced the judgments of his physicians to promise his restoration;¹¹⁷ but he was allowed to be seen by very few;¹¹⁸ and the French ambassador was commanded by his court to procure an audience, in order to ascertain his state by his own inspection. He earnestly demanded an interview. It was promised, but delayed. Again the physicians despaired,¹¹⁹ and yet again declared him out of danger.¹²⁰ Such are the changes and illusions of the consumptive disease. The envoy obtained an audience of the king, but only long enough to be briefly received and rapidly dismissed;¹²¹ and expectation fluctuated in alternate hope, doubt and uncertainty, for the next three weeks.

In April the matches were finally agreed upon for two of the duke of Suffolk's daughters; lady Jane

¹¹⁶ Stowe, 609; and also Grey Friars, now Christ Church. Strype, 112, who states the heads of the indenture as to Bridewell.

¹¹⁷ It was on 7th May, that Northumberland wrote to Cecil, 'Now I will re-comfort you with the joyful comfort which our physicians have these two or three mornings revived my spirits with, which is, that our sovereign lord doth begin very joyfully to increase and amend, *they having no doubt of the thorough recovery of his highness.*' Lett. in Strype, v. 2. p. 506. part 2. The obvious pleasure with which Northumberland, from this letter, was indulging this hope, and communicating it to his fellow statesman Cecil, may be admitted as evidence that he was then neither contriving nor desiring the king's demise.

¹¹⁸ Lett. Noailles, v. 2. p. 4.

¹¹⁹ On 13th May, the French ambassador informed his court, 'The physicians have little hope of his convalescence, being in great apprehensions that he will expectorate away his lungs.' p. 25.

¹²⁰ Five days afterwards Noailles wrote, 'There is such an improvement, that now they think he is quite out of danger, but with a great debility and defaillance, accompanied with a cough that surprisingly distresses him.' ib. 27.

¹²¹ Ib. on 17th May.

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Gray, the eldest, with Northumberland's fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley; and lady Catherine, the second, with earl Pembroke's son and heir, lord Herbert; and also for Northumberland's daughter with lord Hastings, for whose wedding apparels a grant from the king's wardrobe was obtained.¹²² Three such marriages, could not, in the usual habit of great families, have been a hasty concoction of scheming device. It is rather more reasonable to refer their origin to the common desire of a dignified alliance in Northumberland, than to any instantaneous project on his part on the crown, as they must have been prepared and arranged before the king's disease had fixed any certainty of his premature dissolution. The exact time of their solemnization has not been transmitted.¹²³ The most natural inference, after such a grant in April, would place them early in May. Nothing unfavorable to Mary's accession then appeared; for Edward about this time sent her a table diamond, with a pendent pearl.¹²⁴ But in the beginning of June a direct plan had been resolved upon, to dispossess both her and

¹²² This warrant is dated 24th April. If we allow three months for the previous negotiations for three such marriages, we are probably not taking too large a scope.

¹²³ Stowe, who was then alive, merely says, 'When the king lay dangerously sick.' p. 609. 'The duke of Suffolk's third daughter was at the same time married, but only to a gentleman porter,' *ib.*; and Northumberland's eldest daughter to sir Henry Sidney. Burn. 3. p. 356. So many marriages as five of these great and connected families at the same time, neither imply precipitation, nor look like plotting. On 8th June, a grant of wedding apparel, silks and jewels, was made to sir Andrew Dudley, apparently a relation of Northumberland, with the daughter of the earl of Cumberland. Strype, 111.

¹²⁴ Strype, 112.

Elizabeth of their father's crown, and to transfer it by violence to their second cousin, lady Jane Gray, now the wife of lord Guildford Dudley.

This plot is usually charged on Northumberland as a scheme for his personal aggrandisement, because one of his sons would be advanced by it; but as the state council and the king himself chose to concur in it, and one of the cabinet was coarsely vehement to promote it,¹²⁵ in strict justice it must be deemed a foul conspiracy of the whole administration, excepting Cranmer, who at first opposed, tho he afterwards guiltily acquiesced in it. There is no reason to place the crime solely on Northumberland. It was a nefarious combination of both the king and the cabinet, without any justifying necessity, and in violation of moral principle, to subvert established law and personal rights. The first authors of it have not yet been discovered; but the dishonoring drama was opened by a summons, on 11 June, to the chief justice of the Common Pleas, two other judges, and the attorney and solicitor general, to attend the cabinet council. They came; and the king himself, tho in his mortal decline, yet in the full possession of his senses, and in his sixteenth year, chose to state his impressions of the danger in which the kingdom would stand if his sister Mary should succeed, as she might marry a stranger, and change the laws and religion of the realm. He therefore declared that he had determined to alter the succession to the crown, and ordered the prepared articles to be read, which, disinheriting Elizabeth, not a Catholic, as

¹²⁵ The Marquis of Winchester; see before, note 101.

well as Mary who was one, gave the throne to lady Jane Gray.¹²⁶ The lawyers declared immediately that such a change would be treason. The state secretary, sir William Petre, desired them to obey the king's desire, of drawing a legal instrument according to his wishes, and with speed.¹²⁷ They attended the council again, to repeat their assurance that the meditated act was treason, and that all the lords would be guilty of treason if they went on with it.¹²⁸ Northumberland was not then in the council chamber: but being apprised of this pronounced opinion, he threatened the legal dignitaries, till they expected personal violence. But they were not intimidated, and persevered in their sentiments.¹²⁹ On the 15th they were again sent for, with another judge. The king then himself was pleased to ask them with some severity, if they had prepared the instrument he had ordered. They justly declared that it would be unavailing without a parliamentary enactment. Edward replied, that he meant to call one; and the chief justice proposed that they should wait until it met. The king insisted on the change being then completed, and left for parliament to ratify; and interfered so personally and peremptorily, as to require them on their allegiance to obey him. Some of the council then added to the judges, that if they disobeyed this injunction, they would

¹²⁶ Burnet, 3, p. 356. So fully was Edward's mind bent on this inexplicable plan, and able, notwithstanding his illness, to think and act upon it, that he has left, in his own hand-writing, a detailed sketch of it, which Burnet has printed, v. 6. p. 274. In this he made lady Frances, the mother of Jane Gray, the governess regent, if he left no male issue: an idea which in the MS. is dashed out, and was omitted in the subsequent deed.

¹²⁷ Ib. 356.

¹²⁸ Ib.

¹²⁹ Ib. 357.

become traitors themselves. Shaken by this, they, thinking that a royal commission commanding them to prepare the instrument, and a pardon under the great seal for executing the mandate, would constitute a legal exculpation, agreed to comply, with the exception of one, whom the earl of Shrewsbury, one of the most powerful noblemen of the kingdom, as well as Northumberland, menaced into a temporary acquiescence.¹³⁰ Nineteen lords of the council and five judges then subscribed a written agreement, to effectuate this new settlement of the crown.¹³¹ The judges composed for the king the legal deed which he required; and on 21 June, the chancellor, with thirty-three lords of the council and judges, signed the fatal and unrighteous act, as well as the king.¹³²

¹³⁰ Burnet, 3, p. 356.

¹³¹ These were—

Cranmer
The chancellor, bishop of Ely
The marquis of Winchester
———— of Northampton
Duke of Suffolk
Earl of Northumberland
———— Bedford
———— Shrewsbury
———— Huntingdon
———— Pembroke

Earl of Clinton
———— Cobham
———— Rich, the ex-chancellor
Lord Darcy, the lord chamberlain
Sir T. Cheyne
Sir J. Gates
Sir W. Petre
Sir J. Cheke
Sir W. Cecil.

The judges were, the chief justice and four others: a set of names which implies a deliberate combination of the chief aristocracy of the country.

It recites ‘that they had *many times* heard the king express his earnest desire and express commandment on this limitation of the succession; that they had seen his own device of it, first wholly written by his hand, then copied out in his presence, and signed by him, and delivered by him to certain judges, to be written in full order. Therefore they promised on their oaths and honors to fulfil it, and with their lives to maintain it; and if any of them varied from this obligation, that he should be punished with most sharp punishments, as a breaker of the common concord and unity.’ See it in Burnet, v. 6. p. 275, 6.

¹³² Burnet, v. 3. p. 358. That the instrument appointing Jane’s succession was signed on 21st June, was stated in the proclamation issued on her accession, Heylin 160; and in the Italian letter, in Lett. Principe, v. 3. p. 133.

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Cranmer at first refused to add his name, or to yield to their repeated urgencies.¹³³ He argued much with the king about it, in the presence of the marquis of Northampton, and of Darcy, the lord chamberlain.¹³⁴ He repeated his objections again at the council table.¹³⁵ He still objected, until he had personally conversed with the king alone. This was refused, when asked; but he saw Edward again on the subject, who solicited his concurrence in terms which implied that he requested it as a personal favor.¹³⁶ The prelate affixed, unhappily both for his own reputation and for the reformation he patronized, his approving signature.

It is impossible to ascribe this succession of voluntary acts one after another for nearly a fortnight, by so many individuals, all men of distinction and independence, to the single will or plotting of the duke of Northumberland. He was neither powerful from popularity, for he was generally disliked; nor overwhelming from property, for other lords fully

¹³³ His own account, in his letter to queen Mary, is, 'I never liked it, nor any thing grieved me so much as your grace's brother did. And if by any means it had been mine to have letted the making of that will, I would have done it.' Lett. Strype Cran. p. 919.

¹³⁴ 'What I said therein, as well to the council as to himself, divers of your majesty's council can report, but none so well as the marquis of Northampton and the lord Darcy, then lord chamberlain to the king's majesty, which two were present at the communication between the king's majesty with me.' ib.

¹³⁵ 'To the council the archbishop urged the entailing of the crown by Henry on his two daughters, and used many grave and pithy reasons to them from the lady Mary's legitimacy when they argued against it.' Str. Cran. ib. 424.

¹³⁶ 'So at length I was required by the king's majesty himself to set my hand to his will, saying, that he trusted that I alone would not be more repugnant to his will than the rest of the council were; which words surely grieved my heart very sore. And so I granted him to subscribe his will, and to follow the same.' Lett. Strype, p. 920.

matched him separately in that; nor so irresistible from any military force, as to have then extorted from his compeers what they united to produce, if they had elected to have opposed it.¹³⁷ Hence the real character of the transaction seems to be, that it was a confederacy of great noblemen;¹³⁸ and their motives we may infer to have been to raise the aristocracy once more to its feudal eminence, against or above the throne; and to restore it to that commanding power which it had enjoyed during the middle ages, and which, after having given the crown to the house of Tudor, had been by that dynasty weakened and reduced into a mortifying but beneficial subordination. Mary or Elizabeth would have been sovereigns by right, and, from legal accession, paramount to all competition, and independent of any control, except that constitutional co-operation of parliament, and that public opinion, which, when it censures,

¹³⁷ Cranmer's own account takes the imputation away from the duke of Northumberland in particular, for he wrote to Mary, 'And whereas it is contained in two Acts of Parliament, that I, with the duke of Northumberland, should devise and compass the deprivation of your majesty from your royal crown: surely, *it is untrue*. For *the duke never opened his mouth to me* to move me to any such matter. It was *other of the council* that moved me; and the king himself; the duke of Northumberland not being present. Neither before, neither after, had I ever any privy communication with the duke of that matter; saving that, openly, at the council table, the duke said unto me, that it became not me to say to the king as I did; when I went about to dissuade him from his said will.' Lett. Strype's Cr. 920.

¹³⁸ Their own expressions, in their letter to Mary, imply that it was the act of the great nobility. They told her, that the king's letters patent for Jane's succession were signed by them, 'in presence of *most part of the nobles*, counsellors, judges, with other grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing the same.' They added, that it was '*agreed upon by the nobles and greatest personages aforesaid*.' See their letter in Heylin, p. 158. The same statement, in similar words, appears in Jane's proclamation of 10 July. See it in Noailles Amb. 2. p. 62, and in Nicolas Mem. of Lady Jane, 41.

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warns; and when favoring, as it usually is, gives to every government its most substantial foundation. But lady Jane Gray would have been a creature of the great nobles who had enthroned her, dependent wholly on them, from her destitution of all legal right; removable, as their pleasure changed or factions should shake her; governable by them, from her youth and sex; and from this situation forced to court and aggrandise, instead of neglecting and weakening the aristocracy which raised her. But altho this view of the subject elucidates, as to the noble supporters, the principle of a project which otherwise appears as absurd as it was iniquitous in them to uphold, it neither vindicates nor explains Edward's abandonment of all moral justice in the displacement of his sisters. As Craumer personally opposed it, we cannot ascribe the king's conduct to any conscientious apprehensions about religion. On this point of the question, the greatest of all the English reformers, and his chief ecclesiastical counsellor, was alone the fittest judge; and when this prelate, never reluctant to please his sovereign, refused to sanction the disinheritance of his late master's daughters, it was his testimony that no religious duty either sanctioned or commanded it.¹²⁹ The whole transaction therefore has left a blot on Edward's dying character, which however reluctant

¹²⁹ The MS. cited by Strype states, that Cranmer, when desired to sign, 'answered, that he might not without perjury, for so much as he was before sworn to my lady Mary by king Henry's will.' To whom the council answered, 'That they had consciences as well as he; and were also as well sworn to the king's will as he was.' The archbishop answered: 'I am not judge over any man's conscience, but mine own only.' Strype, 425; and yet he signed.

we may be to mark, yet due regard to our common sense, and the consistency of impartial justice, forbid us either to palliate or obliterate.¹⁴⁰ He was in no want of the fullest information for his guidance to a right decision. He heard all the legal objections from the judges, till he commanded them into silence. He had all the conscientious and moral difficulties put before him by Cranmer, and yet urged his adviser to suppress the voice of pious reason, and to act against his own conviction. He had ten days for consideration after the discussions began, and yet adhered to the purpose, from which both law and religion had emphatically dissuaded him. It was therefore a deliberate and indefensible perversity of both will and judgment, which he must have felt to be unjust; which it would be impossible to carry into execution without proscription and bloodshed, and which could not become successful without mischievous results.

The health of Edward had never been permanent or secure. Soon after his accession, his sister Elizabeth expressed to him her uneasiness about it.¹⁴¹ At

¹⁴⁰ It became such a favorite idea with Edward, that he wrote the plan out with his own hands: 'My devise for the succession, for lack of my body, to the lady Frances's heir males, if she have any such issue before my death; to the lady Jane and her heir males; to the lady Katerin's heir males; to the lady Mary's heir males; to the heirs males of the daughters which she shall have hereafter; then to the lady Margaret's heirs males. For lack of issue to the heirs males of the lady Jane's daughters, to the heirs males of the lady Katerin's daughters, and so forth, till you come to the lady Margaret's daughters heirs male.' Bur. 6. p. 274. Strype, 912.

¹⁴¹ 'Two chief occasions moved me much and grieved me greatly; the one, for that I doubted your majesty's health; of this, I am relieved *in part*; as one, desirous to hear of your majesty's health, tho' unfortunate to see it, I shall pray God for ever to preserve you.' Lett. Eliz. Ellis, 145, 6.

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a subsequent time she congratulated him on his recovery from an attack, which, from the strength of her expressions, we may infer to have threatened danger.¹⁴² We need not therefore recur to any suspicions of poison, because he was unwell in the spring of 1553,¹⁴³ or became dangerously ill in the following June.¹⁴⁴

While the king and cabinet were pursuing this anomalous scheme, the French ambassador, who was anxiously watching every movement of the government, became so far apprised of it as to report to his court that the king was rapidly declining, but that the succession was unsettled;¹⁴⁵ and, therefore, altho the Venetian envoy had been to kiss Mary's hand, and, to make all sure, had likewise visited Elizabeth,¹⁴⁶ yet that he, from the uncertainty which he had discerned, would not, unless commanded, imitate this diplomatic example. Six days after-

¹⁴² In her Latin letter of 20 Sept.: 'When I recollect the singular benefits of the best and greatest God, I deem this the chief of all, that he has so suddenly and so mercifully restored you at London, from the very near disease. The late illness having been driven from you, we think you will be preserved by these frequent changes of air and residence, from all dangers of sicknesses.' Ellis, 159.

¹⁴³ On 7 May, the secretary of state expressed to Cecil, 'The king is very well amended, and that so apparently, as continuing to keep himself close a few days longer, there is no doubt his majesty shall be well ado to take the air in better case than he hath been a good while.' Haynes, 149.

¹⁴⁴ By the 25 June, Edward was so much indisposed, that as we learn from sir Philip Hoby's letter, the current report at Brussels was, that he was dead. Haynes, 153.

¹⁴⁵ Lett. Noailles, of 16 June. 'The illness of the king is such, that they have no more hopes, but this is kept very secret. People think that he is every day mending, and taking his walks in the garden, gallery and park.' p. 31. 'I have learnt from one of his physicians, that he will never get beyond the month of August, and is in great danger of going suddenly off.' p. 32. 'I cannot learn what resolution the lords will take as to the succession. Two days ago they were a long time assembled.' ib.

¹⁴⁶ Lett. Noailles, p. 32.

wards, he learnt that the fever was leaving Edward, and that some mending symptoms appeared; but the watch of the metropolis was doubled, its gates closed earlier than usual; the prisoners in the Tower were confined more strictly than before; a fleet of twenty sail was ordered; and the peers were summoned to London.¹⁴⁷ Before the week elapsed, the indefatigable ambassador penetrated and communicated the great mystery that was preparing.¹⁴⁸

The decaying king in the meantime sank irretrievably into the last exhaustion of human life. He was sensible of his state, and a few hours before his last extremity, expressed his feelings and his pain in an interesting prayer.¹⁴⁹ Opening his eyes, he saw his physician: 'Are you there? I had not thought you had been so near. I was making my prayer to God.' A short pause ensued: when suddenly uttering, 'I faint; Lord! have mercy on

¹⁴⁷ Lett. Noailles, of 22 June, 40-2. 'They really thought of losing the king last Tuesday or Wednesday; yet they have assured me, that for these two days his fever has left him, and that he is still going on mending.' *ib.* 40. The next day he wrote, that Edward was worse, p. 45. So closely was he watching.

¹⁴⁸ On 26 June, his dispatch informed his royal master, 'Nine days ago the king made his will, and by that, settles the crown on Jane of Suffolk. The parliament is postponed to the end of September.' Lett. Noailles. p. 49.

¹⁴⁹ His physician, Dr. Owen, who was sitting by him, noted it down without the king's knowledge: 'O Lord God! Free me, I beseech thee, out of this miserable and calamitous life. Receive me among the number of thine elect, if so be it be thy pleasure. Altho not mine, but thy will be done. To thee, O Lord, I commend my spirit. Thou knowest how happy I shall be, if I may live with Thee in heaven. Yet I would I might live and be well, for thine elects' sake, that I might faithfully serve Thee. O Lord God! bless thy people, and save thine inheritance. O save thy people of England; defend this kingdom from popery, and preserve thy true religion in it, that I and my people may bless Thy most holy name, thro thy Son Jesus Christ.' Godw. Ann. 257.

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me—receive my soul!’ he instantly expired.¹⁵⁰ The melancholy event was carefully concealed; but the rumour of it soon spread,¹⁵¹ tho on no specific authority, and therefore for some days the public mind was floating amid doubt and denial, and became much agitated, from the uncertainty, by suspicion and mistrust.

His mild disposition, his intelligent mind, his acquisitions of knowlege, his unfeigned piety, his patriotic spirit, and his ambition of doing good, promised a reign of no ordinary individual excellence and political prosperity; but as he had acted little for himself, and when he did so, had not always displayed that judgment and moral firmness, without which even virtue will not pass from the intention efficiently into the act, we are not authorized to assert that his maturity, if he had reached it, would have realized the promise, or have diminished the imperfections of his youth. It is not probable that he would have become an Elizabeth; and if he had not, both he and the nation might have sunk in the storms which were excited and directed against her. His reign lasted long enough to enable Cranmer and his auxiliaries to advance the English Reformation to that admirable system of doctrine, worship, discipline and precepts, which, with a few improvements from his wisest sister’s reign, constitute the present

¹⁵⁰ On 6th July 1553. Godw. p. 258. He had been committed for a time to the care of a quack gentlewoman, who undertook to work a wonderful cure, but who only hastened his death. Heylin, 139.

¹⁵¹ Noailles wrote the next day to his court: ‘I have heard that the king is dead; a strong report of it, and much believed, is all over this city.’ Lett. 7 July. p. 52.

church of England, and have deservedly immortalised its authors, and the name of the king under whom so much was, with his assent and approbation securely established. His education and attainments have been already noticed. The possession of the crown did not abate his love of study,¹⁵² tho he also indulged in the recreations of the day. From writing and speaking Latin he proceeded to Greek, till he could translate with ease his Roman authors into the attic tongue, in which he read Aristotle's Ethics, and afterwards his Rhetoric.¹⁵³ He notices his amusements in his own Journal. He won at a challenge of base or running, and at rovers; but lost in a contest of shooting at rounds,¹⁵⁴ with a party of his gentlemen, in black silk coats; he ran at the ring in emulous contest with others, in yellow taffety, but unsuccessfully.¹⁵⁵ He banqueted at Deptford, to see two ships lanchd.¹⁵⁶ He indulged the French ambassador with an exhibition of his hunting, shooting, and musical talent.¹⁵⁷ He went on several

¹⁵² 'He would sequester himself from all companies, into some chamber or gallery, to learn his lessons without book, with great alacrity and cheerfulness. If he spent more time in play and pastime than he thought was convenient, he would find fault with himself, and say, 'We forget ourselves. We should not lose the substantia for the accident.' ' Strype's Eccl. v. 2, part 2, p. 49.

¹⁵³ Ib. part 3. p. 426.

¹⁵⁴ Edw. Journ. on 1 April 1553. p. 34.

¹⁵⁵ Neither side seems to have been very dexterous, for 'The yellow band took it thrice in 120 courses, and my band touched often, but never took, which seemed very strange.' 3 May. p. 36. A tourney followed, between six and six. ib.

¹⁵⁶ Journ. p. 42.

¹⁵⁷ 'The next morning he came to me to mine arraying, and saw my bedchamber, and went a hunting with hounds; and saw me shoot, and saw all my guards shoot together. He dined with me, and heard me play on the lute; ride; came to me to my study, supped with me, and so departed to Richmond.' Journ. p. 44.

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progresses thro the country,¹⁵⁸ and reviewed some splendid musters of his troops.¹⁵⁹ When the queen dowager of Scotland visited his court, on being driven by tempest to Portsmouth, in her return from France, he treated her with magnificent courtesy, and great personal attentions.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Journ. p. 20. p. 75, 84.

¹⁵⁹ See a full description of one, in their different costumes, in May 1552, Strype's Eccl. v. 2. p. 584.

¹⁶⁰ He describes these in his diary, p. 56.

CHAP. XI.

THE BRIEF REIGN OF QUEEN JANE, USUALLY CALLED
LADY JANE GRAY.

Most usurpations have been as unhappy to the invader of another's rights, as they have been injurious to public principle, and calamitous to their abettors. The attempt of the great nobility to force lady Jane upon the throne of her elder cousins was no exception to the usual course of such transactions, either in consequences or character.¹

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If any thing like legal right had been at all cared for in this transaction, the mother of Jane would have been the person selected. Lady Frances was the daughter of Henry's sister, and the first cousin of Edward VI.; but as she was an elderly, she was, as such, a less governable woman; and her husband, the duke of Suffolk, was a powerful nobleman himself. Her exaltation would have placed an effective sovereign on the throne, who might have become more independent of all aristocratical dictation than it was intended he should be. Therefore she was laid aside, that her young daughter Jane, only eighteen at Edward's death, might be made to assume the

¹ Some idea of the power of the chief nobility at that period may be inferred from Michele's report of his visit to England in 1557. Speaking of the gentry and barons, he remarks, 'There is not one of them, who, in proportion to his retinue and the *facoltà* he possesses, has not a store of arms for a considerable number of people; so that it is said, some of them together might arm thousands. As for example, the earls of Derby, Shrewsbury and Westmoreland; but above all, the earl of Pembroke.' Ellis, *New Series*, v. 2, p. 222.

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crown in her stead. To give some semblance of legality to this selection of the daughter in preference to the parent, lady Frances was compelled or persuaded to relinquish her hereditary precedence in favor of her eldest child.²

Grand-daughter of Henry's beautiful sister,³ lady Jane grew up with a person and countenance that pleased the gazing eye; and by the care of her parents had been led to that extensive classical education which the old king's love of literature had made the taste, and the delight of all his family. Never did the female mind more fairly, yet unassumingly, assert its equality to our own, in the attainment and use of both the dead and living languages, and in the comprehension and enjoyment of their richest compositions, than at this period of their emulous cultivation. We have the knowlege and authority of one of the ablest judges, in our venerable Ascham, to justify our admiration of this distinguished girl, for her talents and acquisitions, when we find him describing her to his friend Sturmius as mastering, at the age of

² This dereliction is stated by Heylin, p. 151, and others; but I have not met with any formal act of such a cession.

³ See Hist. Henry VIII. v. 1, p. 133-5. Heylin's description of Jane is exaggerated. 'Born with those attractions which seat a sovereignty in the face, yet was her mind endowed with more excellent charms. Modest, and mild of disposition, courteous of carriage, she was also of such an affable deportment as might intitle her to the name of queen of hearts, before she was designed for queen over any subjects.' Hist. p. 148. Sir Tho. Chaloner, who knew her well, thus intimates her beauty both of form and mind:

'Ore placens Veneris: Palladis arte placens.
Culta fuit: formosa fuit. Divina movebat
Sæpe viros, facies: sæpe loquela, viros.'

His Elegy or Deploratio, in Strype's Eccl. v. 3, Ap. 190.

sixteen, both the profundity of Plato, and the eloquence of Demosthenes, and as being fond of the learned works of his German correspondent.⁴ It is more extraordinary still to read, that calling unexpectedly the year before at her father's seat at Leicester, when she was only fifteen, he found her in her chamber reading for her amusement the celebrated Phædon in Greek, and so understanding it as to excite his highest admiration.⁵ She had then also obtained the power, not only of writing but of speaking Greek, and offered to correspond with him in Greek, if he would write to her in that language from the imperial court, to which he was departing.⁶ But these invaluable acquirements did not satisfy her. In her seventeenth year she began to study Hebrew;⁷ and this venerable tongue she not only learnt, but was led by it to its

⁴ Ascham's lett. of 21 Aug. 1551, 'Lectissimæ virgini: tui semper, quod ego novi, et tuorum studiosissimæ. Cujus est cultior animus doctrina Platonis et eloquentia Demosthenis, quam fortuna illustrior.' p. 41.

⁵ 'Ut mihi ipsi summam admirationem injiceret.' Asch. Ep. 34. 'With as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccace.' Asch. Schoolm. p. 37. Her master was Dr. Elmer, whom Ascham highly praises for his 'humanitatem, prudentiam, usum et rectam religionem,' as well as for his knowlege in Greek and Latin.

This letter is the best authority which remains, for the age of Jane. It is dated the 14 December 1550, and he says she was in her 15th year. 'Annum nata est decimum quintum.' p. 34. She was therefore born about 1535, and not 1537, as some of her biographers make her.

⁶ He tells Sturmius, 'I expect daily her Greek letters: When they come, I will immediately send them to you.' ib. 34. On 18 January 1552, he wrote to her from Augustæ, in which he reminds her that he had seen her 'reading sedulously Divinum Divini Platonis Phædonem Græce;' and that she had promised him to write 'Græcas literas,' which he had agreed to show his friend Sturmius, and he urges her for them. p. 237, 8.

⁷ So she wrote to Bullinger in 1552, and asked his advice and assistance. 'Hebraicari jam incipienti mihi.' Lett. ap. Nicolas Mem. App. p. 5. Ellis, Second Series, v. 2, p. 183. In this letter she quotes the Hebrew of part of Proverbs, c. 11, v. 14. He gave her the suggestions she desired; and in her reply, she assures him, 'ad Hebraicæ linguæ studium, eam ingrediam viam, quam mihi fidelissime monstras.' Nic. 11.

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related dialect of Chaldee, and to the kindred, but far more difficult language of Arabia.⁸ These attainments surprise us, as they display a determined and persevering ardor of continued study, which, from the natural moveability of its material organization, and from the counteraction of other habits or inclinations, can be so rarely united with the youthful frame. Lady Jane revealed the secret of her rare acquisitions to her literary visitor. The severity of her parental education in the manners of stately etiquette, had made her find in her milder tutor, and in her elaborate studies, a grateful relief.⁹ Youth

⁸ It is from sir Tho. Chaloner that we learn this extraordinary fact of this extraordinary young noblewoman:

Quis putet? Hæc Arabum, Chaldaica verbà,
Junxerat. Hebræum scite idioma tenens loquelæ.

Deplor. p. 191.

Latimer's Seven Sermons on the Pater Noster were preached before her mother at Grymstorp, in 1552.

⁹ Ascham thus inserts her account to him in her own words. 'Her parents, the duke and duchess, with all the household gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park. I asked her, why she should lose such pastime? Smiling, she answered me, 'All their sport in the park is but a shadow to the pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folk! they never felt what true pleasure meant.' And how came you, madam, to this deep knowlege of pleasure? and what did chiefly allure to it, seeing not many women, and but very few men, have attained thereunto? 'I will tell you,' quoth she, 'and tell you a truth which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me is, that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For, when I am in presence of either father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go; whether I eat, drink, be merry or sad; whether I be sewing, playing, dancing, or any thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number; even so perfectly as God made the world; or else, I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently, sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways which I will not name for the honor I bear them, so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer. He teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing while I am with him. When I am called from him I fall a weeping; because whatsoever I do else but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. Thus my book hath been so much my pleasure,

eagerly pursues the objects of its pleasurable gratifications, and Jane, tho the eldest daughter of a princely duchess, was allowed to find no happiness in her maternal home, except in her Greek and Latin lessons. To the classics, therefore, as to the sources of her daily comfort, she applied with enthusiasm: and this fortunate direction of her juvenile energy, thus converting the painful necessity into the highest benefit, was rewarded with that intellectual proficiency which has rescued her name from obloquy; and has secured to the fair and gentle usurper our kindest admiration and regret, and to the female student an applausive reputation which will never die. Her piety was fervent, diffident,¹⁰ and active.¹¹ Two years before Ascham had remarked her learned studies, Jane had attracted the notice of the ambitious and speculative lord admiral Seymour; and one of the projects of this infatuated and contriving nobleman, to elevate himself to the

and bringeth daily to me more pleasure; and more so, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me.' Ascham's Schoolmaster, p. 37-9.

¹⁰ She says very prettily to Bullinger, 'I come now to the praises which your letter lavishes on me. I ought neither to claim, nor in any manner allow them. Whatever the Divine goodness has bestowed upon me, I acknowlege it all to have been received from him. If there be any thing about me which has some appearance of virtue, He and He alone is its Great Author; and I wish you, most excellent man! to entreat him, in my name, by your continual prayers, that he may so guide me and all my sentiments in this respect, that I may not become unworthy of his great benignity.' Ellis, p. 183.

¹¹ Her letter to a 'noble friend, who had newly fallen from the truth,' is an evidence of her earnest desire to lead him to more sound opinions, and contains much strong and laudable feeling, with some mixture of angry declamation, in language not very polished; but, as a whole, displays more fluency of ordinary phrase than cultivated talent, or unusual understanding. This letter is printed in Fox, and in the Harl. Miscell. v. 3, p. 114-6, and in later compilers.

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ascendancy he coveted, was to produce an union between Edward and lady Jane.¹² She was then only thirteen, and the king but eleven; yet Seymour assured her father that he would effectuate the match.¹³ To accomplish this, and at the same time to secure to himself the merit of completing it, he was very earnest that the young lady should reside with him, and with his wife the queen dowager. His persevering solicitations to her father obtained this point,¹⁴ and Jane was under his roof when queen Catherine Parr expired there.¹⁵ Expecting the dislocation of his family from this event, he proposed to send her home; but altering his plans, he desired to keep her with him under the care of his mother.¹⁶ Her parents refused his request; he struggled against their objections; but their continued determination that she should be educated by themselves, and their insisting applications for her return,¹⁷ at last compelled him to relinquish her to their protection, when his aspiring policy took that grander direction which occasioned this catastrophe. His brother, the protector, then formed his separate plan, to wed her

¹² Harrington mentioned on his examination, that he had heard the admiral say of lady Jane, 'She was as handsome as any lady in England, and that she might be wife to any prince in Christendom; and that if the king's majesty, when he came to age, would marry within the realm, it was as likely he would be there as in any other place; and that he would wish it.' Haynes, 83.

¹³ Her father's confession was, that the admiral had told him, 'that he would marry her to the king's majesty; saying further, that if he might get the king at liberty, he durst warrant the said lord marquis, that the king should marry his said daughter.' Haynes, 76.

¹⁴ The marquis Dorset, her father, stated these urgencies. Hayn. 76.

¹⁵ She died in child-bed, 5th September 1548.

¹⁶ His letter to her father, of 17th September, mentions these facts.

¹⁷ On 19th September, her father, and her mother lady Frances Dorset, wrote the two letters to him, which Haynes has printed, 78, 79.

to one of his own sons, which the admiral opposed.¹⁸ This project failing, she continued unmatched with any one, till the duke of Northumberland, in May 1553, deviating with the lords of the council in their short-sighted scheme of disturbing the expected and regular succession, and forming with some of the principal peers that combination of marriages already noticed, united her in that month to his son lord Guildford Dudley. What they devised in May and June, they began harmoniously and firmly to execute in the beginning of July.¹⁹ Nor does it appear that they would have shrunk from its full perpetration, or have even failed in its accomplishment, but for the unforeseen and unexpected burst of popular feeling, which overwhelmed both technical power and calculating policy.

The death of Edward, altho concealed by the government, was known, as we have remarked, by some, and reported by others, throughout the metropolis;²⁰ but nothing official was communicated. The emperor's ambassadors arrived at that critical moment.²¹ The chief ministers put off their engage-

¹⁸ See marquis Northampton's examinations, *ib.* 80; and also her father's, p. 77.

¹⁹ Besides Fox's warm and partial narrative, we have two accounts of Lady Jane's short elevation, written at the moment, by two distinct foreigners; one an Italian, whose letter to his 'Molto Magnifico Signor,' dated 24 July 1553, from London, is in *Lett. de Principi*, v. 3. p. 135-8; and the other, the successive dispatches of the French ambassador Noailles, from the 7th July to the end of that month, in Vertot's publication of his correspondence, v. 2. p. 50-100. We have also Jane's own account, in her interesting letter to Mary in August, printed by Pollini, in his own Italian translation, in his *Istor. Eccl. della Rivol. Ingl.* p. 355-8. Sanders, also a contemporary, has narrated such facts as he has chosen to state in his *De Schisma*, p. 322-8.

²⁰ 'Si sapersa in tutta Londra.' *Lett. Prin.* 135.

²¹ *Lett. Noail.* 7 July, p. 50.

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ment on that day with the French ambassador, but were seen to visit the Tower of London, and to inspect its fortifications and artillery.²² For three days the mysterious uncertainty was continued in the public mind. Mary had been sent for in the king's name, and was journeying to his palace; when a secret messenger met her, with a private communication of Edward's death, and of his council's machinations;²³ and she immediately turned her horse towards the eastern counties, and never rested till she reached her castellated mansion of Kenninghall, in Norfolk,²⁴ a distance too great for her seizure by a sudden surprise. From this part she sent immediately to the gentlemen she thought most likely to befriend her,²⁵ and to sir Edward Hastings;²⁶ and she also issued her missive to the state lords, claiming her right of succession, and requiring them to cause her to be immediately proclaimed.²⁷ The council united to send her an immediate denial of her right; declaring her 'illegitimate and unheritable, and

²² Lett. Noail. 7 July, p. 51.

²³ This is usually referred to the earl of Arundel. It may have come from the imperial embassy.

²⁴ Grafton, p. 1323.

²⁵ On Saturday, the 8th July, she wrote to sir George Somerset, sir W. Drury, sir W. Waldgrave, and others, requiring them to obey no other commandment; and in all haste possible to repair to her at Kenninghall. Strype's Ecc. v. 3. p. 14.

²⁶ In this letter, dated 9th July, after mentioning the king's death on the preceding Thursday, she requires him, 'to have an heart and an eye to the surety of her person; not to stir in a forcible array at any commandment except for her, or unless any should dare to attempt her right; and to fortify and prepare himself to be ready to serve her.' See it in Strype, v. 3. App. 172.

²⁷ See it in Fox Mart. and in Heylin, 155, dated 'at our manor of Kenninghall, 9 July 1553.' In this she told them, 'We are not ignorant of your consultations to undo the provisions made for our preferment; nor of the great hands, and provisions forcible, wherewith you be assembled and prepared.' ib.

calling upon her to recognise as sovereign the lady queen Jane.' ²⁸

CHAP.
XI.

The unusual magnificence with which Jane's nuptials had been solemnized,²⁹ and the princely ceremonies which were then studiously exhibited to her,³⁰ had occasioned the surmise of many, that some extraordinary incidents were in contemplation; but the letters patent which deprived the daughters of Henry of the succession, and promoted Jane, tho signed by the king on the 21st June,³¹ were not at that time made public. Yet some peculiar move-

²⁸ This remarkable letter, dated the same day as Mary's, 9th July, was signed by

Cranmer
The lord chancellor, the bishop
of Ely
The dukes Northumberland
Suffolk
The marquisses Winchester
Northampton
The earls Arundel
Shrewsbury
Huntingdon
Bedford

The earl Pembroke
The lords Cobham
Darcy
Sir Thos. Cheney
Robt. Cotton
Wm. Petre
Wm. Cecil
John Cheek
John Mason
Edward North
Robert Bows.

These names shew the strength of the combination of the aristocracy for their new sovereign. The language was decisive. They advertise her, that lady Jane is their sovereign; 'we must, as of most bound duty and allegiance, assent unto her, and to none other.' They remind her, that by the ecclesiastical laws, by the most part of the universities in Christendom, and by sundry acts of Parliament, she was justly made illegitimate, and unheritable to the crown; and they require her to surcease to vex or molest any of queen Jane's subjects; adding as the finale to this admonition, 'If you will show yourself quiet and obedient, as you ought, you shall find us ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and be glad with your quietness to preserve the common state of this realm; otherwise you may be grievous to us, to yourself, and to them.' Heylin, 158. 'Your *ladyship's* friends, *shewing yourself an obedient subject.*' Nicolas, 50 App.

²⁹ 'Jo no ho visto in questo regno cosa simile.' Lett. Princ. 133.

³⁰ The Italian writer particularizes, that her table was served 'on the knee,' and with every form towards the ambassadors present at it which could be made to a king in a solemn banquet.' *ib.* 133.

³¹ *Ib.* 133. Proclam. recited in Heyl. 160.

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ments of the government were observed. Messengers were dispatched to their ambassadors at the French and imperial courts;³² artillery was hastened to the coast,³³ and a fleet was suddenly put into active preparation.³⁴ It was not certain, amid the commotions which might arise on this daring revolution of the dynasty, how far either Charles V. or the king of France would act. The latter might attempt to seize Calais, while the military force of England was occupied in its interior; and the emperor, who was keeping up his secret intercourse with Mary,³⁵ might invade to enthrone her. The chiefs of the city municipality were then privately summoned to the state council, and both the royal death and the intended succession were imparted to them, under an oath of secrecy, until further orders.³⁶

During these schemes and precautions, the appointed queen was ignorant of her impending dignity, till, as the king became despaired of, the duchess of Northumberland told her, that if he died, she must go to the Tower, as he had made her the heiress of his kingdoms. This information disturbed her;

³² Lett. Noail. 22 June, p. 43.

³³ Ib. 23 June, p. 45.

³⁴ Lett. ib. 26 June, p. 47. The ambassador remarked to his sovereign, 'The duke [Northumberland,] who is close and guarded in all things, would not acknowledge these preparations. He would only admit that some ships were to go to Barbary and the Spice Islands: an actual dissimulation, sire! for above 20 ships are making ready, and they are arming all whom they can trust.' ib. 48.

³⁵ On 23d June, Noailles wrote, that he had learnt from his ambassador, that 'the emperor was at that moment resolved to undertake earnestly la poursuite de la pratique qui est ja encommencée avec Mad. Marie, that this succession might not escape him.' Lett. p. 45.

³⁶ Stowe, 609. Heylin, p. 154. 'The lord mayor, six of the principal aldermen, and as many of the staple merchants, and of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, were the persons who attended on this official call. ib.

but not accrediting it, she chose to reside with her mother, to the displeasure of the more ambitious lady. After a few days, she obtained leave to be at her own more quiet home, at Chelsea, where an indisposition detained her, till she was sent for by the state council, to meet them at Sion House, and receive the ordination of the departed king. One of her sisters-in-law brought her the message, and carried her to the ducal mansion.³⁷ She found no one there upon her arrival, but, after a short interval, five of the chief lords entered, and formally acquainted her with Edward's death. Two of them, the earls of Huntingdon and Pembroke, addressed her with a courtesy and reverence so unusual as to startle her. They knelt on the ground, and called her their sovereign lady, while she blushed, and trembled with confusion at the unexpected homage. The noble ladies of the united families then entered; and the duke of Northumberland, as president of the council, after a panegyric on Edward, described his disinheritance of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and declared her to be the person whom he had appointed to be his successor, and her sisters in case she died without issue. All the lords knelt down as he closed his oration, assured her that she was the right and true heir to the crown, and promised to shed their blood and expose their lives in her defence.³⁸ She heard and saw with a pain of mind which she could neither suppress nor conceal; a stupefaction came over her; she tottered, and fell to the ground—and only recovered to burst into a flood of tears, with convulsive

³⁷ Jane's letter to Mary, in Pollini, p. 356.

³⁸ Lady Jane's letter, p. 356.

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lamentation.³⁹ As the power of speech returned, she modestly declared her insufficiency for so grand a station. This was not listened to; nor did she doubt or deliberate farther; unfortunately, her judgment, if not dazzled by the splendid prize, was at least overborne by the presence and homage of the most powerful and distinguished men of the kingdom acknowledging her to be their queen. Pausing only to offer before them a prayer to her Maker for his assistance, she yielded to their wishes, and unresistingly took the sceptre which they placed within her hands.⁴⁰ Such is her own account of this eventful moment, of their solicitation, and of her decision. She does not intimate that she refused the tempting diadem, or recollected the prior claims of the excluded princesses. Her unaffected diffidence doubted her own qualifications; but no moral perception of the injustice of accepting another's right, to the prejudice of the injured, appears to have impressed her. The crown was offered—she was urged—she was astonished—and she consented.

The next day, she was taken in great state down the Thames, with a splendid company of nobility, of both sexes, to the Tower.⁴¹ Her mother, as the lady of the highest rank there, held her train as she

³⁹ 'As soon as I had, with infinite pain to my mind, understood these things, how much I remained beside myself, stunned and agitated, I leave to those lords to testify, who saw me fall to the ground, overwhelmed with sudden and unexpected dismay, and who knew how grievously I wept.' Lett. ib. 357.

⁴⁰ 'I turned to God, and humbly petitioned and supplicated him, that if what had been given to me were rightly and lawfully mine, he would grant me so much grace and spirit that I might govern these kingdoms to his glory and service and advantage.' ib. p. 357.

⁴¹ 'Accompagnata da gran Baronia d'huomini et dame.' Lett. Princ. 133.

entered it. Her husband stood by her side with his bonnet in his hand, while all the lords, as she appeared, bent the knee of reverence on the ground.⁴³ The lord high treasurer, unasked, produced the jewelled crown, and desired to place it on her head, to see how it fitted. She refused this distinction. He told her she might boldly take it, and that he would have another made, to crown her husband with her.⁴⁴

It is remarkable that these words alarmed her. Mild and modest, and young, as she unquestionably was, the spirit of royalty and power had within twenty-four hours gained such an ascendancy in her studious mind, that she heard the intimation of her husband being elevated to the same dignity as herself, with vexation and displeasure.⁴⁵ As soon as she was left alone with him, she remonstrated against this measure; and after much dispute, he agreed to wait till she herself should make him king, and by an act of parliament.⁴⁶ But even this concession to take the dignity as a boon from her, did not satisfy the sudden expansion of her new-born ambition. She soon sent for the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and informed them that she was willing to create her husband a duke, but would never consent to make him king.⁴⁷ This declaration brought down his mother in great fury to her, with all the force of enraged language and imperious

⁴³ Lett. Prin. 133.

⁴⁴ Jane's letter, p. 357.

⁴⁵ This is her own account: 'Which thing I certainly heard with a troubled mind, and with an adverse will; even with the infinite grief and displeasure of my heart.' Jane's lett. ib.

⁴⁶ 'After the lord was gone, I reasoned much with my husband; and he consented, that as he ought to be king, he should be made so by me by an Act of Parliament.' Jane's lett. ib.

⁴⁷ Jane, ib.

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disdain. The violent duchess scolded her young queen, and roused the mortified Dudley to forsake her chamber of repose, and to vow that he would accept no title but the regal honor.⁴⁷ The timid Jane of the preceding day was now so completely transformed into the determined queen, that she sent the two nobles, whom she had already selected to be her trusted messengers, to him, to persuade him not to go to Sion House to imbibe the resentments of his parent, but to come back friendly to her.⁴⁸

A proclamation was immediately printed, and affixed in the most public places, to which she attached her name.⁴⁹ In this Edward's last appointment was recited, with his disqualification of Mary and Elizabeth, for their asserted illegitimacy, for their being only half-blood to Edward,⁵⁰ and from the possibility of their marrying a foreigner. On these grounds she desired their obedience to her as 'their natural liege queen and lady,' and promised to shew herself 'a most gracious and benign sovereign to all.'⁵¹ The French ambassador directed

⁴⁷ Jane's lett. p. 357.

⁴⁸ Ib. 'Otherwise I knew that the next morning he would have gone off to Sion.' Jane's lett. 357. She adds, 'and thus I was in truth deluded by the duke and the council, and ill treated by my husband and his mother.' ib.

⁴⁹ It was printed by Grafton in 1553; and in French, by Vertot, among the *Ambassades de Noailles*, 2062, as this minister sent it immediately to his sovereign; and since by Mr. Nicolas, in his *Memoir*, p. 41-7.

⁵⁰ 'This legal point would have been effectual, if it had concerned only Edward's freehold estate as a private individual, and if a previous settlement had not so entailed it on the princesses, that it did not descend, as his own heritable land, to his next legal heir; for in this case, his two half sisters, being by different mothers, would not have taken it as an inheritance from him as his heirs by the common law of the country.'

⁵¹ She promised 'to the uttermost of our power we shall preserve and maintain God's most Holy Word, Christian polity, and the good laws, customs and liberties of these our realms and dominions.' ib.

his sovereign to be informed that she was crowned the next day with great ceremonies;⁵² a fact that is not mentioned in the other documents which have reached us.

That almost all the nobility of England accompanied her state procession to the Tower,⁵³ and swore, within that fortress, to maintain her reign,⁵⁴ were their public pledges to the people and to her, that this revolution of the succession was their work, and would receive their support. But it was remarked, that tho 'the concourse of the people was great, their acclamations were few.'⁵⁵ The change was received with unexpected tranquillity.⁵⁶ As Mary had escaped the arrest which was awaiting her, it was obvious that force must now decide the question between the fair competitors; and the new queen and her creators became as active as the crisis demanded. She issued her royal letters to the lord lieutenants of the counties, requiring them to exert themselves to the uttermost of their power to

⁵² On 11 July, 'avec grandes ceremonies.' Amb. Noaill. p. 56. Stowe mentions that on the 10th she was received as queen at the Tower, and proclaimed; but he does not mention her coronation. p. 610. And the Frenchman's note calls it rather peculiarly, 'Le couronnement du roy, successeur du feu roy Edward.' ib.

⁵³ 'By almost all the peers of the realm.' Godwin, p. 264.

⁵⁴ 'Ibi accepto clam *universæ* fere *precipue* nobilitatis jurejurando.' Sanders's Schis. p. 322.

⁵⁵ 'As if the strangeness of some new spectacle had drawn them together, rather than any intent of gratulation; which Mary's friends, hitherto distrustful more of success than of the cause, accepted of as an happy omen, and were encouraged to assist her as occasion should invite them.' Godw. ap. 265.

⁵⁶ 'Sans tumulte ni emotion du peuple; chose qui étoit *inopinée* à un chacun.' Noaill. p. 56. Only one person was noticed for expressing dislike, a vintner's boy; and he, upon the accusation of his own master, was taken up: his ears were cruelly nailed to a pillar, and then cut off. Stowe, 610. It was an uncharitable satisfaction to many, that the informer, on his return home by water, was drowned the same evening by an accidental upsetting of the boat. ib. Sanders, 323.

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defend her title, and to assert her possession, and to resist the untrue claim of the lady Mary.⁴⁷ This princess, as resolute to recover her usurped crown, ordered the authorities at Norwich to proclaim her as their queen. They hesitated on the first day, from a doubt of its prudence ;⁴⁸ but obeyed her on the ensuing one, when their feelings had become more excited, or their loyalty more safe, and even sent her both men and munitions.⁴⁹

All things thus far favored the bold undertaking. The government, revenue, fortresses, and army of the country, were in the hands of Jane's upholders. The populace of the nation exhibited no opposition. The emperor was too much embarrassed to send any counteracting succours to the excluded princess ;⁵⁰ and the French sovereign, from hostility to him, did not then chuse to interfere on her behalf. The usurpation seemed complete ; and Ridley, one of

⁴⁷ One of these, to the marquis of Northampton, is printed by Ellis, First Series, v. 2. p. 183. We will hope that Jane did not read before she signed it, the degrading epithet which it attached to the princess, of 'bastard daughter.' p. 185. A similar letter is in the MS. Lansd. in the B. Museum, N° 1236.

⁴⁸ Alleging that they were not certain of the king's death. Stowe, 610.

⁴⁹ Stowe, ib.

⁵⁰ Sanders has put this fact satisfactorily. 'Charles the Cæsar, from whom alone Mary could expect assistance, was at this time so pressed by attacks upon him, that he could scarcely maintain himself. For tho he had, in preceding years, subdued all Germany, and carried prisoners into Flanders the electors of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, the heads of the Protestants ; yet this very success so roused the minds of other princes against him, that Henry, the late king of France, tho a maximus hostis hæreticorum, yet signed himself the Protector of the Liberties of Germany, and the avenger of the captives. With this sovereign, Maurice of Saxony, deserting the emperor, conspired ; and the ruler of Brandenburg and other German princes joining them, the French king was not only enabled to take from Charles the three amplissimos bishoprics of Toul, Verdun and Metz ; but Maurice, by an unexpected attack on the city of Enipontina, had nearly made the emperor himself a prisoner.' De Schis. p. 324.

our worthiest and most respected reformers, and then bishop of London, unhappily mingling party politics with his religious sincerity, degraded himself, and gave a triumph to his enemies, by preaching to the people, amid many others of the clergy, in support of this unrightful change of dynasty.⁶¹ When will this sacred order of society, whom every well-taught mind and good heart desire to revere, leave worldly things to worldly combatants; and cease to unite what our Greatest Legislator has so truly declared to be for ever incompatible?

The throne of Jane would have stood unsubverted, if the feelings of the people had corresponded with those of the leading aristocracy; but on no occasion has public opinion more signally manifested its overwhelming power than on this experiment. Law, government, army, magistracy, nobility, the clergy, the metropolis, every fortress and actual possession, were on the side of Jane. Mary was a fugitive, and alone; and that she might not escape abroad, and excite invasions with an imperial force, a fleet was sent to Yarmouth, to intercept her flight.⁶²

But the feelings of the gentry of England were almost unanimous for the daughter of their undiminished favorite, Henry VIII. Her attachment to the popery they had rejected, would have determined

⁶¹ Stowe, 611. Bishop Godwin, who justly says, 'I wish he had not erred in this matter,' remarks with truth its ill effect: 'Neither were the people made any thing the more inclinable by public impugning queen Mary's right in the pulpit, a course wherein Northumberland engaged many a preacher.' Ann. p. 267. Ridley's sermon was the more unfortunate for himself, in its worldly effects, as injudicious in the time of his uttering it; for it was preached on 16th July, when the popular feeling had turned the scale against queen Jane. Stowe, 611.

⁶² Godw. 268.

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them to oppose her; but the remembrance and popularity of her father, led them to resolve that she should be their queen, and Protestants as well as Catholics armed zealously for her. Sir Edward Hastings, altho the brother of one of the lords most active for Jane, and who had been sent by Northumberland to raise four thousand foot for her support,⁶³ obeyed her appeal to him, and was among the first to raise the standard of loyalty to Mary, by marching instantaneously to her retreat in Norfolk the forces he had rapidly collected. This decided conduct removed all fear from those who desired to imitate. Her castle, embosomed in a wood of difficult access, was made more secure by its few defenders cutting down trees to block up the paths that led to it;⁶⁴ and when the place of retreat was known, knights and gentlemen, and some peers, levying their tenants and dependents, with zealous speed, and taking what money, provisions, and munitions they had by them, hastened to offer her their devoted assistance⁶⁵ with such rapid alacrity, as to reach her retirement within six days after Edward's death.⁶⁶ She proceeded to Framlingham Castle, the chief seat of the Norfolk

⁶³ Godw. 268. For this early declaration and timely aid, Mary created him baron of Lowborough. *ib.*; and made him one of her confidential ministers. To take with him the treasure which he had of Edward's in his hands, as M. Noailles intimates, (p. 71,) seems irreconcilable with personal honor.

⁶⁴ 'Castello chiuso da un bosco inaccessibile, sbarrate che sieno con arbori certe vie strette e guardate da poca gente.' Lett. Prin. 137.

⁶⁵ The nobles were the earls of Bath and Sussex, and the two heirs of lords Wharton and Mordaunt. Godw. 267. The law serjeant, Morgan, was also so alert as to be promoted to be one of the chief judges of the kingdom. *ib.* 268.

⁶⁶ Stowe says, that on 12 July the account of these arrivals at Kenninghall was brought to the council at London. p. 610.

family, to be near the sea coast in case of disaster ; but all apprehensions of the issue became dissipated, when, from the thronging numbers, she soon beheld thirty thousand unexpected defenders,⁶⁷ with their glittering arms and banners, near her walls, resolved to place her on her father's throne. No one had summoned them ; no one had anticipated such an enthusiasm. It was the impulse of their own sensibilities which had collected them ; and many who had been embodied and commissioned to act against her, catching the general sympathy, marched only to join her cordial supporters.⁶⁸ The men in the fleet which had been sent to intercept her on the sea, being driven by a tempest into Yarmouth, associated themselves with her friendly bands.⁶⁹ This incident peculiarly rejoiced Mary, and removed her apprehensions of her opponent's power. The loyalty being so general, the leaders of this powerful force determined to act with immediate energy ; and sir Edward Hastings, on the 15th, marched to Drayton with ten thousand men, to proceed forward to Westminster.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ ' Per la quale in brevissimo spatio di tempo circa trenta mila huomini voluntarii stavano in arme in suo servitio.' Lett. Prin. 137. They brought such abundance of necessaries, that altho so numerous, a cask of ale was sold for a Spanish real, and four great loaves for the sixth part of one. Sanders, p. 326. She wrote to the imperial ambassadors an expression of her feelings, on finding the people ' si affectionée à sa devotion, leur declarant qu'elle en trouve nombre infini.' Noail. 72.

⁶⁸ Lett. Prin. 137. This Italian gentleman, then in London, thus contrasts the sudden change : ' a maiden lady, destitute and abandoned by all ; without arms, artillery or soldiers ; flying into a poor country, found in a moment riches spontaneously brought to her ; opened hearts ; arms, horses, ammunition and artillery, competent to make her terrible enemy tremble.' ib. 136.

⁶⁹ Godw. 268. The captains took both their men and great ordnance to join her at sir W. Jerningham's request. Stowe, 611.

⁷⁰ Journ. Privy Council, in Haynes, 155.

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The lords had expected, that their combination of their own power with that of government, would have peaceably established their new sovereign, or have immediately overwhelmed all resistance; and tho they had missed the seizure of Mary's person,⁷¹ the tranquil acquiescence of the metropolis fortified them in their conclusion. Hence, on the same day in which they had received Mary's letter demanding their allegiance, they had unanimously returned to her their own requisition, that she should submit as a subject to the new dynasty they had erected.⁷² But the tidings which came of sir Edward Hastings's defection, and of the hurrying of others to set up Mary's standard, alarmed them into a perception that a vigorous battle must now be fought to maintain their regal project, and to secure their own safety. They did not shrink from the necessity when it first became visible; they prepared immediately for the deadly contest, and believed their united forces would have commanded a victorious issue. Hence, in their council held on 12 July, immediately after the news arrived of the desertions to Mary, they resolved that the duke of Suffolk, with others of the nobles, 'should go towards the lady Mary to fetch her up to the Tower.'⁷³ Jane here interfered. She felt uneasy and desolate to be

⁷¹ The French ambassador, on 13 July, mentions this to have been a principal part of their scheme, 'Ayant le duc de Northumberland obmis *un des principaux points de cette faction*, que de saiser de Madame Marie.' p. 58.

⁷² See before, p. 216.

⁷³ Stowe, 610. Some late writers suppose this change to have arisen from an insidious design to get rid of Northumberland. But to put all the armed force on their side under his command, was not the way to lessen his power. Stowe, a contemporary, gives us the true statement of the fact, and departs from his usual brevity and dryness to do so.

left without her father, in the hands of the chief of the Northumberland family at that crisis, and ‘with weeping tears made request to the whole council that he might tarry at home in her company.’⁷⁴ This was a natural emotion, and seemed no detriment to her cause, as he had never been distinguished for his military talents or for general ability. The eyes of all were then turned on Northumberland, whose capacity and martial endowments were universally acknowledged.⁷⁵ They requested him to undertake the enterprise. He assented, on the assurance of their fidelity;⁷⁶ and the same night sent for the peers and knights whom he wished to accompany him, and caused every necessary preparation to be instantly made. He then took leave of Jane, who, thanking him for taking her father’s place, ‘beseeched him to use his diligence.’ Whereto he answered, that ‘he would do what in him lay.’⁷⁷ So that the young queen was then both determined and desirous to maintain her usurped royalty by the sword. In the hope and assurance of undoubting success, she dispatched her official letters to the foreign princes, announcing her accession, and explaining her title.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Stowe, 618.

⁷⁵ The council said, ‘No man was so fit, because he had achieved the victory in Norfolk once already, and was therefore so feared, that none durst once lift up their weapon against him. Besides, he was the best man of war in the realm, as well for the ordering of his camps and soldiers, both in battle and in their tents, as also by experience, knowlege and wisdom; he could animate his army with witty persuasions, and also pacify and allay his enemies pride with his stout courage; or else dissuade them, if need were, from their enterprize.’ Stowe, 610.

⁷⁶ ‘Well,’ quoth the duke, ‘since ye think it good, I and mine will go, not doubting of your fidelity to the queen’s majesty, which I leave in your custody.’ Stowe, 610.

⁷⁷ Stowe, 610.

⁷⁸ Strype has printed her letter of 12 July to sir Philip Hoby, the

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The next day the artillery and field pieces were set forward. The duke received the promise of his noble confederates, that their powers should meet him at Newmarket; and while his military commission was preparing, he made to them an earnest parting address before he sat down to his last cabinet dinner.⁷⁹ On the following day, having put his battalions on the march, he moved from the metropolis, with a personal train of six hundred men. Yet as he passed thro Shoreditch, the unapplauding apathy of the multitude was so visible, that he remarked to lord Gray, ‘The people press to see us, but not one saith, God speed us.’⁸⁰ This was natural: it was not their cause, but the cause of the great aristocracy, that he was going to contend for.

ambassador at Brussels, Eccl. Mem. v. 3. p. 9. In this she states, that she was ‘possessed’ of the crown, ‘with the assent of *the nobility and states* of this our realm.’ On the 11th the council dispatched a courier, with a letter from herself, to the emperor. ib. 18.

⁷⁹ In this he reminded them, that it was *for them*, as well as for himself and his companions, that he was about to risk his life: ‘My lords! I and these other noble personages, with the whole army that now go forth, as well *for the behalf of you and yours*, as for the establishing of the queen’s highness, shall adventure our bodies and lives.’ He also recalled to their recollection, that she ‘by *your* and our inticement is rather of force placed therein, than by her own seeking and request,’ and that if he chose to desert them, he could in sundry ways provide for his own safeguard, ‘as any of you by betraying us can do for yours.’ He therefore exhorted them not to violate their ‘trust and promise,’ but, ‘to use constant hearts, abandoning all malice, envy and private affection.’ Stowe, 611.

⁸⁰ Stowe, 611. The celebrated John Knox was at this time in Buckinghamshire, and thus expressed his feelings on the crisis, in a sermon at Amersham. ‘O England! now is God’s wrath kindled against thee; for I perceive that the heart, the tongue, and hand of one Englishman is bent against another, and division to be in the whole realm. O England! England! dost thou not consider that thy common-wealth is like a ship sailing on the sea? If thy mariners and governors shall consume one another, shalt thou not suffer shipwreck in short process of time? O England! England! if thou return to thine old abominations before used under papistry, then assuredly thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation by the means of those whose favor thou seekest.’ Knox’s faithful Admon. ap. Strype, p. 10.

When he quitted London, the noble confederation was faithful and complete.⁸¹ Whatever afterwards occurred, they meant at this time to perform their bond, and sent for their feudal forces from their individual estates, to unite with him as they had planned, for the overpowering blow. Jane seconded these applications by her own letters,⁸² and with repeated activity.⁸³ The duke advanced to Cambridge,⁸⁴ expecting their junction. Mary, becoming more confident of the result, issued a proclamation, offering one thousand pounds in lands to any nobleman who would apprehend him.⁸⁵ The

⁸¹ After his departure, the council shewed their continued adherence, in their dispatch to the ambassadors in the imperial court, in which they say, that except 'a few lewd base people, ALL OTHER, the nobility and gentlemen remaining in their duties to their sovereign lady queen Jane;' and mention that the duke and the marquis Northampton had 'proceeded with a convenient power into the parts of Norfolk, to keep those counties in duty and obedience.' Strype's Eccl. v. 3. p. 8.

⁸² Thus on 16 July she wrote to the lieutenancy of Surry, telling them that 'The nobility of our realm; our council, our prelates, our judges and learned men and others, good wise men, do remain fast and surely in their allegiance to us.' She added, 'Certain of our nobility have written at this present in some part to admonish you of your duties, and to testify their knowlege of the truth of our title and right.' Ellis, first Ser. v. 2. p. 187.

⁸³ On 18 July, she sent the earnest letter to sir J. Bridges and sir N. Poynter, to levy all the power they could make 'either of your servants, tenants, officers or friends.' Nicolas, p. 57, from the Harl. MS. N° 416. It is from this letter that he has taken her signature of 'Jane the quene,' which he has printed under her pleasing portrait from Hans Holbein's picture. We have also her letter on the same day, to sir J. Lowe and sir A. Kingston, urging them to muster all their power, and calling her opponents 'seditious people, seeking the destruction of their native country, and the subversion of all men in their degree, by rebellion of the base multitude.' Her further expressions put the opposition to her as a movement of the democracy against the aristocracy, by an allusion to the preceding insurrections: 'whose rage being stirred, as of late years hath been seen, must needs be the confusion of the whole commonweal.' Strype, v. 3. app. 173.

⁸⁴ Noailles, on 18 July, wrote, that he was then in that city. p. 73.

⁸⁵ This was on the 18th July, 'To every knight 500*l.* land; to every gentleman 500 marks land; and to any yeoman an hundred pounds land.' Jour. Council. Haynes, 156.

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duke, finding her numbers formidable, sent urgently to the council for his promised reinforcement; but it had become impossible for them to fulfil their pledge, or to prosecute their plans, for their own 'tenants refused to serve their lords against queen Mary.'⁸⁶ The forces which they sent from London were also so affected by the general sympathy for Mary, that it became obvious to the observer that they would join her when the armies approached,⁸⁷ as the Stanleys wheeled round to her grandfather's standard in the battle of Bosworth field.

This debilitating disaffection inevitably broke up the aristocratical confederacy, and left its composers at Mary's mercy. There is no occasion to charge, no necessity to suppose, and no adequate evidence to prove any contriving perfidy or treachery. All the lords had continued to co-operate harmoniously together for a vigorous execution of their purpose, till the power to effect it thus shivered in their hands. Self-love immediately actuated some to withdraw themselves as rapidly as possible from the fatal consequence. It was after this, but not before, that lord Pembroke sought to get out of the town, and that the marquis Winchester actually left it.⁸⁸ Earl Oxford then signified to Mary his intentions to support her;⁸⁹ and on the 18th, Northumberland,

⁸⁶ This *deciding* fact, which really terminated the contest, is mentioned by Stowe, p. 611. The force the duke had collected at Cambridge, amounted only to 8,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and of these many forsook him as he marched to St. Edmund's. Godw. 269.

⁸⁷ Noailles, 74.

⁸⁸ Stowe, 611.

⁸⁹ It is not till the 19th July, that this fact is recorded in the minutes of the council. Haynes, 157. He had therefore been thirteen days deliberating, before he renounced Jane. No other nobleman's adherence to Mary is noticed before his letter.

who had proceeded to Bury St. Edmund's, finding no troops arrive with which he could confront the multitudes who had attached themselves to Mary, was compelled to fall back to Cambridge.⁹⁰ This retrograde movement terminated all military aggressions, and made both the soldiers that were with him, and his noble friends in London, think only of the speediest measures to procure an amnesty, by forsaking Jane. Before this conclusive intelligence reached the metropolis, Cranmer and fifteen lords of the council, undismayed by Oxford's secession, on 19th July, had sent their requisition to the lord lieutenant of Essex, who had informed them of it, that he would not desert them.⁹¹ But afterwards, on the same day, a change that may be rationally referred to the news of Northumberland's retrogression, the council met again at Baynard's Castle, and called to them such of the nobility as were not hostile to Mary. Here lord Arundel took the lead in recommending them to admit her to be the queen. There was no appearance that she meant to alter their religion. She had given a contrary intimation. Why, then, risk such certain destruction as would

⁹⁰ Stowe, 611. He had advanced 20 miles beyond it. Lett. Prin. 3. p. 138.

⁹¹ 'Requiring your lordship nevertheless like a nobleman *to remain in that promise and steadiness* to our sovereign lady queen Jane's service, as *ye shall find us ready and firm* with all our force to the same; which neither with honor, nor with safety, nor yet with duty, we may now forsake.' Tower, 19 July. The signatures are,

Cranmer,
T. Ely, chancellor,
The earls Suffolk,
Pembroke,
Arundel,

Lord W. Paget,
Marq. Winchester,
And nine knights.

Strype's Cran. 913.

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attend a further opposition?⁹² Lord Pembroke immediately expressed his warm concurrence with Arundel, and grasped his sword to shew that he had now determined to support Mary's right against all who should contest it.⁹³ Becoming hopeless of all further success, they determined, after some angry discussions among themselves, to take the only path where a chance of safety lay, by agreeing to depose Jane and to acknowledge and proclaim Mary as the rightful queen.⁹⁴ They made the ceremonial annunciation accordingly with the applauding enthusiasm of the gratified public;⁹⁵ and wrote to their new sovereign their apologetic letter, stating, as the best excuse they could devise, that ever since her brother's death they had remained her true and humble subjects in their hearts, but had seen no possibility to utter their determination without great bloodshed; but had that day proclaimed her, and would serve her truly, in all their powers and forces, to the effusion of their blood.⁹⁶ To be now as speedy with

⁹² This important passage of his speech so clearly shews the impression under which the gentry acted, and which Mary had caused or countenanced, and probably then meant to act on, that we will subjoin his words as reported by bishop Godwin: 'How doth it appear that Mary intends any alteration in religion? *Certainly* having been lately petitioned in this point by the Suffolk men, she gave them a very hopeful answer.' This was lord Arundel's statement. The bishop adds his own evidence and confirmation of it, by inserting from himself the words, 'and that was true.' p. 270. Hence I cannot doubt the fact that she gave this favoring promise, tho, being only verbal, no written document from herself can be now produced to prove it. From the want of such an instrument, some Catholic gentlemen wished to deny it.

⁹³ Godw. 271.

⁹⁴ Stowe, 611.

⁹⁵ Te Deum was sung at St. Paul's, hymns were chanted, and the organs played in joy. All the bells in the metropolis rang their peals; every street was illuminated with bonfires; money was thrown about, and every where tables were set and furnished with beer and wine for all comers. Strype, v. 3, p. 21. The duke of Suffolk made a similar proclamation in the Tower. Lett. Prin. 3, p. 138.

⁹⁶ Their letter is in Strype's Cran. 915.

their new loyalty, as up to this moment they had steadily abstained from it, the lords Arundel and Paget rode post that night with the great seal, to deliver it to Mary, and obtained immediate forgiveness.⁹⁷ The duke of Northumberland himself, apprised of the change, as quickly imitated it, by causing her also to be proclaimed queen at the Market Cross of Cambridge, an hour before the council's letter reached him from his old confederates, commanding him to disarm and to submit to her.⁹⁸ But commotion, rejoicing, and insubordination now agitated his army. The royal guards that were with him put their captain into prison, and then went and arrested Northumberland, his sons, and earl Huntingdon, without any authority.⁹⁹ These noblemen, on 25 July, were lodged in the Tower; and soon afterwards the marquis of Northampton: whose activity against her the queen would not forgive, tho he went to proffer his submission.¹⁰⁰ The unsuccessful Jane, the 'Twelfth Day Queen,' as she was called,¹⁰¹ was detained with her husband within its walls. When her father announced to her his melancholy information, that she could reign no longer, the immediate answer of her still unperverted heart did credit to the returning rectitude of her judgment: 'This news pleases me better than that

⁹⁷ Lett. Prin. p. 138. The pardon of others was deferred by the queen, till she had obtained further information. *ib.*

⁹⁸ Stowe, 612. He subjoins their letter.

⁹⁹ A commission soon after arrived from Mary to the mayor of Cambridge to this effect. Lett. Prin. 138.

¹⁰⁰ Lett. Prin. 138. The duchess of Northumberland was permitted to go home.

¹⁰¹ The Italian remarks her reign to have lasted ten days, 'The exact time for a regina della fava at the Epiphany.' Lett. Prin. 136.

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which told me that I was to have the throne: for I do not deserve it, and am not competent to fill it.'¹⁰²

This brief vision of royalty, which had begun on the tenth, thus ended on the twentieth of July; furnishing a splendid interval of eleven days, which made life resemble a dramatic romance, both to the fairy queen and to the marvelling nation. Nor were these days a period of less agitation to the one than to the other. Jane soon found that a crown had its thorns of vexation as well as its jewels of glory: and the longer she might have worn it, the more it would have tormented her. Domestic infelicity began to afflict her from the moment that it was placed upon her brow, from the displeasure of her husband, when she declared her intentions to create him a duke, but not to invest him with the crown and sceptre. His upbraidings, and the threatenings of the duchess, so discomposed her, that from the indisposition which followed, she believed they had given her poison.¹⁰³ The supposition was wild, but the quarrel proved that no family peace or pleasure would have been the accompaniments of her unrightful dignity. Unjust acquisitions command no respect, and give no security. She had descended from her social probity, to take a royalty which was another's inheritance: and altho importunity had extorted her acquiescence, yet her first reluctance gave testimony even to herself, that she had not

¹⁰² Lett. Prin. 138. To one of the sentences which she penned before her death, except as to the severity of the punishment, every heart will be disposed to say, 'Amen.' It was, 'The error deserves death; but the manner of my innocence merits pity and excuse towards the world and human laws.' Pollini, 359.

¹⁰³ Pollini, p. 358.

rred in ignorance of what was right; and no one
 out herself could know how much the temptation of
 he offered splendor had operated, beyond the soli-
 itation, to seduce her to take what she ought to
 ave continued to refuse. The common belief could
 ot fail to be, that inclination more than persuading
 rgency had decided her determination; because
 very one rated her talents and attainments too high,
 ot to perceive in them sufficient means of resisting
 he most emphatic importunity, unless intellectual
 ultivation be of no use to the preservation and prac-
 ice of moral conduct. That she was only sixteen
 ears old, would have excused an illiterate school
 irl, but not the student of Plato, nor the companion
 f Demosthenes. It is probable that she repented of
 he error, soon after she committed it. But almost
 ll crimes are the transactions of a few minutes, and
 et involve us in long-chastising consequences of dis-
 race and ruin, from which no remorse or regret can
 ave us, when we have once committed ourselves to
 he evil issue. It is in the preceding deliberation
 hat moral principle must exert its power, and mental
 ertitude fix its resisting resolution; and it is in the
 hoice and decision of our will to do the unbecoming
 leed, that its personal criminality chiefly consists.
 he act is but the manual and momentary execution
 f the vicious and degrading determination. It is
 hat which sullies the soul; and it is that in which
 irtue must maintain her sway.

Within a month after his mortifying discomfiture,
 Northumberland was tried for high treason; and
 on 22d August beheaded at Tower Hill, reviling
 the Reformation, and declaring that he died in the

Roman Catholic faith,¹⁰¹ a needless and disreputable disclosure of a masked and unprincipled mind ; but a further evidence, that the defeated plot of usurpation had originated solely from political ambition. From such hypocrisy, national evils only could have resulted if he had triumphed. His failure was therefore no loss to the Reformation, which, if he had lived, he might have tried to betray ; and the combination of his ill success, knavery and fate seems to have had the good effect of turning the minds and passions of the English nobility from the traitorous factions, which they had so often made, that they might dispose of the crown according to their temporary humors or individual convenience. A king gives them rank and legal consequence, and derives from them his chief support ; but the succession must be independent of their appointment, if his reign is to be either comfortable to himself, or a benefit and credit to the whole nation which he governs.

¹⁰¹ See his speech in Strype's App. p. 917, 8.

CHAP. XII.

THE ACCESSION OF MARY—HER ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND TEMPER—INVASION OF HER RELIGIOUS LIBERTY—PROPOSITIONS OF MARRIAGE—HER SELECTION OF PHILIP.

MARY had acted with decision and prudence, from the commencement of a crisis which demanded an exertion of instantaneous judgment; and as she was, both in natural abilities and in her added attainments, a congenial branch of the Tudor family, she displayed them to advantage during a struggle which would have tried even manly talent and accustomed courage. If she had lived half a century earlier, or as much later in our national chronology, she would have added lustre to the English throne, and have obtained a reputation inferior to few of her predecessors. Even her more illustrious sister might not have excelled her. But if ever a sovereign has reigned, who has exhibited the deteriorating and degrading effects of allowing a political priesthood, with persecuting principles, to take the direction of the state government, and to make the mind of the sovereign subservient to the compulsory imposition on others of the religious system, tenets, and speculations which they chuse to maintain, MARY is such a person—Her name stands on the rolls of English history, like the pharos on the dark and dangerous rock, to warn every potentate and country, what must be timelily discerned and shunned; if honor, fame, happiness or national prosperity, be worthy of

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a king's pursuit, or desirable for his own gratification to enjoy.

At the period of Anne Boleyn's death, when she was in her twentieth year,¹ Mary was described by the French gentleman, who was then in London, and had become acquainted with her habits, to have made reading the Scriptures, music, needle-work, and the study of foreign languages, her favorite occupations.² She had been treated as a favorite princess, till the contest about her mother's divorce consigned her to a private life; when all state was discontinued to her,³ and she lived alone, cultivating her religion and every innocent pastime.⁴ The chief branches of human knowledge attracted her attention; she studied astronomy, geography, the natural philosophy of the day, and even mathematics; nor were logic, ethics and polity omitted.⁵ Her

¹ Sanders places Mary's birth 18 February 1515, p. 10; Heylin the same day, in 1516, p. 1. But Stowe, p. 502, and Godwin, p. 338, more correctly on 11 February 1517, which corresponds with the usual account, that she died in her 42d year, in November 1558.

² I quote this work as Crispin's, the lord of Miherve:

Souvent vaquet aux divine leçons;
Souvent cherchoit des instrumens les sons;
Ou s'occupoit a faire quelqu' ouvrage,
Ou apprenoit quelqu' estrange langage.

Crapelet's ed. 176.

³ Crapelet, p. 188.

⁴ Ainsi vivoit seule; passant le tems
Apprendre tous vertueux pasetemps,
S'exercitant par une grande prudence,
De recevoir de Dieu la connoissance.

ib.

⁵ Puis a savoir raison du mouvemens,
Et le secret de tout le firmament
Du monde aussi la situation;
Des elemens l'association;
Puis sagement avec mathematique,
Meloit raison; morale; politique.

ib. 188.

proficiency was greater in the Latin than in the Greek authors, but she read both, for their history and poetry, and to assist her devotions.⁶ To this picture of her mind and its employments at the age of twenty, we are enabled, from the Venetian ambassador's report to his senate, to add, in the note, his more delineating yet corresponding account of her in her fortieth year.⁷ In her mental accomplishments, she was not much inferior to her young competitor; but being at the mature age of thirty-six at her accession, she surpassed Jane in vigor, prudence, decision and activity. As far as intellect, love of letters and patriotism were concerned, the nation lost nothing by her enthronement. It was bigotry and its oppressions, which injured her mind and afflicted her people. To the cultivation and private exercise, as she pleased, of her own religious sentiments, she was, like every human being, fully entitled. But by enforcing them on her subjects, by dungeons, misery and fire, she destroyed the effect of her real worth and unusual acquisitions, and has darkened her moral character for ever.

To her courage, she was principally indebted for

⁶ Puis apprenoit Latine et Grecque lettre,
Par oraison; par histoire et par metre.
Crapelet's ed. 188.

⁷ Michele in 1557, thus described her, 'She is of short stature; well-made; thin and delicate, and moderately pretty. Her eyes are so lively that she inspires reverence and respect, and even fear, wherever she turns them. Yet she is very shortsighted. She understands five languages; English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian; in which last however she does not venture to converse. She is also much skilled in ladies work; such as producing all sorts of embroidery with the needle. She has a knowledge of music, chiefly on the lute, on which she plays exceedingly well.' See his memoir translated in Mr. Ellis, second series, v. 2. p. 236.

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her crown.⁸ But she was observed by the envoy from the palace of St. Mark, to be impetuous, disdainful, and not liberal.⁹ Stanch in her religion herself, her haughtiness and irritability of mind became intolerant of the dissent and opposition of others, and were the intellectual weaknesses of her character, which interested partisans acted upon to make her a willing persecutor. She was also so much tinged with a dislike of her younger and only sister, that even strangers perceived and remarked its existence and operation,¹⁰ and believed her to wish to link Elizabeth with the plots which arose against herself, that she might have a plausible pretext to destroy her.¹¹ These defects, which might have evaporated from her bosom as time and experience altered her sensations, became excited to lasting and active evil feelings under bad counsels and stimulating circumstances. Yet she could discern that others would condemn what she chose to cherish; and had self command enough to avert the

⁸ Michele, *ib.* She had been advised, not only by her foreign friends, but by those in England who most wished her life and liberty, to escape to the continent on Jane's elevation, and await the course of things; but she resolved to abide the issue, without quitting the country. The French ambassador remarks, 'if she had left it, she would not have found a single friend to aid or favor her return.' Noailles, 2. p. 254.

⁹ 'Subita; sdegnosa e miseratta in tosto che liberale.' Michele, *ib.* Her father had the 'subita,' but not the 'sdegnosa;' for, tho excitable, he was habitually affable and gracious.

¹⁰ After describing Mary as overwhelmed with grief, the Venetian ambassador subjoins, 'she is moreover *a prey to the hatred* she bears my lady Elizabeth; and which has its source in the recollection of the wrongs she experienced on account of her mother.' *ib.* 237.

¹¹ Michele not only states that it was thro Philip's influence the queen was prevented from having Elizabeth declared illegitimate, to exclude her from the throne, but also adds, 'It is believed that but for this interference of the king, the queen *would without remorse* chastise her in the severest manner; for whatever plots against the queen are discovered, my lady Elizabeth, or some of her people, may always be sure to be mentioned among the persons concerned in them.' *ib.* 237.

censure, by wearing a mask of courteous kindness while in the public eye.¹² How small an addition of effort would have prolonged the temporary regard into an habitual sensibility !¹³

But these unsisterly feelings, which prevailed in the woman and the queen, seem not to have been her juvenile sensations. Loved at first by Edward,¹⁴ she was then in affectionate intercourse with Elizabeth.¹⁵ At that time, and often afterwards, she was much troubled with illness.¹⁶ Her temper was not ungentle, for her letters to her noble friends express a courtesy of feeling, with a fulness and fluency of its verbal expression, which imply that it was the natural companion of her thinking mind ;¹⁷ altho,

¹² ‘ The queen, tho she hates her most sincerely, yet treats her in public with every outward sign of affection and regard : and never converses with her but on pleasing and agreeable subjects.’ Michele, *ib.* 237.

¹³ Michele remarks, that Elizabeth surpassed Mary ‘ in her knowledge of the Greek and Italian.’ p. 237. Could little superiorities of this sort, add any fuel to her angry jealousy?

¹⁴ See his affectionate letters to her, quoted before, in which he also says, addressing her in Latin, ‘ Tho I do not write to you frequently, my dearest sister ! yet I should be unwilling that you should think me ungrateful, or forgetful of you.’ 2 Ellis, 134.

¹⁵ In a letter to her, Elizabeth says, ‘ Good sister ! tho I have good cause to thank you for *your oft sending* to me, yet I have more occasion to render you my hearty thanks for *your gentle writing*, which how painful it is to you I may well guess by myself ; and you may well see *by my writing so oft*, how pleasant it is to me.’ Ellis, p. 164.

¹⁶ We find Edward in his father’s lifetime telling her, ‘ I am glad you are well again, for I heard that you were sick.’ p. 134. Elizabeth’s words imply frequent ailments : ‘ Good sister ! As to hear of your sickness is unpleasant to me, so it is nothing fearful, for that I understand it is your old guest that is wont to visit you, whose coming, *though it be oft*, yet is it never welcome, but, notwithstanding, it is comfortable for that *jacula prævisa minus feriunt*.’ *ib.* 163. So in August 1551, she apologizes to her brother for her slowness in answering his letter, ‘ for *my old disease* would not suffer me to write any sooner.’ *ib.* 179.

¹⁷ As in this one. ‘ My Lord ! because I cannot conveniently with my mouth render unto you in presence those thanks for the great goodness I find in you daily that the same doth worthily deserve ; I thought it my part of congruence at the least, by these my rude letters, to advertise you, that of my good will and prayer to do you

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when her private habits and sacred opinions were invaded, she could assert the liberty of using them with a spirit not unbecoming, and in a manner that could be resolute without being indecorous.¹⁸

Anxious to secure a powerful friend as an aid, or as an asylum, if need should arise of either, she embraced the opportunity of Sir William Paget's carrying despatches to the emperor, to send by him to that sovereign a letter, which expressed to him as a relative, her affectionate civilities.¹⁹ Charles gave it the attention of an immediate answer;²⁰ and she renewed her correspondence with him in the ensuing spring, to intimate her concern for his indisposition, and to thank him for his kind regard.²¹ As she chose to continue a Catholic, and was the daughter of his aunt, he thought he had a right, without

stead or pleasure, you shall be ever during my life assured: which I trust your gentleness will yet accept in worth, considering it is all that I have, wherewith I can repay any part of that charge and perfect friendship that I have and do find in you.' MS. Vesp. F. 3. Ellis, 165.

¹⁸ Thus to one of the council, after expressing her surprise at seeing them act contrary to her father's will, which they as its executors had sworn to see performed, she adds, 'But tho you have forgotten the king my father, yet both God's commandment and nature will not suffer me to do so: wherefore I will remain an obedient child to his laws as he left them, till such time as the king's majesty, my brother, shall have perfect years of discretion, to be a judge in these matters himself. I do not a little marvel that you can find fault with me for observing of that law which was allowed by him, that was a king not only of power, but also of knowlege how to order his power, to which law all you consented, and seemed at that time, to the outward appearance, very well to like the same.' Ellis, 162.

¹⁹ 'I have taken the boldness to send you by him my tres affectueuses, tres cordialles, et tres humble raccomandations.' Lett. June 1549. Haynes, 110.

²⁰ From Bruges, on 26 July. ib. 111.

²¹ Lett. March 1550. ib. 112. She also assured him that she was 'ready to do him any service, in every thing which could conduce to the continuation of the good amity which prevailed between him and her brother.' ib.

giving political offence, to solicit the English government to grant her an equitable toleration.²²

The public rapture was so great at her accession, that the French ambassador, who did not very cordially wish it, nor fully see its reasonableness, could only ascribe it to an emotion from Heaven.²³ That forty thousand men should spring up spontaneously in arms, at their own expense, in a week, to enthrone her,²⁴ was such an unexpected ebullition of popular

²² 'The promise made to the emperor by your majesties council.' Lett. Ellis, 117. She repeats this again, p. 178. She maintained her firmness against the impatient intolerance of the state council undiminished, and with appeals which ought to have been irresistible. When the deputies came to her, as mentioned before in p. 323, she was unaltered either by their threats or by their persuasions, and remarked on their milder tone, 'You give me fair words; but your deeds be always ill toward me.' Ellis Lett. p. 181. In answer to the king's earnest letter to her of 24th January 1550, in Foxe, 1213, she wrote on 3d February, 'Rather than to offend my conscience, I would desire to lose all that I have, and also my life; and nevertheless will live and die your humble sister and true subject.' Foxe, 1214. When he urged her, in his personal interview with her, to change her religion, she desired him rather to take her life. He made her, as she states, a very gentle reply to this (Ellis, 177); for his natural temper was good and kind, and she imputed his severer conduct afterwards to harsh advisers. She then reminded him of his own incompetency, while so young, to judge for himself: 'Altho your majesty hath far more knowlege and greater gifts than others of your years, yet it is not possible that your highness can, at these years, be a judge in matters of religion.' Ellis, 177. She persisted in declaring her fixed determination to endure a public execution, rather than abandon the worship she preferred; she assured him that she would ever be his obedient sister, and suffer death to do him good; but, 'rather than to offend God and my conscience, I offer my body at your will. Death shall be more welcome than life with a troubled conscience.' ib. 178. All her letters on this occasion, printed by Foxe, 1212-1218, do credit to her good sense and good temper. She would have been as firm a martyr, and on as high a principle, as those whom she afterwards so cruelly made such.

²³ He wrote on 29th July, 'I have seen the most sudden change that could have been believed among mankind, and I think that Heaven alone has conducted the work, and caused such innumerable people to be moved to the greatest affection which has ever been seen among subjects.' Noailles, p. 39.

²⁴ He added, 'She had had in various places above 35,000 or 40,000 men, foot and horse, armed at her devotion, without having cost her a crown; not only presenting their persons, but also bringing to her the little money, plate and jewels they had; nor could she make them receive pay nor any other benefit.' Noailles, p. 94.

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affection, that the learned versifier may be excused for his hyperbole, that she was a star descending for our veneration from the sky.²⁵ He wrote when she emerged in her first brilliancy, and was dazzled, like her enthusiastic countrymen, by his own hopes, and by her previous reputation. Meteors of a darker hue, and of a more baleful nature, would better suit her later character.

Near the last day of the month, Elizabeth, whose rights had been equally violated by Jane's usurpation, and who had been as unnaturally put aside by Edward, went down to her in Essex, with her sisterly congratulations, at the head of a large cavalcade of knights and ladies;²⁶ and four days afterwards, rode with her thro the richly decked streets, discharged ordnance and acclaiming people, to the Tower. Seven hundred and forty velvet-coated gentlemen and nobles preceded them, and an hundred and eighty ladies followed in her train.²⁷ The two sisters, as thus moving side by side, were rather contrasts to each other; Mary, short, thin, and delicate, the probable effect of her frequent sicknesses; while Elizabeth, rather pleasing than handsome, exhibited a large and well formed person, an olive tinge of complexion, fine eyes, and a beautiful hand, which

²⁵ Dr. Walter Haddon was this early congratulator:

‘ Fœmina Virgo venit; descendens stemmate regum.
Fœmina Virgo venit, Mariæ prenomine digna.
Salve, flos regni! Salve, lectissima gemma!
Salve, de cœlo lapsum venerabile sydus.’

Strype's App. v. 3. 176.

²⁶ Stowe says, ‘accompanied with 1,000 horse, of knights, ladies, gentlemen, and their servants.’ p. 613.

²⁷ Stowe, 613.

she took some pains to display.²⁸ Mary released and kissed the four great state prisoners she found at the Tower,²⁹ and increased her popularity by a small present to the needy housekeepers of the metropolis;³⁰ but unfortunately chose the violent and imperious Gardiner for her prime minister, whose fierce and haughty spirit immediately shewed that it had not been tamed by his seven years imprisonment.³¹ He was soon made the lord chancellor;³² and Paget, who had been confidentially employed by her father, and had been long her friend and favorite, was the next leading minister.³³

The queen received the congratulations of the French ambassador, with assurances of friendship to his sovereign.³⁴ Her ministers also met him with cordiality, and declared, that the principles of her external relations would be, to desire no war, but only the public repose, as well in her own kingdom

²⁸ The Venetian ambassador thus describes Elizabeth before she became queen. Ellis, p. 237.

²⁹ These were, Gardiner, the displaced bishop, the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, and Courtney, the son of the former marquis of Exeter, whom the next morning she raised to that title. Stowe, 613. On the following day she liberated and restored to their sees, Bonner to London, and Tonstall to Durham. ib.

³⁰ 'There was eight-pence given to every poor householder thro London.' Stowe, 613.

³¹ The French Ambassador, on 23d August, wrote to his court, 'Winchester shews already, in the opinion of many, that he will not be less arrogant and violent in the administration of affairs than others who have had this authority; and we may see that he has forgotten nothing, in his seven years prison, of his accustomed manner.' p. 123.

³² On 23d August. Stowe, 614.

³³ Noailles, 123. In justice to Gardiner, it should be mentioned that he immediately patronized Ascham, tho a Protestant scholar, who warmly acknowledged his kindness, requested to have continued to him the office of Latin secretary, and his pension, and sent him the Greek psalms of Apollinarius. Ep. 262-4. Ascham was appointed to write the queen's Latin letters. ib. 270.

³⁴ Noailles, lett. 7th Aug. p. 103.

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as among its neighbors; and that he need not fear that she would shew any partiality for the emperor, against the French king.³⁵

The execution of Northumberland, his eldest son, and four assisting knights,³⁶ had followed rapidly their conviction.³⁷ The duke, putting off his crane-colored damask gown, leant against the east rail of the scaffold, and addressed the thronged populace with a speech that was remarkable, for its humility and benignity; for declaring that his exaltation of Jane was not his own act or device only,³⁸ and for protesting, as already noticed, that he died in the Catholic faith.³⁹ He was buried near the late protector, whom he had not pardoned when the act of mercy would have been granted to his recommendation.⁴⁰ His friend Gates at the same time lamented that he had not acted up to the religious knowlege,

³⁵ Noailles, 105, 106. Henry II. sent the noble De Gye, and the bishop of Orleans, as his ambassadors extraordinary, to compliment her. King's lett. 16 Aug. ib. p. 113.

³⁶ These were, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, sir And. Dudley, and sir Thos. Palmer. Stowe, 614.

³⁷ He was arraigned on 18th August, and suffered four days afterwards. But the marquis of Northampton, the brother of Henry's last queen, was more favored. The French ambassador on 13th August apprized his court, that his life would not be taken, p. 112; and he was pardoned in the following December. Stowe, 617.

³⁸ 'This dying assertion increases the evidence that her succession was the plan of the great aristocracy of the country. His words were, 'And yet this act wherefor I die, was not altogether of me, as it is thought, but *I was procured and induced thereunto by other*. I was, I say induced thereunto by other. Howbeit, God forbid that I should name any man unto you. I will name no man unto you, and therefore I beseech you look not for it. I, for my part, forgive all men, and pray God also to forgive them.' Stowe, 615.

³⁹ 'I beseech you all to bear me witness that I die in the true Catholic faith.' Stowe, 615.

⁴⁰ 'So that there lieth before the high altar in St. Peter's church two dukes between two queens; to wit, the duke of Somerset and the duke of Northumberland, between queen Anne and queen Catherine, all four beheaded.' Stowe, 615.

which, as a Protestant, he had obtained ;⁴¹ and declining to bind his eyes, laid his head firmly on the block, but had to endure three blows before the decapitation was completed. Sir Thomas Palmer declared the benefit he had received from his imprisonment,⁴² and his head was taken off by a single stroke. Several others, who had been active, were forgiven.⁴³

Retired, sedate, and serious, as Mary had been, she now in her thirty-seventh year became, like cardinal Wolsey in his mature life, extravagantly fond of fine clothes ;⁴⁴ and not only on her own personal account, but it was also her fancy that her grey-headed old ladies should be also gorgeously

⁴¹ ‘ I have lived as vitiously as any man in the world. I was the greatest reader of scripture that might be, of a man of my degree, and a worse follower thereof is not living ; for I did not read to the intent to be edified thereby, nor to seek the glory of God, but arrogantly contrariwise ; to be seditious, and to dispute thereof.’ Stowe, 615.

⁴² ‘ I thank His merciful goodness, for He has caused me to learn more in one little dark corner in yonder tower, than ever I learned by any travel in so many places as I have been ; for there I have seen God, and how infinite His mercies are. I have seen there myself thoroly, and what I am—a lump of sin, earth and dust. I have there seen, and know what the world is ; how vain, deceitful, transitory and short ! Come on, good fellow ! art thou he that must do the deed ? I forgive thee with all my heart.’ Then kneeling down, he laid his head on the block, saying, ‘ I will see how meet this block is for my neck. I pray thee strike not yet, for I have a few prayers to say, and that done, strike on ; good leave have thou.’ His prayers ended, he laid down his head again, and the executioner took it from him at one stroke. Stowe, 616.

⁴³ As on 3d September, lord Ferrers, the chief justice, sir R. Cholmley, lord Montague, and the learned and able preceptor of the late king, sir John Cheke ; and on 13th November, sir Henry Gates. Stowe, 616, 7.

⁴⁴ The French ambassador was so struck by the excess of this taste, that he several times mentioned it to his court as something unusual ; and it must have been so, for a Parisian to have so remarked upon it. On 7th September he wrote, ‘ She is one of the ladies in the world who takes now so much pleasure in her dress.’ p. 146. On 14th October he describes her as ‘ a donnée a la pompe et gourgrasete,’ p. 211 ; and on 7th August, as ‘ decorated with golden work, and dressed in French fashion, in robes with great sleeves.’ p. 104.

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dressed,⁴⁵ as well as to have her lords, both elderly and young, in glittering apparel of cloth of gold and embroidery.⁴⁶ She displayed her new taste for personal magnificence perhaps in imitation of her father. She rode thro London to Westminster, for her coronation, on the succeeding day, in her splendid litter, with its canopy of apparent gold, in her dress of silver cloth,⁴⁷ followed by Elizabeth, and her father's transient wife of Cleves, in French dresses of silver tissue.⁴⁸ This regal solemnity was performed in all its usual state, and with those exhilarating gratulations, with which a new sovereign

⁴⁵ 'Jusqu'à faire porter aux femmes de sa compagnie âgées de 60 ans, dorures et robes de couleur.' Noailles, 211.

⁴⁶ Ib. He says they wore them as 'exquises,' as he had ever seen them in France at the 'advenement' of Francis, or any where else. ib. 211.

⁴⁷ Noailles, v. 2. p. 197. Old Stowe, who saw it on 30th September, describes her as 'sitting in a chariot of cloth of [gold] tissue, drawn with six horses, all trapped with the like cloth of tissue. She sat in a gown of purple velvet, furred with powdered ermine. On her head was a caul of cloth of [gold] tinsel, beset with pearls and stones. Above the same, upon her head, was a round circlet of gold, beset so richly with precious stones, that the value thereof was inestimable; the same caul and circle being so massy and ponderous, that she was fain to bear up her head with her hand.'

⁴⁸ Noailles, 197. Stowe adds, 'After came another chariot, with a covering of cloth of silver, all white, and six horses trapped with the like. Therein sat the lady Elizabeth, and the lady Ann of Cleve.' 'Then ladies and gentlewomen, riding on horses trapped with red velvet, and their gowns and kirtles of red velvet. Chariots, horses and ladies all decorated with crimson satin, next succeeded, with the nobility and state officers in their rich dresses, while appropriate pageants, with minstrels, greeted them as they passed. Two wonders delighted the populace: An angel 'all in green,' was seen to put his trumpet repeatedly to his mouth, sounding his animating salute, 'to the great marvelling of ignorant persons,' who were not aware of the secret trumpeter within. And Peter, a Dutchman, appeared on the weathercock of St. Paul's steeple, waving a streamer five yards long, who in his lofty and perilous situation, 'stood sometime on one foot, and shook the other; and then kneeled on his knees, to the great marvel of all people.' He meant to have augmented her show with flaring torches, but they 'could not burn, as the wind was so great.' He was, however, well rewarded for his venture: 'The said Peter had 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* given him by the city, for his costs and pains, and all his stuff.' Stowe, 616, 7.

and his grandest day of pre-eminent dignity, are always hailed by a free and open-hearted people.⁴⁹

Few princesses have been the subject of so many dignified proposals and matches as Mary, from the first year of her birth: Charles V.—Francis I.—his eldest son—his successor, Henry II.⁵⁰—the count palatine⁵¹—the king of Hungary⁵²—had been successively negotiated with for her hand, during her father's lifetime; and after her accession, the king of Denmark, the infant of Portugal, the prince of Piedmont, and the son of the king of the Romans, were suggested to her consideration,⁵³ as well as the prince of Spain. But, besides these foreigners, two Englishmen had also pretensions to the splendid matrimony: Of these, cardinal Pole, who, had long been the object of the emperor's jealousy on this point, may have expected that former preference and

⁴⁹ Noailles describes the coronation at length. She had all her clothes first blessed, and was then anointed at the altar on her shoulders, breast, forehead and temples, and was crowned with three crowns. Winchester wanted mass to her as she knelt. Elizabeth and Cleves dined with her, but were placed 'assez loingtaines.' No. 203. The Spanish ambassador reported to his court, that Elizabeth bore the crown that was to be used, and whispered to Noailles that it was very heavy, and that she was tired with carrying it; and that they heard the Frenchman answer, that she must be patient; and when soon 'bientot' placed on her own head, it would seem lighter. *Nouv. Eclair.* p. 60. As the Spaniards were at some distance, and could not have heard a private whisper very perfectly, we may assume that the actual speech was, 'If it were on our own head, it would not seem so.' The other remark makes him appear as a stimulating traitor; and as others as near him must have heard, as well as the ambassador of Charles, what he said, we cannot suppose that an able diplomatist as he was would on such an occasion have so culpably committed himself and his court, as to say what either Spanish jealousy misunderstood, or what was mistated by the extractor from their dispatches.

⁵⁰ These are noticed in our History of Henry VIII.

⁵¹ MS. Brit. Mus. Vit. c. 16, and Vesp. 7.

⁵² Vesp. c. 13.

⁵³ Lord Paget, on 1st December, mentioned to Noailles, that applications had been made from these princes for her hand. Noailles, p. 276.

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recollections might have turned her selecting eye upon him; but he was not now what he had been, when both their mothers had favored the possibility, as he had become not only fifty-four years of age, but was much broken down by repeated disease:⁵⁴ otherwise, at her request, a papal dispensation could have ended his nuptial disqualification as a Romish ecclesiastic, and re-transferred him into a secular prince. To him, when he obtained the power to enter England, she gave her affectionate confidence. But the Englishman to whom her preferring feelings for a husband turned, was Courtney: whose mother, the marchioness of Exeter, had been the queen's play-fellow; and his grandmother, the beheaded countess of Salisbury, her earliest governess. After many years entire separation, she met him a prisoner in the Tower, when she entered London: his person and name so immediately interested her, that the next day she restored to him his father's title;⁵⁵ soon afterwards, with great ceremony, created him earl of Devonshire;⁵⁶ and on the splendid pageantry of her coronation, appointed him to carry her sword of state.⁵⁷ Her attentions to him were so marked, that

⁵⁴ Noailles, on 2d October 1553, remarked, 'Il n'est ni d'âge ni de santé convenables à ce qu'elle demande et qui lui est propre.' v. 2, p. 207. Ascham mentions, that on dining with him in a following summer, 'He asked me if I had ever seen the books of Cicero de *Republica*. He said he had once spent 2,000 pieces of gold in sending a person to Poland to procure them, who had given him the hope of finding them there.' Ep. 52. 'This is curious. What this cultivated cardinal so much valued, our present age has been enabled to enjoy, by M. Angelo Mai having restored this lost work to us from a Palimpsest MS. which he published in folio at Rome, in 1822.

⁵⁵ Stowe, 613.

⁵⁶ On 3d September. Stowe, 616. It was in her contemplation to make him duke of York. Noail. 137. Descending from Clarence, he was the heir of the White Rose family.

⁵⁷ Strype's Eccl. v. 3. p. 57.

within ten days after her entry into London, it was believed that she would wed him, altho the close imprisonment of many years had deprived him both of education and experience.⁵⁸ His mother was in high reputation, for her prudence and virtue, and so regarded by the queen, as to be selected to share her bed.⁵⁹ She gave him the choice of the most pleasant mansion in the metropolis; and he devoted himself so submissively to her, as not to pay a visit to any one without first asking her permission.⁶⁰ Hence, altho the Spanish envoy, in August, suggested, as from himself, Philip, the son of Charles V. for her royal husband, she did not appear to favor the intimation.⁶¹ But in six weeks afterwards, her inclinations began to lessen towards Courtney,⁶² and to befriend the prince of Spain.⁶³ The French ambassador, in obedience to his master's wishes, used every effort of his ingenuity to avert her from this new idea,⁶⁴ and also obtained the concert of the Venetian envoy.⁶⁵ At one moment the queen seemed to be resuming her partiality for the English youth;⁶⁶

⁵⁸ Lett. Noailles, 9th Aug. p. 109.

⁵⁹ Ib. lett. 13th Aug. 112, and p. 147.

⁶⁰ Noail. 147. It was with great difficulty he obtained leave from her to dine with the French ambassadors. ib.

⁶¹ 'A quoi elle n'a gueres preté l'oreille.' Lett. Noail. 13th August, p. 111.

⁶² 'The queen had declared to those who have spoken to her of Courtney, 'Qu'elle s'est excusée sur sa jeunesse et le peu d'experience et suffisance qu'il peut avoir au maniement des affaires.' This makes the chancellor fear that she is thinking of cardinal Pole.' Noail. lett. 25th September, p. 169.

⁶³ Noail. p. 166.

⁶⁴ See the details of his earnest conversations with Gardiner on this point, on 9th September, p. 178; and on 23d, p. 180; and the French king's letters of 25th September, p. 191; and of 2d October, p. 204.

⁶⁵ Noail. lett. 16th October, 213-6.

⁶⁶ Noailles wrote to his court, that on 6th October Courtney was six

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but in twelve days afterwards she declared herself dissatisfied with his vicious irregularities.⁶⁷ The prince of Spain sent a nobleman privately from his court, to make his personal compliment to her;⁶⁸ and tho the House of Commons expressed its wishes, in an address, that she would choose some lord of England for her husband,⁶⁹ yet she permitted the measures that favored the Spanish match to be secretly carried on.⁷⁰ She expressed more strongly her censures of Courtney's conduct, and declared she saw no one in England whom she wished to marry.⁷¹ The truth was, that altho inclination may

hours alone with Mary and her mother; and that it was said she had affianced herself to him. p. 218.

⁶⁷ Noailles, lett. 17th October, p. 219; and yet, unless the high panegyric delivered abroad on Courtney's death, on both his attainments and conduct, was entirely the invention of the reverend orator who uttered the funereal tribute of friendship and tribute to his memory, this nobleman could hardly have been so undeserving as it became the fashion to represent him, after Mary turned her more aspiring ambition towards the emperor's son.

⁶⁸ Ib. Lett. 24th October, p. 220.

⁶⁹ Ib. Lett. 4 Nov. p. 134. She pretended sickness for three weeks, to avoid receiving this address, moving only from her chamber to a little chapel near it. ib. p. 256. She then suddenly sent for them when they did not expect it: a few only were ready to attend. To these she declared that she held her crown from Heaven, and relied on that alone to counsel her as to her choice; that she had not yet decided to marry; but as they declared that it would be for the common good, she would think of it, but would select no one who would not be useful to them, and the most preferable person. Noail. p. 270.

⁷⁰ Ib. Lett. 9 Nov. p. 239.

⁷¹ Noail. p. 245. The doctor, in his sermon on Courtney, notices these traits of his character. . . . This funeral oration was preached by Dr. Thomas Wilson at Padua, on 1st Sept. 1556. It describes him as being imprisoned in his twelfth year, for fourteen years, but that he wholly devoted himself to study; and that neither the 'augustia loci, nec solitudo, nec amissio libertatis, illum a literis avocarent;' that he made such progress in *philosophy*, that no nobleman was equal to him in it; that he also explored the *mysteria naturæ*; that he entered into the *mathematicorum labyrinth*a; that he was so fond of painting, that he could easily and laudably make any one's portrait on a *tabula*; that he was equally attached to music, and had attained in it *absolutam perfectionem*; and that to these acquisitions he added the Spanish, French,

have attracted her to Courtney, the spirit of her father, which was a part of her character, led her to the splendid and ambitious. The son of the emperor would be the greatest prince in Europe, as well as the child of its most distinguished sovereign; all that could flatter the pride of a woman, as well as of a queen, combined to make Philip her final selection; and that he was much younger than herself, gave a pleasurable gratification to personal vanity, when she found herself sought for by him.

To effectuate this marriage, was the favorite desire of the declining Charles V. His antient resentments against France had been renewed by the undisguised intentions of Henry II. to lessen his power; and in the autumn of 1552 he was earnestly desirous of the friendship of England. He had taken and rased Terouenne and Hedin in France; but the forces which he had moved against the Protestant princes in Germany having been defeated by the duke Maurice;⁷² when the English ambassador reached Spire,⁷³ the imperial minister received him with the greatest civilities,⁷⁴ and soon introduced

and Italian languages. In manners he was grave, without pride; pleasant, without levity; prudent in speech; cautious in answering; modest in disputing; never boasting of himself, nor excluding others; and tho familiar with many, yet intimately known to few.' Strype, *Append. Eccl. Mem.* v. 3. p. 422. He could not therefore be that illiterate and weak person which some have described him to be; whatever deductions we may make for the warmth of friendly praise. The incomptus in artificial manners, for which Virgil was remarked, may have been at first mistaken for intellectual deficiency, because, from his long and early imprisonment, he was not yet trained in them.

⁷² Letter of 16 July, in Ribier, 442. Maurice died of a wound he had received in the battle. *ib.*

⁷³ This was sir Richard Moryson, who, in his journey, read over, with his congenial secretary, Roger Ascham, both Herodotus and Demosthenes. Lord Hardwick's *State Papers*, i. p. 48.

⁷⁴ This was M. D'Arras, afterwards Cardinal Granvelle. Moryson's

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him to Charles, who sent his chamberlain for him.⁷⁵ Moryson expressed the friendly message of Edward, to co-operate with him against the Turks; and the emperor answered him with courtesy, as well as some imperfections of utterance, from illness, allowed,⁷⁶ but implied, by his managed gestures, the same feeling in a stronger degree;⁷⁷ while he also intimated that there were nearer enemies than the Ottomans to be dealt with, by those who meant to befriend him.⁷⁸

Soon after this conference, the bodily constitution of Charles began to give way; and we see this

minute dispatch, dated 7 Oct. 1552, stated, 'He brought me into his bedchamber; sent for my mail: when it came, the bishop said he would let me alone till I had changed my apparel. His servants did fetch me a brush, water for my hands, and did cast a couple of napkins upon the table, and brought in a pasty of red deer, and said there was a couple of partridges at the fire, and would straightway be ready. I told them I had dined at Spires. The bishop came again, and willed me to taste of the venison, that I might taste of his wine. I saw a dish of olives, and so did eat one of them, and brought him good luck in a cup of wine. His kindness was very great.' 1 Hardw. 52, 3.

⁷⁵ 'I found the emperor at a bare table, without a carpet or any thing else upon it, saving his clock, his brush, his spectacles, and his pick-tooth. At my coming in, he willed me to go almost round the table, that I might stand on his right side. His majesty received the king's highness' letters very gently, putting his hand to his bonnet, and uncovering the better part of his head.' ib. 54.

⁷⁶ Moryson remarks, 'for he was newly rid of his gout and fever, and therefore his nether lip was in two places broken out, and he forced to keep a green leaf within his mouth, at his tongue's end; a remedy, as I took it, against such dryness as in his talk did increase upon him.' ib. 54.

⁷⁷ The observant envoy adds, 'He hath a face that is as unwont to disclose any hid affection of his heart, as any face that ever I met withal in my life; for all those white colors that change, have no place in his countenance. His eyes only do bewray as much as can be picked out of him. There is in him almost nothing that speaketh, besides his tongue, and that at this time, by reason of his leaf, sore lip, and his accustomed softness in speaking, did but so so utter things. And yet he did so use his eyes, so move his head and order his countenance, as I might perceive his great desire was, that I should think all a good deal better meant than he could speak it.' ib. 55.

⁷⁸ Ib. 56.

celebrated sovereign afflicted by a succession of ailments, which remind us of the universal equality of every class of life in nature, and in the estimation and course of the all-ruling Providence. The English ambassador watched his decline, and reported it minutely to his court.⁷⁹

Obtaining a temporary re-establishment of his strength, he directed his most prudential attentions to the accomplishment of the marriage with Mary, avoiding, with great tact of the human temper, all contradiction to her immediate inclinations. He took the chance of her vacillations, and awaited calmly their result, and seemed only anxious to keep himself on this delicate point her confidential counsellor.⁸⁰ She was gratified by his conduct; and when her fondness for Courtney had abated, she

⁷⁹ Thus Moryson, who followed him to Brussels, wrote on 24th March 1553. 'The emperor is somewhat amended, as his poticary saith. 'Two days since I said to his physician Vesalius, The emperor can by all your recipes come by no health that is able to tarry with him two months together.' His answer was, 'He may teach all men to honor physic, which hath so oft plucked him from his grave.' He told me, his majesty taketh guiacum, and is far better now than he was twelve days since.' 1 Lodge Illust. p. 165. Eleven days after this, his report to the privy council on 4th April, was, 'The emperor keepeth his bed, as unfit to hear of the mischiefs that grow round about him, as unable to devise how to remedy them if they were still told him. His stomach was this last week very much swollen, and he in great feebleness. Physicians doubteth much his recovery; but he hath a body able to live with small strength.' ib. 169. But in a week more, sir Thomas Chamberland wrote on 11th April; 'The emperor is well recovered of his health, since he proved extremities in taking a strong medicine more fit for a horse than a man. He doth now begin to attend to his affairs more than he hath done at any time since his arrival here.' ib. 174.

⁸⁰ Greffet, p. 68. On 29th July, she assured the Spanish envoys, that if she had not become queen, she would never have married; but that now she thought it was expedient, and she would govern her choice by the emperor's decision, who, fearing to alarm her or the nation, had, before Edward died, advised her to chuse an English lord. ib. p. 50. After her accession, he caused it to be stated to her, that her choice ought to be free, and would give her his opinion on it if she should wish him to do so. ib. 51.

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avowed to him, and then, perhaps to lead him to that proposal which her ambition now began to covet, intimated to him, that she thought she had better chuse a foreign prince, than an English lord. Placed by this communication on the vantage ground, of being solicited instead of soliciting, he directed, in September, that with an air of complimentary gallantry as to himself, his son should be deferentially suggested to her.⁸¹ This management of her humor exactly suited. Finding his overture well received, he caused a formal communication to be made to her by his most confidential ambassador;⁸² and tho her cabinet, and the nation, were against her decision, she became fixed in her resolution to make Philip the partner of her throne.⁸³ He

⁸¹ On 20 September 1553, he directed his ambassadors to state to her, that as Courtney did not please her, for which he thought her very judicious, and as Cardinal Pole had expressly declared that he would never quit the ecclesiastical state to marry any one, he concurred with her in thinking that 'un prince etranger et puissant' would best suit her; that if his age and health had permitted, he should have had high gratification in being himself her husband, but as he was elderly and infirm, and she knew for some time past that he had determined to remain as he was, he could not propose to her any one dearer to him than his own son, from whom she might have a large family; but he would not presume to tease her on such a delicate subject, and therefore begged her frank and confidential sentiment on this new proposition. Greffet gives this dispatch to *Nouv. Ecl.* p. 62-4.

⁸² Renaud describes what he did on this subject, in his letters of 5, 22d, and 28th October. *Greff. Nouv. Ecl.* 69-79. The chancellor opposed it immediately. The queen in a private audience told Renaud, that he had done so, and had assured her that the emperor's own subjects spoke very ill of Philip, and considered him to be a prince 'fier et peu raissonnable;' but she declared that she did not believe a word of it, and she knew that the French ambassador 'faisoit l'impossible' to prevent the marriage. *ib.* 72.

⁸³ So Noailles wrote on 21st November, p. 253. From Renaud's dispatches we learn that on 30th October Mary sent for him secretly at night: and in her private apartment, where she had the Eucharist exposed, she knelt down, and repeated the *Veni Creator* on her knees, and then made an oath to him, before the sacrament, that she would marry the prince of Spain. *Greffet, Nouv. Ec.* p. 83, 84.

proceeded to send a stately embassy, to give the negotiation more weight and splendor. At first, from her perception of the public dislike to the prince, as a Spaniard and a Catholic, she concealed her preference,⁸⁴ and quietly endeavored to gain her chief nobility to befriend it,⁸⁵ for which the imperial treasury supplied her with those golden means which so often make virtue and reason but names and evanescent vapour.⁸⁶ Four ambassadors were appointed by Charles, for performing the public drama of asking for the splendid prize which he had privately secured,⁸⁷ to the great uneasiness and mortification of the jealous French monarch ;⁸⁸ for this Sovereign had inherited all his father's personal animosity against that more celebrated and unconquered Charles the Vth, who, until disease debilitated his capacity, never lost his fame, or his ascendancy in Europe.

The tenacity of the queen, to her purpose of selecting Philip, notwithstanding Gardiner's resisting counsels, compelled her prime minister to assemble the lords of Parliament after their session, and to declare her nuptial choice.⁸⁹ Ambassadors were appointed to negotiate in Spain the articles of the treaty.⁹⁰ The imperial commissioners landed on the

⁸⁴ The successive letters of Noailles disclose her cautious policy and secret proceedings. p. 241 ; 255 ; 258 ; 270.

⁸⁵ Noail. lett. 30th November, p. 273.

⁸⁶ The emperor sent her 120,000 crowns for this purpose, which passed thro the hands of Gardiner and Paget. Vertot's note to Noailles, p. 273.

⁸⁷ Noail. lett. 6th December, p. 299.

⁸⁸ This king, in his letter of 14th December to his ambassador, calls the emperor ' the greatest enemy I have in the world,' and intimates, if she married Philip, she may ' adapt herself to the purpose of her husband,' and therefore orders him to ascertain what feelings she intended to maintain towards France. Noailles, p. 312-316.

⁸⁹ Noail. lett. 15 Dec. p. 317.

⁹⁰ These were, the earl of Bedford, privy seal ; Bonner, the bishop of London ; and another. Noail. lett. 18 Dec. p. 321.

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Tower Wharf on the morrow of the new year's day, and were received with public banquets and other honors by the government and city authorities:⁹¹ and altho Gardiner had exerted his influence to retard or prevent the match, which we may impute to his perception that it was not for the interest of the pope or his hierarchy to increase the power of Charles or of his family, yet the lay lords of his council favoring it, the conditions were so rapidly settled, that on the 15th January, the prime minister was compelled by his station to announce to the chiefs of the metropolis, the queen's intention to wed the prince of Spain; with the assurance that he would not intermeddle with the business of the state, and that no foreigner should be in the privy council, nor have the command of any of the national fortifications.⁹² It was a melancholy appendage to such a joyous incident, that, in a week after, one of the sons of the dead Northumberland was arraigned, and condemned to be drawn and quartered.⁹³

⁹¹ Strype's Eccl. v. 3, p. 91.

⁹² Stowe, p. 607, 608; Strype, 91. Bishop Godwin states the substance of the articles, 283, 285.

⁹³ Lord Robert Dudley. Stowe, 618. On 22d Jan. Strype, 91; but the sentence was never executed, and he became the celebrated earl of Leicester. He and his brother Ambrose were released from the Tower on 18th Oct. 1554; and by an Act in 4 & 5 Philip and Mary, reciting, that both of them, then knights, remain out of all name and reputation, to their great discomfort, inward grief and daily sorrow: but that as they have been, and always intend hereafter to be true and faithful subjects, it was therefore enacted, That these attainted gentlemen, and their two sisters, Mary, married to the distinguished sir Henry Sidney, father of the celebrated sir Philip; and Catherine, should be restored in blood, and enabled to inherit any future property. Sir Robert was in the same year appointed master of the ordnance at the siege of St. Quintins.

CHAP. XIII.

MARY'S HESITATION IN HER RELIGIOUS PROJECTS — THE POPE'S MEASURES TO OBTAIN THEIR EXECUTION — CARDINAL POLE'S MISSION AND EXERTIONS.

THE path of honor, of comfort, and of national peace and prosperity, was never more straight and perceptible; never more easy and certain, to any sovereign, than that which opened before Mary, when she took the throne from her young and brief competitor, and which invited her safe and pleasant progress. She had only to believe and worship as she pleased herself; to let the nation continue in the changes or improvements which had been established within it; and to ensure to every one a mild and impartial toleration in the religious forms and tenets which each should prefer; and she would have been popular and beloved, and her subjects would have been happy. Her spirit was so eminently patriotic, her affection for her people was so real, and her good qualities so numerous, that nothing was wanting to make her reign distinguishing to herself and beneficial to her country, but to avoid all sacerdotal bigotry and violence; to continue the national independence on a foreign pontiff; and to interfere with no one's religious faith and practice. It was the simplest of all rules which she had to follow—to let the nation be as it was; and to take a pleasure herself in being the gentle and common mother to all her grateful

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people. But a passion to re-establish popery had become her ruling inclination, the perverting feature of her darkening mind ; and to gratify this propensity, which could only be an evil feeling, because it could not be gratified without violence, bloodshed, cruelty, and much human misery, she saddened and shortened her own life, and afflicted a nation, to whose generous enthusiasm she owed all her power of oppressing it.

When Mary had sought the emperor's counsel on her conduct towards her opponents, and as to the Catholic worship, he advised her to punish the chief conspirators, and pardon the rest ; but to be cautious as to restoring the antient religion, and to make no change without the sanction of her parliament.¹ By this suggestion, the queen governed her conduct on this momentous subject.

That she conciliated the minds of the people in her first hour of peril, by assurances which either expressed or were meant and understood to imply, that no compulsory alterations should be attempted by her power, has been already noticed ;² but before a month had elapsed from Edward's death, rumors spread, that she wished such a modified recession, as to bring back church affairs to the state in which her father had left them.³ Her own determined taste was publicly shewn, by having a high mass for the dead solemnized for her brother's soul, which caused many to murmur ;⁴ but in a few days after

¹ Renaud's Dispatches, *Nouv. Eclair.* p. 53 & 56.

² See before, Ch. XI. note 92.

³ So Noailles wrote on 7th August, v. 2, p. 105.

⁴ *Ib.* Lett. 9th August, p. 109.

she had dismissed all her great supporters to their country mansions, she so manifestly indicated an inclination to restore the deposed system, that a priest ventured to sing mass in a chapel near the French ambassador's.⁵ This excited a great emotion, and the lord mayor made a formal complaint to the queen, of the offensive action.⁶ About the same time, a canon at St. Paul's not only prayed for departed souls, but in his sermon so highly panegyricized the conduct of Bonner, that the audience became tumultuous to pull him from the pulpit, and some one hurled a dagger at his head.⁷ To allay the alarm which these precipitate experiments had excited, the queen, as soon as the disturbances became known, expressed to the lord mayor and recorder, at the Tower, her solemn assurance, 'that albeit her grace's conscience is stayed in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel and constrain other men's consciences otherwise than God shall put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she is in, thro the opening of his word unto them by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers.'⁸

This royal assurance of a free and wise toleration, the ministerial cabinet on the next day ordered the mayor and aldermen to repeat in a common council which they were to call, 'in the best words the mayor and recorder can devise.'⁹ We may justly take this to

⁵ Noailles lett. 13th August, p. 110.

⁶ Ib.

⁷ Stowe, 614.

⁸ Journal of Privy Council. Haynes, 168. '13th August—uttered unto them by the queen's own mouth in the Tower as yesterday, being the 12th of this instant.' ib. She caused the priest to be taken up, 'pour admortir ce malheureux peuple;' but afterwards let him escape. Noailles, p. 111.

⁹ Haynes, ib.

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be, as the state counsellor named it, 'the queen's determination and pleasure;' and we may consider the flagrant and merciless violation of it, which soon distinguished this reign, as the unfeeling act of her ecclesiastical instigators. Her public proclamation followed,¹⁰ in which she declared, as she had a right to do, that she could not 'hide that religion which she hath ever professed from her infancy hitherto, and is minded to observe and maintain for herself.'¹¹ She added, what was no specific harm to any one, that she 'much desired, and would be glad, if the same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably entertained;' and she expressly declared, 'her highness mindeth not to compel any her subjects thereunto, until such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein.'¹² This moderate conduct would have satisfied the nation, if the promise had been fairly and fully kept. She left all future changes to the decision of the parliament; and the parliament had, in all the reigns of her predecessors, been the legislative sovereign of the nation.

But a commanding actor, more impatient and

¹⁰ Wilk. Conc. v. 4. p. 86. The general repugnance to her resumption of popery was so strong, that the French envoy mentions the common feeling, that 20,000 men should fall, before they would change 'leur nouvelle institution.' Noailles, p. 111.

¹¹ Heylin, Hist. p. 23.

¹² Heyl. ib. On All Saints day, Bonner's chaplain, attempting to preach in a parish church, 'en l'honneur de saints,' according to the day, so dissatisfied the congregation of nearly 100 persons, that they nearly killed him. Noailles, 238. One of the first acts of retrogradation which Gardiner obtained from her was her mandate to him, of 20th August, to compel the scholars of Cambridge to resume their antient statutes and ordinances, notwithstanding any new injunctions that had been introduced since her father's death. See it in Ellis, second series, v. 2. p. 244. It was in October that Gardiner threatened Judge Hales for receiving indictments against priests in Kent for saying mass. 3 Harl. Misc. 175.

more determined, had now taken the field, and was moving his most active engines to operate on a mind which had still goodness enough to hesitate about enforcing on others her own prepossessions, as she clearly saw that the most painful compulsions must be exerted to effectuate her secret wishes.

The news of Edward's death, of Jane's failure, and of Mary's rapid establishment, had been transmitted from France to the POPE. It was so unexpected, and so complete, and promised such personal benefit to himself and to his see, that he burst into tears of joy.¹³ He was too much excited, and too gratified, to be inactive; and with a natural eagerness to profit immediately from the favoring event, and to promote its good results, he dispatched his own chamberlain instantaneously to England, with great secrecy, to see, and learn, and do whatever at that moment was most advantageous and practicable. That Commendone introduced himself to the ecclesiastical prime minister, we may readily infer; but he gained the more satisfying point, of a private interview with Mary¹⁴ herself, unknown to her court and people. In this secret and dangerous conference, she confessed to him her attachment to the old system, and a particular point to be communicated only to the pontiff;¹⁵ but she earnestly intreated him

¹³ The letter in the pope's name to Pole, of 6th August 1553, mentions this circumstance: 'La qual nova porto a Sua Beatitudine tanto allegrezza che *si profuse* in lacrime.' Quir. Ep. v. 4. p. 109.

¹⁴ Pope's own letter of 20th September to Pole, ib. 111: 'Those things which her majesty told him in secret.' Pole's Instructions, ap. Strype's Cranm. p. 929.

¹⁵ 'That particular point that she would have had shewed only to the pope's holiness.' Pole, ib. From the pope's intimation at the end of his letter, we may infer that this was the abrogation of the hostile bulls

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to act with every caution and dexterity, and not to betray any sign of her having the least negotiation with the Roman see, or any external connexion, in order that she might not, in the beginning of her reign, be deprived of the power of pursuing what she knew ought to be done for the salvation of her people's souls.¹⁶

The chamberlain reached the Vatican about the middle of September, and disclosed to the private ear of Julius the whole of what he had collected. The papal areopagus, the consistory of the cardinals, was immediately convened; and the confidential officer was directed to report what he had learnt, but to conceal from them his interview with Mary, and to report her sentiments as those which persons who might be credited, had given him to understand were her opinions.¹⁷ The college adjourned its deliberations for three days, and then concurred unanimously in the pope's desire to appoint cardinal Pole as his legate to the queen, to the emperor, and to the French king, for the purpose of overturning all the religious innovations which had been effected in England. The official briefs were accordingly prepared; feasts, bonfires, and public rejoicings were made; and two thousand crowns were transmitted to Pole,¹⁸ that he might hasten to begin his journey. The pontiff's desire was expressed, that he should

which had been issued against her father and his kingdom. 'As to the absolution and remission of the interdicts and censures on the kingdom of England and Ireland, we will take some expedient that *will console the queen*, and yet not be doing an unlawful thing.' Lett. 20th September. Quir. p. 114.

¹⁶ Pope's lett. of 20th September. Quir. 113.

¹⁷ Ib.

¹⁸ 'Mille scudi contanti et mille in una poliza.' Quir. p. 110.

exert all possible diligence to have this kingdom turned back to its former state; but the cardinal was to devise the mode of accomplishing the revolution. Julius bade him to proceed first to the emperor, and confer with him on the execution of his purpose.¹⁹ Pole immediately wrote to Mary a long Latin letter, congratulating her on having attained the throne without bloodshed or foreign aid, when so much slaughter had been expected; inferring from this success, her duty to restore the kingdom to its obedience to the Roman see; announcing his appointment as its legate, and desiring to learn from her what would be the most efficacious way for him to exercise it, in point of time and measures, for the surest completion of its object.²⁰

To this letter the queen returned no immediate answer. Her own wishes were those of the simple and pious Catholic, who thought the papal supremacy both a beatitude and a duty. The plans of her prime minister were the desires of his hierarchy and its master, competing ambitiously with the lay dignities for rank, power, and riches. But however different in the principle of their conduct, both Mary and Gardiner were earnest to re-establish popery in England to its fullest extent, and by the shortest passage. Yet both were sensible that the heart and head of the nation, taken generally, were against this retrograde revolution, and perils of no common

¹⁹ The official letter from Rome styles Edward 'the youth who *was called* king of England.' Quir. 109.

²⁰ Burnet has printed it, dated 3d September, or 13th August, 1553, v. . p. 281. On the 20th September the watchful French ambassador in England apprised his master of Pole's journey and object. Lett. Noailles, p. 155.

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aspect awaited the attempt. No man was more interested to know the current feeling truly on this point, or could have been more alert to ascertain it, than Julius had been by his rapid mission of Comendone; and we cannot take, as Protestants, a less prejudiced view of the danger and of the difficulty that impended, than in this pope's confidential representation of them to his legate, after he had heard the statements of his reconnoitering chamberlain.

Altho Julius was anxious to expedite the re-union of England with the Romish see, yet he found it necessary to tell his legate, that it was of great importance that they should not endanger their great object, by too much precipitation or zeal:²¹ and he gives these reasons for the indispensable caution:

Too much exertion might cause some unlucky incident to arise, that would deprive the queen of her power, or would ALIENATE HER mind from Rome.²² This expressed possibility, that her mind might change if the pope or his agents should do any thing to offend her, indicates that Mary was understood to be not quite divested of her father's spirit.

The hope of reducing the kingdom to its former subjection to Rome rested on the queen, and its realization depended entirely upon her;²³ and therefore it was essential to seek by every way, device and art, to know her will, and to WAIT for its decision.²⁴

²¹ Lett. of Julius III. dated 20th September, in Quir. 'non insorga pericolo—per nostra troppo frettolosa et precipitosa charita o per troppo zelo.' p. 112.

²² 'Se per questa molta diligenza nostra, le avveniesse qualche caso sinistro, si rovinarebbe forse ogni speranza della reductione di quelle patria; levandosi le forze a questa bona e Cattolica Regina, o vero *alienandola da noi* per offesa ricevuta.' Pope's lett. ib. p. 112. ²³ Ib.

²⁴ 'Si dovesse cercare prima per ogni via, ingegno, ed arte di saper la volonta sua ed aspettare la risposta.' Lett. ib. 112.

That she had obtained her throne by the favor of those, who for the most part HATED TO DEATH the Holy See.²⁵ CHAP.
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That much of the ecclesiastical property which had been seized and secularized in Henry's reign, was in the hands of many of the lords who formed her council.²⁶

That Commendone had perceived and understood, that the SISTER, both heretical and schismatical, who had been substituted for the present queen by her father, was then in the heart and mouth of EVERY ONE.²⁷

No description could exhibit a sovereign in a more serious crisis, than these restrictive suggestions shew that Mary would have been in, if she had been known to be meditating a restoration of the papal power in England. Her state counsellors held part of the confiscated church possessions. She had been placed on her throne, not by those who favored the Roman See, but by those who mortally hated it. She might be deprived of her power, if she were known to be acting in concert with it; and the accession of her younger sister was already desired by every one, in preference to her own; a preference which must have arisen from the opinions of Elizabeth, not from her individual qualities. If the pope

²⁵ In this important admission the pontiff's words are, 'Being a woman, and without sufficient forces in the beginning, her reign acquired per benevolenza di quei popoli, che per la maggior parte odiano a morte queste Santa Sede.' *ib.* 112.

²⁶ *Ib.*

²⁷ This striking passage is thus expressed: 'LA SORELLA sostituta a lei dal Padre heretica e schismatica, ch'ora e nel cuore e nella bocca d'OGNUNO, secondo che Il Commendone ha reduto ed inteso.' *Lett. ib.* 112.

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had satisfied himself that dangers existed to this extent, it is a warrantable inference to add, that the mind and feeling of the nation were adverse to his project, and that terror and power in its stern exertions only could effectuate it. Mary perceived the nation's disinclination to resume its rejected yoke and superstitions, and was fearful, even to jealous alarm, lest her secret wishes should become public. The account of Commendone's report to the cardinals at Rome so displeased her, from the apprehensions it excited in her, that both the Pope and Pole found it necessary, even some months afterwards, to pacify her on that subject. But altho the pontiff in December affirmed to her that nothing had been mentioned which could injure her,²⁸ Pole found her in the following spring still so much offended about it, as to make it necessary to assure her again that the secret interview with her had not been betrayed.²⁹ Her ambassador at Venice having informed her that he had there heard from many, of her solicitation for the absolutions; she apprised the cardinal, that if this should be known to parliament, it would make it more refractory to her wishes, and desired him to

²⁸ It was on the 13th December 1553, that Julius III. wrote to her, 'It is truly painful to us that you complain, as if certain things by our faithful man had been publicly mentioned in our consistory.' After denying this, he adds, 'Your majesty may believe us on the word of a true Roman pontiff. We, indeed, commanded him to explain to the cardinals what things he there had personally seen, and of your public deeds and sayings; but of all the other things, especially which could hurt you, nothing was disclosed which your majesty need dread.' Quir. Ep. v. 4. p. 432.

²⁹ Part of his instructions to his agent was, 'Touching the other matter wherein her highness seemeth to be offended, for the relation made openly in the consistory by M. F. Commendone, you may say, he did not open any thing that was told him in secret; nor did not make his relation as of things heard of her grace's mouth.' Strype's Cran. App. 929.

detect so perfidious an action as this disclosure was.³⁰ The same dread of consequences compelled her own mind to pause, and either to vacillate in its purposes, or to put on the degrading veil of falsehood and hypocrisy. But it is hardly fair to brand her with intentional deceit: there was a spirit in her mind which at times displayed itself too strongly to be reconcileable with the pusillanimity of a treacherous fraud. It is more probable that she fluctuated between her better feelings and her goaded bigotry; and might have hesitated till she had abandoned her disquieting purpose, if she had not been urged by her ecclesiastical advisers to the intolerance, which alone suited and would effectuate their purposes.³¹ She changed her public conduct in obedience to their continued impulses, and let them inflame her mind and govern her state conduct.

Hence the cardinals deemed it essential that Pole should obtain 'lights of her will,'³² before he set forward on his journey. But Julius felt so strongly, that if his legate were not seen moving towards England at that juncture, the papal reputation would decline, and the Reformation increase in Italy, and all over

³⁰ Lett. 28th Oct. Quir. p. 120.

³¹ How much she was watched and urged on this subject, and how much her final resolution was mistrusted, the letters of the pontiff shew. On 20th September he wrote, 'We who have understood from our chamberlain *clearly* the mind of the queen, firmly believe that it is necessary not to do any thing against her will, nor before she becomes persuaded by your letters, and consents to it; but if you should judge that her *work will not be good*, you must exhort and persuade her to yours.' Quir. 123. So on 28th October.

³² 'All the cardinals—*giudicarno esse necessario, che voi habbiate lume della sua volonta imanzi al mettervi in camino.*' Lett. Jul. 20th September, p. 113.

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Christendom ;³³ that he ordered him to begin his progress under whatever color he could devise,³⁴ to disguise its real end ; and therefore, if he could not get into England, to station himself in the nearest country to her that he could, that he might keep the business alive ; and to begin some treaty or dealings about it.³⁵ Yet he still advised a cautious pause, to avoid the disgrace of a palpable discomfiture ;³⁶ as he saw with more than usual perspicuity, for one so distant and interested, the peril and uncertainty of the change he meditated.³⁷

In this state of secret wishes not untold, but of faltering resolution to enforce them, her own words to the lord mayor, if not designing art, which is the most unfavorable supposition, imply, that from the mixture of good and mistaking feelings which agitated her, she would, if she had acted only from herself, have left the matter to its own natural course ; to the effect of time, and of quiet preaching.³⁸ Six days afterwards,

³³ ' To remain where you are would take away reputation from us, and increase it to the heretics and schismatics, not only of England, ma d'Italia e de tutte le parti della Christianita, as it is certain that, however distant, they encourage and advise with each other, with much more favor, diligence, intelligence and union than the Catholics exert.' Lett. ib. p. 114.

³⁴ ' The summa summarum is, that it would please us infinitely that you should put yourself forward on your journey, and continue it con qualsivoglia colore.' ib. 114.

³⁵ ' Per tener vivo questo negotio, et per poter dar principio a qualche trattatione.' ib. 112.

³⁶ ' It would be a greater indignity to be repulsed by the perverseness, obstinacy and audacity of these schismatics and heretics, who have dared to shake their daggers at the Catholic preachers on the stage, than to remain, by our own choice, temporizing a little, in order the better to find out the ford.' ib. 112.

³⁷ Hence he repeats again, ' We must take care not to ruin, at the same time, the queen and the cause of religion by too much haste.' Lett. ib. 114.

³⁸ It was on the 12th August 1553, that the minutes of the privy council notice that Mary expressed to them at the Tower, that ' albeit

in a public proclamation, her promised toleration was limited as to its duration, till parliament should order otherwise;³⁹ an official modification, which looks more like Gardiner's spirit and meaning than her own. Yet two months more elapsed before she took any decisive step;⁴⁰ but, daily worked upon by those Romish counsellors to whom she had confided the direction of her cabinet, it is not surprising, as Pole informed the Vatican, that her mind was every day becoming more corroborated on their side.⁴¹ On this intelligence, Julius, in the middle of October, ordered public supplications, and a jubilee;⁴² and at the end of the month, the queen shewed the danger of having such advisers near the royal ear, however contrary to the national feeling, by writing her first and deciding letter to cardinal Pole, on the 27th October. In this she declared, that she had never been adverse to his catholic exhortations; but she regrets that she

her conscience is stayed in matters of religion, yet she meaneth, graciously, *not to compel* or constrain other men's consciences, otherwise than God shall put into their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she is in, *thro* the opening of his word unto them by godly, virtuous and learned preachers.' Hayne's State Papers, p. 168.

³⁹ This was issued on 18th August against preaching without license; after stating her own religion, and that she desired 'and would be glad the same were *quietly* and charitably entertained of all her subjects; yet she doth signify to all, that her highness mindeth *not to compel* any her said subjects thereunto, until such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein.' Collier's Eccl. Hist. App. v. 2. p. 81.

⁴⁰ This apparent neutrality led the pope at times to look at her disposition towards him rather as a matter of belief than as a certainty, as his intimations to his legate imply: 'It imports us much, that if this queen has that good mind and hope towards us and the holy see *which we believe*, (*che si crede*) we should not incur danger, nor receive loss, by too much zeal.' Lett. 20th Sept. p. 112.

⁴¹ The pope expresses his joy at hearing from Pole's letters from Trent, that heaven '*inspira e corrobora et conferma ogni giorno piu* this holy and catholic queen.' 115. This *daily* progress strongly indicates the effect of *daily* persuasions.

⁴² So Julius III. says in his letter of 12 Oct. 1553, 'Col consenso di tutto il collegio nostro ordinaremo.' p. 115.

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cannot yet open her mind to him about her obedience to the papal see; tho, as soon as she should be at liberty to explain to him her real meaning on that subject, she would apprise him of it; but she hopes that the approaching parliament would abrogate the statutes which had been the seed of the kingdom's calamities.⁴³

Her letter to him on the next day shews more at large the state of her own mind, and the sentiments of the nation, on these disturbing points.⁴⁴ 'Your public delegation is so mistrusted, and so ODIous to our subjects, that your speedier approach, tho it would be very desirable to us, would bring more prejudice than benefit. There will be more difficulty about the authority of the apostolic see, than about the worship; the minds of the people are by false suggestions SO ALIENATED FROM THE POPE.⁴⁵ The first order of the parliament, which consists of privy counsellors and bishops, would have repealed all the statutes concerning the marriage of our mother, thinking that by this way those things which have been established against religion, and the legality of that matrimony, might be retracted: but when this was intimated to the lower house, which consists of plebeians, they immediately suspected that it was proposed from favor to the pope, in order that the title of supreme head of the church, which had been

⁴³ It was a Latin letter, and is in Burnet, App. v. 6, p. 283, 4. Her next letter explains these to have been the acts concerning her mother's marriage.

⁴⁴ This also is in Latin, and has been printed by Quirini, v. 4. 119-121.

⁴⁵ Quir. 120. If they did thus insist, she says she meant to tell them that she should persevere in the old religion in which she had been brought up, and could not consent to any thing against her conscience, and that she thought this title did not belong to the crown. *ib.*

annexed to the crown, might be taken from it, and that we might bring back the power of the pope into our kingdom: we are therefore afraid, lest they should insist upon our continuing and assuming this title more pertinaciously than we desire.⁴⁶

This letter, so pregnant with proof that both the queen and her secret advisers had now begun to act with an intentional duplicity, of which the English public both great and small were to be made the unconscious victims, was followed by another within eighteen days, from which we learn that they had induced the parliament to confirm her mother's marriage, and to repeal the acts of Edward, but that it would advance no further, and had been prorogued.⁴⁷ She complains of the opposing minds of her subjects, and assures him that they would rather assail his life, than allow him to exercise the office of legate.⁴⁸ They were so far from approving of the authority of the apostolic see, or of obedience to it, that she could not be of any other opinion but that it was better that he should defer his coming, and the execution of his commission, than to create disturbances.⁴⁹ 'I desire nothing more than to see this our kingdom quiet; free from heresies, obedient to the apostolic see, and purged from all schism; but I see it is not only difficult, but impossible, in this parliament, to restore fully and entirely religion and the ecclesiastical authority.'⁵⁰ She remarked, that her ministers had got it back to the state in which

⁴⁶ Quir. p. 120.

⁴⁷ Ib. v. 4, p. 121-3. It is dated 15 Nov. 1553.

⁴⁸ 'Potius tuæ vitæ insidentur quam munere Legati fungi sinarint.' ib. 121.

⁴⁹ Ib. 121.

⁵⁰ Ib. 121.

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Henry had left it; another parliament would be called in three or four months time; and they thought they had now opened a passage to the recognition of the obedience to the papal see.⁵¹

From these private and authentic letters, we learn that her majesty had at last become earnest to re-establish popery in England in all its plenitude; but perceived that she must effect this by gradual subtlety. They also exhibit her own acknowledgement, that both the parliament and nation were hostile to the restoration of the papal power. On account of this aversion, her government was resolved to obtain by degrees, and with a fraudulent simulation, such laws to be established in artful succession, as would imperceptibly wind and fasten the chain so hated, on the necks of those to whom she owed the throne, and thereby the power of thus deceiving and enslaving them.

But Pole's mind, with all its imperfections, was too sincere and too zealous either to like this Machiavelian policy, or to await its tardy evolution. He first complained to her, that her letters were in Latin, and sent to him in a bundle, with others, from the court of the emperor; he did not dream that it contained any from her, until he chanced to see her name on the last page. He could not but marvel that they were not in her native language, which princes always used with their friends. If, indeed, she could have thought that banishment had taken from him the memory of it, she might have used a foreign tongue; but letters from her in

⁵¹ Quir. 122. She asked him to invent a pretext to go to Brussels, that he might be nearer to her. *ib.*

any mode of phrase could only be gratifying. Having thus expressed his disappointment that she had not made her communication more pointedly personal, and less official and distant, he exhorts her not to delay to reunite her throne with St. Peter's, and to pray for the spirit of courage to proceed vigorously to this measure.⁵²

The pope also became impatient at the delay of his recognition, and, to hasten it, sent his permissive brief to Pole, allowing him to lay aside for a time his legantine name and state, and to visit England privately, in order to expedite the business.⁵³ Pole did not think it safe or useful to risk his person, either in disguise or in his pomp, at that period of unpopularity and peril both to himself and his cause, and therefore remained in Flanders.

So little advance to a counter-revolution of religion had been made as the year approached its termination, that Julius, in the middle of December, declared to her how much he lamented the efforts that were making to alienate her mind from him, and to cause the name of himself and of the Holy See to become hateful to her;⁵⁴ expressive phrases, which imply an anxious uncertainty as to what even yet, from the opposing difficulties, would be her ultimate decision. She did indeed consult Pole how the persons she meant to make bishops might be provided for, without derogation to the papal

⁵² Lett. from Dettingen (near Brussels), 1 Dec. 1553. Quir. 4. p. 123-6.

⁵³ This is dated at Rome, 8 Dec. 1553. Quir. 4. p. 432.

⁵⁴ *Haud satis, vel mirari vel dolere possumus, horum perversitatem temporum, cum sint qui, his artibus, tuam a nobis voluntatem alienare; et nostrum atque hujus sanctæ apostolicæ sedis nomen, tuæ majestati invisum reddere, conentur.* Lett. 13 Dec. 1553. ib. 433.

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authority.⁵⁵ Yet she proceeded to appoint them, and, acting on the plan of gradually patronizing and preferring those who coincided most nearly with her own sentiments, she selected clergymen who were attached to the deposed system. Their regard for this, or a sense of their insecurity if the old forms were not resorted to, led them to decline their acceptance of the promotion, until it had received the sanction of the apostolic see.⁵⁶ At this juncture the gout was disabling the pontiff;⁵⁷ and altho this conduct, or as he characterised it, 'the bonta,' the goodness of these friendly dignitaries delighted him, by such an explicit recognition from them of his long-lapsed authority, he was too ill, notwithstanding his joy, to attend then to the business.⁵⁸

Finding himself still so obnoxious to his countrymen, Pole dispatched an agent to her, with instructions that he hoped would influence her conduct, so voluminous as to occupy fourteen large octavo printed pages.⁵⁹ The substance of these is, that she should resolve to have the obnoxious laws and the crown's supremacy abolished, at every hazard;⁶⁰ that with this bold determination she should go personally to parliament, and insist upon the repeal of these and of his outlawry, and upon his admission

⁵⁵ Pole's Instr. Strype, 931.

⁵⁶ Lett. Card. Morone to Pole, from Rome, 28 Feb. 1554. Quir. 4. p. 128.

⁵⁷ 'I have not been able, for some days, to speak with our lord, who has la gotta.' ib.

⁵⁸ Ib. The cardinal adds, 'As soon as he has got rid of the gout, I will speak to him on the subject of these bishops.' ib. 130. The French king, in his letter of 6th November 1554, says of this pope Julian III. 'His actions and purposes are those of an inconstant, varying and light-minded man, with whom we can be certain of nothing.' 2 Ribier, 474.

⁵⁹ They are printed in Strype's App. 921-935.

⁶⁰ Ib. 923.

into the country, as the legate of the pope.⁶¹ He owns that her peril was at that juncture greater than when Northumberland set against her, but that she must cast away all worldly fear.⁶² He also confesses that there were but FEW IN THE KINGDOM who were on the side of Rome.⁶³

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⁶¹ Strype's App. 925.

⁶² Ib. 929.

⁶³ His words are, 'And because I do not know *how few* there be in the realm, *ALL being maculati therein*, that can or will endeavor themselves to explicate the peril and shew the remedy.' p. 930.

CHAP. XIV.

MARY'S PERSECUTION OF ELIZABETH—WYATT'S INSURRECTIONS — MARY'S SPIRITED CONDUCT — PUBLIC DISCONTENTS.

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IF any of the natural qualities of the human mind are more interestingly beautiful than others, it is its youthful pleasure in seeing others happy; its lively sympathy with the comforts they are enjoying; and its eagerness to share and to promote the gratifications with which all are delighted. These kindly sensibilities abound in the young bosom which is receiving the blessings of moral cultivation; and constitute that often-praised generosity of our tenderer age, which, softened and animated by its own felicity, loves to see and desires to make others, as gladsome and as comfortable as it endeavors and feels itself to be. Pity! that so lovely a disposition should, so soon and so often, be chilled and weakened as our years advance; and that perverting interests and passions should rouse the soul to antagonist and harsher feelings, which bring into action and fix into habit, the darker and maligner possibilities of our all impressible and ever deviable sensitivity.

But as age increases, the general capacity and diffusive benevolence of the native spirit become contracted to peculiar opinions, to personal humors, and to selected theories and bigotries of one sort or other, which cloud and distort the universal tendencies

and sensibilities of our Divine image and nature. By this change, that mental principle, that interior self, too frequently grows up a spotted and mutilated deformity, which was originally empowered and intended to acquire the likeness and to be the pattern, of all that is amiable, grand, or beauteous, in a moral and intellectual personality.

It is painful to read that Mary not only fell into these depreciating imperfections towards all, but was encouraged or stimulated to display them peculiarly to one, whose sex, age and affinity, invited and attracted the best emotions of her sensibility. But while both she and her council were advancing with steps of apprehension in their measures, to urge the Parliament and coerce the people to resume the Romish and Catholic prepossessions, she proceeded with less forbearance and regard towards that individual who was more completely within her immediate command, and who, from her then friendless state, seemed likely to be overawed. This was that SORELLA on whom the pope, as we have already noticed,¹ had been induced to turn his alarmed and dissatisfied eye—her sister Elizabeth—the only other child of her father, and her eventual successor, if she should die a childless queen.

Elizabeth, like Mary, preferred the religion of her mother, as that in which she had been brought up; and she had the same claims to urge, which Mary had so repeatedly, so forcibly, and so justly made, to be allowed to worship her Creator as she had been educated to do. But what, upon such remon-

¹ See last chapter, note 27, p. 403.

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strances, had been permitted to the queen by her brother Edward, she now refused to her only sister. So easily do we invade the rights of others, however eager we may have been to insist upon our own. Mary saw as clearly and exerted as courageously the laws of conscience with respect to herself, as she was blind to their force and sought to punish their assertion in the person of Elizabeth. At first the imprisonment of this unoffending princess was suggested;² but it would have been too gross for the queen or her priestly advisers to execute this punishment, so hastily, on one so guiltless as their helpless victim, and Mary prepared to compel her conversion. But Elizabeth refused to yield to the importunity of either the queen or her ministers; and her conscientious preference of her own belief was imputed to seditious excitation.³ She persisted in her refusal, tho the queen caused her to be both preached to and solicited by all the lords of her council, one after another, till she was incited at last to repress the annoying importunity by the rough language of her denial;⁴ which was again imputed

² Because she excused herself from attending the ceremony of making Courtney an earl, on account of her illness, Noailles mentioned to his court on 4th September, 'I do not doubt that such 'obstination' may conduct her to the Tower soon after Parliament meets, if things be resolved on as I think they will be.' Lett. v. 2. p. 138.

³ On 6th September, the ambassador stated, 'Elizabeth will not hear mass, nor accompany her sister to the chapel, whatever remonstrance either the queen or her lords on her side have been able to make to her upon this subject. It is feared that she is counselled and fortified in this opinion by some of the great, and that by this means some new trouble may be preparing.' p. 141.

⁴ We learn these facts from Noailles. The 'obstacle of M. Elizabeth is not a little to be feared, as up to this time she has not been at all willing to go to the mass. Last Saturday and Sunday the queen caused her to be preached to, and entreated by *all the great men* of her council; by each one after the others, who for their determination only drew from her at last 'une tres rude response.' p. 147.

to disloyal machinations;⁵ and the queen was expected both to change her household, and to put her into prison.⁶ These indications of destroying her, by connecting treason with her attachment to the Protestant faith, appear to have alarmed her into a compliance with the exterior act of semblant conformity that was exacted, by accompanying her sister to the mass.⁷ This reluctant attendance of her bodily presence is stated to have been extorted, by terror of the preparations to overwhelm her, and was understood to have been unaccompanied by her mental acquiescence,⁸ like that of the Syrian general in the temple of the idol Rimmon,⁹ the favorite

⁵ 'From which it may be inferred, that such a firm and obstinate opinion is supported in her by some 'Grands,' from whom there is to be feared some approaching change.' Noailles' Lett. v. 2, p. 147.

⁶ 'The queen finds herself greatly impeded by it, and it is thought that in the end she will renew all her company, and possibly 'la fera reaserer.' ib. 7 Sept. 147.

⁷ On 22d September, Noailles reported, 'Elizabeth after many solicitations has been compelled (s'est reduite) to hear mass with the queen her sister.' p. 160. Greffet admits from his authorities, that 'Elle s'en excusa d'abord,' and that she did this action 'de mauvaise grace.' p. 108. She did not therefore conceal her repugnance.

⁸ Noailles added, 'Yet l'on estime that she has done it more from dread of a *danger* and peril QUI LUI ETOIENT PREPAREZ than from good devotion.' p. 160. This was done on the Nativity of the Virgin (Greffet, 108) which is the 8th September, and was repeated on obtaining leave to withdraw to her country house. ib. To the same intimidation we may refer the emperor's statement, that when Mary asked his leave to borrow 10,000 marks of silver from the low countries, to replace the Catholic ornaments in the churches, Elizabeth had also written to him to send a cross, chalices, and other necessities, to have mass in her chapel.' ib. 109. Such forced conformities disgrace only the tyrannizing power which extorts them. Death was held out as the '*prepared*' alternative; and yet this terrified compliance has been sarcastically mentioned as an imputation on Elizabeth by a friend of that menacing party, on whom alone all condemnation should fall.

⁹ 'And Naaman said, In this thing the Lord pardon thy servant, that when my master goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there; and he leaneth on my hand; and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon: the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing. And he said unto him, Go in peace.' 2 Kings, ch. v. ver. 18.

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worship of his royal master. The queen then strove to bribe her into a continuation of what certainly was a dishonorable simulation, from its tendency to lead the approaching parliament to be less adverse to the religious counter-revolution which Mary was meditating.¹⁰ The efforts of the princess to avoid this theatrical compliance, which deceived no one who had the means of knowing the truth, are thus described by the emperor's ambassador to him: 'When she saw that her resistance might bring some calamity upon her, she requested an audience of the queen, to speak to her in private. There SHE FELL ON HER KNEES before her, and said, weeping, that she saw clearly how little affection her majesty appeared to have for her; that she did not know in what she could have offended her, if it were not upon the subject of religion, in which she was excusable, as she had been brought up in what she professed, without having ever heard any doctor who taught otherwise. She begged to have some books which inculcated a doctrine contrary to those of the Protestants, which till then she had read, to try WHETHER the perusal of works composed in defence of the Catholics would lead her to adopt different sentiments. She asked also for a man of learning, to instruct her.'¹¹

¹⁰ Noailles, p. 16.

¹¹ Greffet's French is, 'Mais lorsqu'elle s'aperçut que cette résistance pouvoit lui attirer quelque *disgrace*, elle demanda une audience à la reine pour lui parler en particulier. Elle se mit à genoux devant elle et lui dit, *en pleurant*, qu'elle voyoit clairement le peu d'affection que sa majesté paroissoit avoir pour elle; qu'elle ne savoit en quoi elle pouvoit l'avoir offensée, si ce n'est sur l'article de la religion, en quoi elle étoit excusable, ayant été élevée dans celle qu'elle professoit, sans avoir jamais entendu aucun docteur qui lui en eut appris une autre. Elle supplia en

This personal appeal to sisterly kindness as well as to royal justice and to universal reason was of no avail to obtain even an interval of deliberation, for a princess who had not yet quite completed her twentieth year! She was forced to make the external conformities that have been mentioned, from the terror of what was preparing for her if she had refused. The remembrance of their common father—the sympathies of their own personal friendship—the youth of the sufferer—her unanswerable use of Mary's own plea of right and conscience—her presence at her sister's feet—her beseeching eyes—her earnest tones, that must have long vibrated in Mary's ear—all failed to procure that sacred liberty to her, which the queen in her own case had thought more valuable than life; and though high and steady principle must unhesitatingly condemn the intimidated lady for a fictitious assent, which added hypocrisy to fear, yet no gentle epithet can be applied to that heart and its controlling advisers, which could present to an unprotected female, its nearest and most interesting earthly relative, the stern alternative of mock compliance, or an immediate infliction of evil that was deliberately preparing against her.

Elizabeth was used by the queen as an additional pageant to her shows, and was therefore placed on

meme temps la reine de lui faire avoir des livres qui lui enseignassent une doctrine contraire a celle des livres Protestans qu'elle avoit lus jusqu'alors, afin d'eprouver si la lecture des ouvrages composés pour la defense des Catholiques lui feroit prendre d'autres sentimens. Elle demande aussi un homme savant pour l'instruire.' Depeche de S. Renard a l'Emp. ch. 5. die 4 Sept. 1553. Greffet Nouv. clair. p. 106, 107.

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one side of her at the great banquet given to the Spanish ambassadors.¹² But when the princess wished to retire to her quiet home, the hostile jealousy of Mary detained her.¹³ She was kept in the palace, tho without seeing the queen, and she absented herself from the mass as much as she could.¹⁴ The enraged Mary was believed to be projecting to have her declared illegitimate, that she might extinguish all chance of her succession;¹⁵ but it was supposed that the parliament would never consent to this unnatural exclusion.¹⁶ Yet, to mortify and degrade her, the queen wished her more distant cousins, the countess of Lenox and the duchess of Suffolk, two of the descendants of Henry's sisters, to take precedence of her,¹⁷ and discouraged the ladies from visiting her.¹⁸ The spirit of Eliza-

¹² Noailles, p. 216.

¹³ On 25th October, the diplomatist's dispatch was, 'Elizabeth, very discontented, has asked leave to retire from this company, and is to go away on Monday; but I think the queen will yet put off her going.' p. 228. His conjecture was right, for on the 4th November we read, 'Elizabeth has not been able to obtain leave to go to her house as she wished.' ib. 234.

¹⁴ 'She has remained six or seven days without seeing her sister; and has also heard the mass but little during these festivities.' ib. 234.

¹⁵ Some state that the queen being 'extremement courroucée, veult encores faire dire ouvertement sa sœur bastarde.' Noailles, 234. Mary tried to have this done (Vertot's note, p. 285,) but failed.

¹⁶ Ib. 235.

¹⁷ Such was the account of Noailles to his sovereign on 30th November: The queen 'makes so little esteem of her sister Elizabeth, whom she used always to hold by the hand in great assemblies with honor and favor, that she now makes her sometimes go *after* the countess of Lenox, and the duchess of Suffolk;' (1 Noailles, p. 273.)

¹⁸ — 'and with such disfavor, that no lady in the court dares to go to see her in her chamber; nor to speak to her, without the knowledge of the queen.' ib.

beth did not allow itself to be daunted by these persecuting and unjust humiliations.¹⁹

She was living every hour surrounded with the greatest peril. As the intentions of Mary to bring back popery became visible, the greatest discontents began to arise,²⁰ with an idea in some, naturally arising from Henry's statutes against his daughters, that the young queen of the Scots was the rightful heiress of the crown.²¹ But the danger to Elizabeth arose from the larger portion of the dissatisfied forming conspiracies to dispossess her sister, and to place her as a Protestant princess on the throne.²² The chief nobility, and almost all the soldiers, are represented to have had these feelings. There is no evidence against her that these plans were communicated to Elizabeth, or that they received her sanction; but it was impossible for her to exist

¹⁹ 'Her sister is so little 'étonnée' by this, that she has daily had all the young gentlewomen of the court, who have gone to visit her, and whom she takes pains to entertain, thinking 's'en prevaloir' in a few days, and hoping to have soon leave to go to her house. But I doubt if this liberty will be granted, unless with persons who will keep their eye always upon her, and perhaps a strong guard for this purpose.' Noailles, 274.

²⁰ The French ambassador's dispatch to his king, of 22d September, has this strong passage: 'I assure you, sire! I cannot enough declare to you the great number of men, 'malcontents,' who are in this kingdom.' ib. p. 161.

²¹ Noailles informs his sovereign, that a member of parliament had said to him of the queen, 'He could not love her, being assured that this crown did not belong to her, but certainly to the queen of Scots your daughter, for whom he promised to do many things, as well in this kingdom as in Ireland.' ib. 161. He adds the information, that Cranmer 'has been put in the Tower, for a declaration against the mass.' And that a captain had been imprisoned, for beating a priest for saying mass. ib.

²² On 9 November, Noailles reports that *they* intended to marry Elizabeth to Courtney, and to seize her and carry her away, 'l'enlever et emmener' to Devonshire and Cornwall; and that he was assured that the duke of Suffolk, the earls of Pembroke and Cumberland, and lord Clinton, and many other great men, were of this party, and 'presque generalement tous les vaillans homme de guerre du pays.' ib. 246.

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without both the suspicion and the imputation. Her enemies would be certain to assume her connivance, and the plotters would diffuse the idea, to increase their own consequence and party. She was vigilantly watched. Spies were in her own household, and obtained so much of her confidence, as to be consulted by her;²³ and they soon reported to one of the ministers, that a refugee French preacher privately visited her.²⁴ This being communicated to the Spanish ambassador, he advised that she should be immediately imprisoned in the Tower.²⁵ Mary would not venture on this, but issued an order, that every French refugee should leave the kingdom in twenty-four days;²⁶ and sent Paget and Arundel to sound her, and to exhort her not to follow any evil counsel. She acquiesced fully in their sentiments; and the experienced and watching statesmen could detect nothing further against her.²⁷ To charge her with the conspiracies which

²³ 'Deux des princeaux domestiques de cette jeune princesse, qu'elle avoit coutume de consulter dans toutes les affaires.' Greffet, from Renard. Disp. p. 110.

²⁴ They added to lord Paget, 'that they did not know why she saw him, nor for what end, but that they apprized him of it, that *in case* their mistress should depart from her duty, the fault might not be imputed to *them*.' ib. 111.

²⁵ He said the information given by her domestics was 'un titre suffisant' for this arrest. ib. 112.

²⁶ Ib. 113. By this order, Ribadineira exultingly declares that 30,000 heretics were forced to quit the kingdom, who had taken refuge in it.

²⁷ Ib. 114. On 14 Dec. Noailles (Hist. p. 216) informed his king, that the Spanish envoy had charged him, four days before, with going three or four times of a night to Elizabeth's chamber, to concert with her some marriage that would suit French politics; that the two cabinet ministers had gone to Elizabeth about it, with serious admonitions; but that she easily freed herself from the misrepresentation. Young as she was, she had the good sense to desire them, as they left her, 'never to believe any notions that should be expressed to her disadvantage, without first hearing herself.' Noailles, 309.

others chose, from their own alarm or resentment, to form against the government for its revolutionizing schemes, is an injustice which no one ought, without the most clear and direct evidence, to attempt. No innocence can occasionally escape suspicion or accusation; but our common welfare calls upon every one to distinguish surmise and scandal, from proof and guilt.²⁸ Her situation was made more uneasy to her, by foreign powers intriguing about her marriage.²⁹

But now the rash folly of others conferred on the queen and the papal hierarchy the power they coveted for the abasement of the Reformation, and those legal advantages of using it with intimidating effect, against their opponents of all descriptions, of which they had hitherto been destitute. If the usurpation of lady Gray had not been attempted, Mary would have quietly succeeded to the crown of a nation, which in its greatest part, as even the pope perceived and stated, ‘hated him to death;’ she would have therefore acceded, like Charles II. and James II., with a parliament and people jealous, vigilant, and dangerous to provoke by any Romish machinations. But Jane’s abortive elevation rousing

²⁸ It was quite natural that in this situation she should desire, as the French envoy said, ‘*de se mettre hors de tutelle* ;’ (p. 310.) for he says, she could not go into the country without the Spanish part of the cabinet being ‘put into much suspicion and jealousy, that she was only there to excite something to their disadvantage.’ p. 309.

²⁹ Thus as the Spanish minister charged the French one with forming plans of matrimony for her, the constable of France, on 30th December 1553, wrote in alarm to Noailles, that the queen of Hungary was coming to England to arrange a marriage between Elizabeth and the prince of Piedmont, who was poor and destitute; that he must learn if it was true, and whether the princess would be persuaded; and if she were inclined to it, he must try to ‘*rompre cette pratique*,’ and divert Elizabeth from it.’ Noailles, v. 3. p. 2.

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the country's affectionate remembrance of their popular Henry, they carried Mary to the throne as his unjustly deprived daughter, with an enthusiasm which, if her succession had been quiet and unopposed, they would have neither felt nor displayed. This benefit gave her power to place papal ministers immediately in her cabinet; to abase her most formidable opponents, and to hold the sword of terror over those, who, from their unreasonable precipitancy to secure a Protestant reign, had compromised themselves by favoring the pretensions which had been overthrown. Yet as the effect of this error subsided, the majority of the country was so manifestly protestant, that Mary could not venture to obey the papal instigations, nor attempt any further revolution. The safe and efficacious policy of all who wished well to the Reformation, was to have remained tranquil, firm and loyal; and then, whatever might have been attempted by the injudicious friends of Rome, would have soon become ineffective and powerless, from their calm, persevering and constitutional opposition. Nothing is a more stubborn obstacle to encroaching power, than the defeating inertia of popular dislike. It does in time all that it can desire to effect, by its resisting inactivity; it is an invisible opponent, that cannot be either encountered or mastered; it defies power, and gathers strength from its oppressions; but it loses all its advantages as soon as it embodies itself into a visible and calculable assailant, unless it be so superior as to be overpowering. Armed force can be always met by armed force; and in such a conflict the government has advantages of name,

discipline, union, legality, compactness, celerity, and immediate obedience. Nothing can therefore be more acceptable to existing authorities, which seek to establish despotic objects, than to see a perilous disaffection converting itself into palpable rebellion. Such an explosion is troublesome, and for a time dangerous, but rarely invincible by equal spirit and activity; and the power which it attacks becomes doubled and resistless by its failure.

The abortive insurrection of sir Thomas Wyatt was the real overthrow of the Reformation in England, as the attempt and its abortion produced to Mary an instantaneous power of deterring or overwhelming all future opposition to her secret project. He had been to her a friend so ardent as to have courageously proclaimed her queen at Maidstone, before he knew that any others had taken that decided step; but as he was an earnest Protestant, the proposal and progress of the Spanish match united him with those who were apprehensive of its religious consequences.

The House of Commons, participating in these feelings, had voted an address to her, to select her husband from her own nobility. An illness delayed a while its presentation;³⁰ and when the speaker, on her re-establishment, read it to her, she pronounced herself the answer, which, if it pleased the peers,³¹ did not satisfy the House of Commons.³² She

³⁰ Noailles' lett. 4 Nov. v. 2, p. 233, 234; 241. On 14th November he reported to his court, that she had been ill for three weeks. But on the 24th he mentioned that she had sent for the deputies of the commons, and given her answer. p. 269.

³¹ Greffet, p. 125.

³² Noailles, 270. The French and Spanish ambassadors do not quite

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left off all mystery as to her intentions, and sent publicly for the Spanish ambassador, to avow her determination to treat openly with him for her matrimonial arrangement.³³

The state embassy arrived in London the day after the new year commenced, and in a public audience made a formal solicitation of her hand for their prince, and received a modest, but not refusing answer.³⁴ The concluding articles were settled a few days afterwards, and the court expected that the nuptials would proceed without disturbance.³⁵

But intelligence immediately arrived, that a popular meeting had taken place at Exeter, where a letter to the queen was numerously signed, declaring that

agree in their respective reports of this speech, probably from each stating what he liked best to hear. According to Noailles, it was, that 'she held her crown from God, and implored him to enlighten her mind on the conduct she ought to pursue on her marriage. She had not yet determined to marry at all, but as they stated that it would be for the public welfare, she would think of it, and make a choice as advantageous as any they could propose to her, as she was the most interested party.' Noailles, v. 2, p. 270. The Spaniard, whose ear was more naturally gratified by its haughtier parts, stated to his imperial master, that 'she told them, that as to the first part of their address, which advised her to marry, she thanked them for their zeal, and was strongly inclined to follow their advice; but that the next position, which went to constrain her choice, appeared to her strange, and contrary to all rules. The parliament had not been accustomed to hold such language to the kings and princes of England. It was neither fit nor honorable for them to meddle with a selection which depended only on herself. It was for her to choose according to her inclinations, and for the good of her kingdom, without any one having a right to blame her.' Greff. Nouv. Ecl. p. 125.

³³ Renard's desp. of 17 Dec. 1553. Greff. 127.

³⁴ Renard's report of it was: 'It did not become a woman to speak of her marriage, nor to treat of it herself; she had therefore directed her council to discuss it, and to make those conditions which would protect the rights and benefits of her kingdom, which she had always considered to be her first husband;' shewing them the ring which had been placed on her finger at her coronation. Greff. 130.

³⁵ Greff. 132. The treaty was signed on 12th January 1554. See it in Rymer, Fœd. v. 15, p. 377-381. It was publicly announced on the 14th.

they would not suffer the prince of Spain to land.³⁶ Troops were immediately dispatched into Devonshire, and the most active leader of the movement was apprehended.³⁷

This fruitless ebullition was but a branch of the insurrectionary mine which had been long preparing. The great explosion was made by sir Thomas Wyatt. He had been led to hope that a part of the cabinet concurred with him on the two grounds, that the queen had broken her promises, to leave religion free, and not to marry a stranger.³⁸ The general mind became visibly perturbed.³⁹ The language of the nobility and people, not to endure Philip, was so strong and undisguised, that lord Wharton went down to Kent, to keep the people from rising ;⁴⁰ and the conspiracy was maturing into

³⁶ They added a wild assurance, that he and his suite would only come to England, 'pour y vivre a discretion, pour violer les femmes et les filles, et pour opprimer le peuple ;' they assured her that the whole county had resolved rather to die than to submit to a domination so odious. Ren. Lett. 18 Jan. 1554. Greff. 133. But it was natural that they should be agitated with strange surmises, for the French king directed his messenger to apprise Noailles that Philip meant to take with him into England 10,000 Spaniards, and to seize on all its navy, and to take possession of its ports and cities, and to command them with imperial authority. Noailles, v. 2, p. 327.

³⁷ Sir Peter Carew ; but he escaped. Greff. 134. Noailles, v. 3, p. 15.

³⁸ Noailles' Lett. 14 Jan. 1554. v. 3. p. 16.

³⁹ 'I see such a great trouble and subversion preparing among this people, as will not be easily extinguished ; and if the leaders be a little comforted and succoured, they will accomplish their designs, from the great discontent that I know is among the largest portion of this queen's subjects, on this marriage. They have regained the earl of Pembroke, whom they had lost.' ib. p. 18.

⁴⁰ Noailles, 15 January, p. 18. The French king was eagerly watching these turbulencies, and on 26th January 1554, wrote to Noailles, 'It is impossible that my kingdom and England can long remain in peace. You must therefore, underhand, encourage the conductors of such enterprises as you know of, as dexterously as you can ; and speak more openly with them than you have hitherto done, but so secretly, that the

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a formidable strength, when Courtney's communication of it to Gardiner so alarmed the compromised chiefs, that the dread of being anticipated by arrests drove them to a premature insurrection, six weeks before their concerted measures could be completed;⁴¹ and on 22 January, Wyatt precipitately tried the effect of a revolt, by suddenly appearing with fifteen hundred men in arms against the government, and calling upon the country to join him.⁴² They fortified themselves, amid the ruins of the castle at Rochester, with above 60 pieces of cannon, which they took out of the ships that were about to sail to guard the Spanish prince.⁴³ They were joined by many. Risings were expected every hour in the metropolis; and of the troops with which the duke of Norfolk marched immediately against these disturbers, and whom Mary most relied on, it was uncertain which part would be faithful.⁴⁴ Norfolk was defeated in his first attack, from part of his force going over to Wyatt;⁴⁵ who advanced on his victory to Deptford, and thence toward London, his followers swelling as he moved to fifteen thousand men, daily expecting a continual augmentation.⁴⁶

While all around her were in consternation, mis-

affair may not be discovered, en votre endroit, and I will think of aiding and favoring them.' *ib.* p. 36. He sent 5,000 crowns of gold for this purpose. p. 37.

⁴¹ Noailles, p. 43. Lord Thomas, the brother of Jane Gray, learning Courtney's betraying conduct, said, 'he was determined to take his place, as he must be either king or be hanged.' *ib.* 48.

⁴² *Ib.* 44. 47.

⁴³ *Ib.* 47. Godw. Ann. 289.

⁴⁴ *Ib.* 44, 48.

⁴⁵ Captain Brett, with 500 Londoners, formed the vanguard, and was to have forced the bridge, but he harangued his men to join Wyatt, and they turned their cannon immediately on those who were behind them. The duke's men broke up, and part joined Wyatt. Godw. 290.

⁴⁶ Noailles, p. 50.

trust, and uncertainty, the queen was undismayed ;⁴⁷ and, with the active and resolute spirit of the Tudor family, went at the head of her ladies and nobility to the common council at Guildhall, and addressed it with an animation, an ease, and a decision, which emboldened the doubtful, and deterred the opposing.⁴⁸ The citizens loudly applauded her complimentary confidence and natural eloquence ; and

⁴⁷ The Spanish ambassadors, who were advised by the cabinet to withdraw to Brussels, declared that she appeared to them ‘ plus ferme et plus courageuse que ses ministres.’ Desp. 3 Feb. Greff. 137. They also went to cause 4 or 5,000 Flemings or Spaniards to cross over to the queen’s assistance. Noailles, 52. They were grossly insulted on their embarkation. p. 53.

⁴⁸ Foxe gives it ‘ as near as out of her own mouth could be penned.’ Its commencement was : ‘ I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that which already you see and know ; how traitorously and rebelliously a number of Kentishmen have assembled themselves against both us and you. Their pretence was for a marriage determined for us, to the which and to all the articles whereof ye have been made privy. But sithence, we have caused certain of our privy council to go again to them ; and then the marriage seemed to be but as a Spanish cloak to cover their pretended purpose against our religion ; so that they arrogantly demanded to have the governance of our person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our counsellors.

‘ Now, loving subjects ! What I am, ye right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation when I was wedded to the realm and the laws of the same, you pronounced your allegiance and obedience. And that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown, I take all Christendom to witness. My father possessed the same regal estate, and to him ye always shewed yourselves most faithful and loving subjects ; and therefore I doubt not but ye will shew yourselves likewise to me, and not suffer a vile traitor to have the order and governance of our person, and to occupy our estate. I say to you on the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any ; but certainly, if a prince and governor may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects as the mother doth the child, then assure yourselves, that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and as tenderly love and favor you. And I thus loving you, cannot but think ye as heartily and faithfully love me, and then I doubt not but we shall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow.’

After a short excuse of her marriage, she ended with this emphatic sentence :

‘ And now, good subjects ! pluck up your hearts, and like true men stand fast against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not ; for I assure you, I fear them nothing at all.’ Foxe, p. 1290.

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immediately enrolled themselves for the defence of the metropolis. Her conduct on this day saved her crown, and defeated the rebellion. Wyatt and his friends had calculated largely on the co-operation of the discontented in the metropolis;⁴⁹ but this sudden conversion of the Londoners from resentment to loyalty, not only prevented the numerous junctions that were preparing, but so immediately depressed those who were already with him, that he reached Southwark with only two thousand men. The whole success of the attempt depended on the extent and celerity of the uniting co-operations, and for any to hesitate or delay, was to ensure ruin on the committed adventurer. Wyatt, waiting for these, lost his own opportunity, by the slowness of his movements.⁵⁰ Of all warfare, rebellious conflict requires the most rapid evolutions. An instantaneous march, for which he had abundant force, would have put the metropolis and all its resources into his power; but, allowing the queen time to inspire and arm it against him, he could not penetrate beyond Southwark, and solicited in vain the city to receive him. The hearts of many were with him; but the fear, that his troops would plunder their property, kept their gates fastened and guarded against him;⁵¹

⁴⁹ Noailles wrote on 26th January, 'They expect from one hour to another, a commotion in this city.' v. 3, p. 45.

⁵⁰ Godw. 293. Stowe, 619. Noailles on 3d February stated to his king: 'I assure you, sire! if he could have come on the first of this month to the end of this bridge, such was the dread of all the queen's household, that she herself would have had no other remedy than to have thrown herself into the Tower.' p. 53.

⁵¹ Noailles, 56. Before the queen's visit, they had determined to take this risk, or to pillage the wealthy themselves. p. 52. His forces entirely despoiled the bishop of Winchester's palace. Stowe, 619.

and twenty-five thousand citizens were, from the effect of the queen's speech, in array to oppose his progress.⁵²

The enterprise became hopeless, and declined rapidly to a fatal conclusion : yet he evinced the most fearless bravery to the last ; he marched along the Surrey side of the Thames to Kingston ;⁵³ repaired the bridge which had been broken to impede him, forced a passage, and the next day advanced confidently to Westminster, with a well conceived plan of surprising the court by an attack before day-break, which he himself frustrated by obstinately waiting to repair a gun-carriage that broke down.⁵⁴

The queen had collected a force of eight thousand men under the earl of Pembroke, and his artillery was stationed in front of Charing Cross ;⁵⁵ but the news of Wyatt's advance reaching St. James's, the ministers, uncertain who would be faithful, ordered the queen to be waked at two in the morning, to be put into a boat, and carried to a place of safety. The imperial ambassador insisted that all was lost if she withdrew, and that she must remain in London, and abide the last extremity. More courageous than her ministers, she resolved to do so.⁵⁶ And Wyatt's pause about his cannon disappointing his

⁵² Noailles, 52.

⁵³ A shot from his cannon killed a waterman at the Tower stairs, which shewing the distance to be within the range of artillery, the commander of the fortress sent down to the waterside seven great pieces of ordnance to play on his camp. This measure, and the intreaty of the inhabitants that he would not by waiting there uselessly cause their houses to be battered down, determined him to march from this position. Stowe, 619.

⁵⁴ Noailles, ib.

⁵⁵ ib. 67.

⁵⁶ Renard's desp. of 8 Feb. Greff. 145.

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secret friends at the court, and giving it full time to prepare resistance, his able scheme of surprise, which would have been effectual, became then impracticable ; and nothing remained for him but a desperate effort, with very inferior forces, against the royal troops. A short action at St. James's procured him a passage into Fleet-street, with the loss of part of his followers, and he penetrated to Ludgate with the despairing hope that the populace would join a defeated insurgent. The citizens evinced their determination not to be compromised in his treason ; and his force being now reduced to eighty men,⁵⁷ he surrendered to sir Maurice Berkley, and was taken to the Tower, to be afterwards tried and at length executed. The simultaneous movements attempted by sir James Crofts, the duke of Suffolk, and sir Thomas Gray, in other parts of the country, shewed the extent of the insurrectionary combinations ; but as the greatest explosion had been ineffective, they were easily suppressed.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Noailles, 68. On 4th February he wrote, that Pembroke's measures were then delayed, from the fear that his people would march out only to join Wyatt, as Norfolk's had done. p. 56. The fullest detail of his romantic movement from Kingston, is that given by Stowe, 620, 621. The chief fighting was at St. James's, and near Temple Bar, where each party fired their artillery. Wyatt repulsed what came against him, and pushed on towards the city, but the rear of his body was cut off and taken. Stowe.

⁵⁸ Crofts was taken in his bed, before he could collect his tenants. The men of Devonshire refused to rise, and the duke of Suffolk found that none would listen to him in Warwickshire. We read in the letters in Lodge's Illustrations, some notices about him, which give his puny enterprise a very insignificant air, and indicate that it was felt to be so: ' 28th January 1554, the duke of Suffolk is on Friday *stolen* from his house at Sheen, and *ran away* with his two brothers to Leicester. He was met at Stoney Stratford ; is proclaimed traitor. Lord Huntingdon is gone after him.' p. 189. This was lord Arundel's letter. On 12th February, another writer mentions : ' Earl Huntingdon, with 200 horsemen, with staves and bows, brought thro London on Saturday the duke of Suffolk,

The magnanimity of Mary, which had obtained for her both admiration and applause, left her bosom when the danger subsided. Immediately after Wyatt's capture, she signed a warrant for the execution of lady Jane Gray and her husband, whom she had so long spared, and who had not participated in this suppressed rebellion. From this moment the spirit of cruelty took its residence within her; and in a few days the interesting Jane, whose only fault had been a hasty but criminal acquiescence in the guilty plot of others, saw, from the window of her cell, her young husband led out to be beheaded on Tower Hill, and accidentally met his bleeding body, when she was taken to the Tower Green to undergo the same catastrophe.⁵⁹ Death had no alarm to her prepared and gentle mind. She had declined the pain of a formal parting with her Dudley before he suffered, because she believed that they would soon afterwards meet in heaven. She acknowledged her error in consenting to Northumberland's treason, but denied any participation in its original device.⁶⁰

and lord John his brother, to the Tower. The lord Thomas was taken going towards Wales, and is coming up.' *ib.* 190.

⁵⁹ On 12th February 1554. Noailles. Foxe, 129. The queen had two days before sent Feckenham to convert her first to popery. Foxe has preserved the substance of their conference, and lady Jane's last letters, 1290-3. An account of her life and death was published in 1615, and reprinted in the *Phoenix*, N° 2. Mr. Nicolas, in his work of her 'Literary Remains, with a Memoir of her Life,' is the latest publication upon her. It contains also her autograph, and a very interesting portrait of her by Holbein.

⁶⁰ Then joining her hands, she added: 'Good people! I pray you to bear me witness, that I die a true Christian, and that I hope to be saved by the mercy and merit of the precious blood of Jesus Christ. I confess that when I heard the Divine word, I was negligent of fulfilling it, and loved myself and the world, and for this reason the punishment of Heaven has come worthily upon me. But I thank God that he has given me time to repent. Good people! as long as I am alive, pray for me.' This is the French ambassador's report of

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She repeated the Miserere psalm on her knees, then rising up, gave her gloves and handkerchief to her attendant: and soon afterwards was by one blow placed beyond the reach of all further earthly implacability.⁶¹ Her father was executed a few days afterwards,⁶² and an unusual number of the prisoners.⁶³ It was a mournful spectacle to see a flower, which had been gently forming, in its honored home, to such rare beauty, and with every promise of a maturing produce that would have benefited a happy train of improved descendants by its rich qualities,

it, p. 126, which reads more naturally than that which is usually printed.

⁶¹ The Frenchman's statement of her last moments is, 'She gave her book to Thomas Bridges, who superintended her execution, and then took off her gown; the executioner wanted to help her, but she desired him to let her do it herself. She then turned to a lady who was assisting her, who gave her a fine handkerchief to put round her eyes. The executioner then on his knees asked her forgiveness. She willingly gave it. He wished to lay her on the straw, and then she saw the block. 'Is that the block?' was her question. 'Pray make haste.' She then knelt down. 'You are taking it away before I have knelt.' The man answered, 'I am not doing so, madam!' She then tied her handkerchief round her eyes, and said, 'What shall I do?' *Searching with her hands* for the block, she asked where it was. It was brought close to her. She laid her head humbly upon it, saying, 'O my God! into thy hands I commend my spirit;' and was immediately decapitated, with a great effusion of blood. *Le Proth. Noailles*, v. 3, p. 127.

⁶² On the 23d Feb. *Noailles*, 88. Lord Tho. Gray on 27 April. *Godw.* 300.

⁶³ The Prothon. *Noailles* reported to the connetable on 12 March, that above 400 had been hung, many of these good soldiers, besides 50 captains and gentlemen. He contrasts this with the French king's more merciful conduct on the sedition at Bourdeaux. p. 124. On 21st February, the account was, 'nothing but the execution of the bravest men; hanging on gibbets.' p. 77. Stowe mentions, that on the 14th and 15th February, about 50 were hanged on twenty pair of gallows, in divers places of the city. p. 622. On 20th Feb. 400 were coupled together with halters round their necks, and led to the Tilt-yard, where the queen, looking out of her gallery, pardoned them. *ib.* 623. Others suffered elsewhere. Renard reported on 17th February, that the 200 soldiers taken at the fight at St. James's had been executed with their officers; and on 24th, that 100 had suffered in Kent. 173. The emperor had advised and applauded this severity. 174.

and the public at large by its exciting and guiding example, thus uprooted so early, from the ambitious knavery of others, who sought to make it an instrument of their selfishness and vanity. It is a pity that by one moment's weakness of acquiescence, this interesting woman brought the ruin on herself which a continued firmness would have averted. As a noble lady, leading her high class to make her admired and applauded virtues their fashion and their praise—and the illustrious in rank are never backward to follow the illustrious models that live and act consistently around them—she would have advanced the progression of English society, and have been a queen of the public heart, tho without the regal title and the material throne. There is a sovereignty to be attained by excellence, in the social mind, which is even sweeter and greater than the dominion of actual power. For this all may be candidates, and the most transcending will ever gain it. Jane lost this by taking the legal crown which did not belong to her, and by the acceptance depreciated the value and efficacy of her intellectual improvements, abridged her earthly life, and has tarnished her continuing memory.

The jealousy and persecution of Elizabeth increased on these agitations. Wyatt, to obtain favor, had at first the cruelty and meanness to insinuate her connivance at his proceedings,⁶⁴ tho he afterwards solemnly retracted the accusation. But as

⁶⁴ Foxe, 1296. Noailles stated to D'Oysell, 299, ' They promised him so many fine things, besides his liberation, that, conquered by their douces paroles, he accused several persons, and spoke to the disadvantage of lord Courteney, and of madame Elizabeth.' 141.

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soon as they were suppressed, Mary sent five hundred cavalry to bring her to London.⁶⁵ She was then so ill, that her death was expected; and as her body was swelled and distorted, the rumor spread, that she had been poisoned.⁶⁶ Two physicians, with two lords, were sent from the court to examine her condition, and to bring her by force if they thought she could be moved.⁶⁷ She came in a litter, her whole frame tumefied, even to her face, with the dropsy, and apparently not likely to live.⁶⁸ She uncovered the carriage, that she might be seen. She wore a white dress, to mark her innocence. She was pale, but to the eye of the Spanish envoy seemed to assume a fierce and haughty air.⁶⁹ She desired to speak to her sister; but Mary sent out word, that she would not see her till she had justified herself; and she was put into custody in her own residence.⁷⁰ She wrote an earnest letter

⁶⁵ Noailles' lett. 11 Feb. 63.

⁶⁶ Noailles' lett. 21 Feb. 'C'est grand pitie de la voir.' *ib.* p. 79.

⁶⁷ Renard's desp. 24 Feb. Greff. 150.

⁶⁸ Noailles' lett. 24 Feb. v. 3. 88. Foxe has preserved the following particulars of her removal:

'The day after Wyatt's rising, sir Edward Hastings and two others of the council were sent, with 250 horse, to bring Elizabeth from Ashbridge. They reached at ten at night, and found her in bed, very ill and very feeble. She desired not to be disturbed till the morning. They insisted on seeing her, and followed her lady into her bed-room. She told them her inability to go to her sister. They expressed their regret, but that their commission so straitened them, that they must take her either alive or dead. They called in her two physicians, to inquire if they could remove her with life, or not. Their answer was, that she might travel without danger of life. The next morning at nine she was placed in the queen's litter, but so weak, that she was three times near swooning between them. She was taken that day to Redborne; the next to St. Alban's; on the following to Mimms; and on the fourth to Highgate, where she was so very ill, as to remain there that night; and the next day she was carried to the court.' Foxe, 1895, 6.

⁶⁹ Renard, p. 151. Noailles, 100.

⁷⁰ She reached London on 23 Jan. *ib.* At the court she was kept

to the queen,⁷¹ but was taken a prisoner to the

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a close prisoner a fortnight, till Palm Sunday. On the Friday before that, Gardiner and 19 of the council came to her, and charged her with knowing of Wyatt's conspiracy. She denied it, and asserted that she was altogether guiltless about it. Carew's revolt was also imputed to her; from which she immediately cleared herself by her prompt answers to their questioning and steady denial. They told her, that it was the queen's pleasure to commit her to the Tower. An hundred northern soldiers in their white coats watched the gardens all that night; and round a great fire in the middle of the hall, two lords watched also, with their followers. The next day she was ordered to go with the tide to her prison. She desired leave to write first to her majesty. One of the peers refused, but the other, the earl of Sussex, kneeling down, gave her permission, and promised to deliver it. They fixed her departure for the next tide, but as that fell at midnight, they were afraid she might be taken by the way, and put it off till the morning. Foxe, 1896.

⁷¹ In this letter, curious for the emergency and haste in which it was written, she thus pleads her cause and innocency, and exhibits her genuine feelings, and yet self possession, at that moment of alarm:

'If ever any did try this old saying, that a king's word was more than another man's oath, I most humbly beseech your majesty to verify it in me; and to remember your last promise and my last demand, that I be not condemned without answer and due proof. It seems that I now am; for, without cause proved, I am by your counsel from you commanded to go unto the Tower; a place more wonted for a false traitor than a true subject. Which tho I know I deserve it not, yet in the face of all this realme appears that it is proved. I pray God I may die the shamefullest death that ever any died, afore I may mean any such thing; and to this present hour I protest that I never practised, counselled, nor consented to any thing that might be prejudicial to your person any way, or dangerous to the state by any means. And therefore I humbly beseech your majesty to let me answer afore yourself, and not suffer me to trust to your counsellors. Yea, and that afore I go to the Tower if it be possible; if not, afore I be further condemned.

'I trust assuredly your highness will give me leave to do it afore I go; for that I may not be thus shamefully cried out on as now I shall be, yea, and without cause. Let conscience move your highness to take some better way with me than to make me condemned in all men's sight afore my desert known.

'I also most humbly beseech your highness to pardon this my boldness, which innocency procures me to do, together with hope of your natural kindness, which I trust will not see me cast away without desert; which what that is, I would desire no more of God but that you truly knew. Which thing I think and believe you shall never know by report, unless by yourself you hear.

'I have heard in my time of many cast away for want of coming to the presence of their prince. And in late days I heard my lord of Somerset say, that if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered; but the persuasions were made to him so great, that he was brought to believe that he could not live safely if the admiral lived; and that made him give his consent to his death.

Tower.⁷² She was the more endangered by Charles V.

‘ Tho these persons are not to be compared to your majesty, yet I pray that evil persuasions persuade not one sister against the other, and all for that they have heard false report, and not hearkened to the truth known.

‘ Therefore once again, kneeling with humbleness of my heart because I am not suffered to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to speak with your highness, which I would not be so bold as to desire, if I knew not myself most clear, as I know myself most true.

‘ And as for the traitor Wyatt, he might peradventure write me a letter, but on my faith *I never received any from him*. And as for the copy of my letter sent to the French king, I pray God confound me eternally if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter, by any means. And to this my truth I will stand in to my death.

‘ Your highness most faithful subject that hath been from the beginning, and will be to my end.

‘ ELIZABETH.’

‘ I humbly crave but only one word of answer from yourself.’

Neve, Appendix. Ellis, 2d series, v. 2. p. 255-7.

⁷² When the tide the next morning suited, the two lords told her it was time to depart. As she came into the garden, she cast her eyes toward the windows, hoping to have seen her sister, but did not. She expressed her wonder, not very discreetly, that the nobility of the realm would suffer her to be led into captivity. But no one interfered for her. A command was issued thro London, that every one should keep the church, and carry their palms, that she might in the meantime be conveyed without any concourse of the people.

On reaching London-bridge, they could not shoot the arch, and lay hovering upon the water for a time. The danger was too great for the bargemen to plunge into it as they were ordered. Their unwillingness gave way to peremptory command, but in trying it again the stern of the boat struck the ground, ‘ the fall was so big, and the water was so shallow.’ The boat paused awhile under the bridge, and at last cleared it. She objected to being landed at the Traitors’ stairs, ‘ neither well could she, unless she should go over her shoe.’ One of the lords said she must not chuse, and, as it rained, offered her his cloak. She dashed it from her, and, as she put her foot on the stairs, exclaimed, ‘ Here lands as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs. Before thee, O God! I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone!’

As she landed, she saw a great number of the warders standing in rank. ‘ What need all this?’ was her inquiry. She was told it was usual when any prisoner came. ‘ If it be for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed.’ The poor men kneeled down and prayed for her preservation. Passing on, she sat down upon a cold stone, and there rested herself. The lieutenant begged her to come out of the rain. She replied, ‘ Better sitting here than in a worse place.’ She was taken to her confinement, and the doors were locked and bolted upon her, to her great dismay. The lords had a long conference how to keep the ward and watch, till Sussex wisely remarked, ‘ Let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will bear us, whatsoever shall happen hereafter;

urging her execution, if the proofs were strong enough, and if the queen could prevail on her council to consent to it ; a disgraceful inhumanity in a man who was himself sinking into the tomb.⁷³ If there was no evidence to procure her legal death, he advised some pretext to be invented, to convey her over the sea to his court at Brussels.⁷⁴

The queen had overcome the danger, but had not lessened the public dissatisfaction.⁷⁵ She travelled, with a numerous guard and artillery, to Oxford, where she chose to hold her parliament ;⁷⁶ but lived in nightly dread of plots or destruction,⁷⁷ and without any confidence in those who were the nearest to her person.⁷⁸ She had apprehended or banished

she is the king our master's daughter, therefore let us use such dealing that we may answer to it hereafter ; for, just dealing is always answerable.' The other lords agreed that it was well said, and so departed. Foxe, 1896.

⁷³ Noailles, on 11th February, remarked that he was not getting better. p. 63.

⁷⁴ Greffet, from the emperor's despatches to Renard, furnishes us with these facts. pp. 152, 3. Charles also recommended the ambassadors of France and Venice to be proceeded against with all the rigor of the law, for their practices with the revolters. But Mary chose only to apply for their recal. ib. 150-5.

⁷⁵ Noailles, on 4th March, instructed his messenger to inform his king, 'The discontent of her subjects does not at all diminish ; on the contrary, it increases every day. They say that for foreigners, she has put to death all the grands and vaillans hommes de sa nation.' p. 27.

⁷⁶ He added, 'She will not hold it in London, from her hatred to its inhabitants, having perceived them to be ill-affected towards her in the late commotions. She travels with 1,500 horse as a guard to protect her, and has sent some artillery before her to Windsor, which she means to have drawn after her thro the country, levying also large bodies of foot ; some, to accompany her.' ib. 95, 96.

⁷⁷ His account on this was, 'Notwithstanding the pacification of the troubles, she cannot be assured that she is personally safe ; therefore besides her ordinary guards, she has 25 or 30 gentlemen to sleep in the hall of the presence, near her apartment. Twice every night they make their rounds, and visit all the palace.' ib. p. 98.

⁷⁸ 'This shews that she lives in a marvellous fear and suspicion, and that she has no confidence, even in those who are the nighest to her.' ib. 98.

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those she most disliked, and was planning a general seizure of the arms of the nation.⁷⁹ A great number of the gentry emigrated to France, rather than live under a king of a foreign country.⁸⁰ So unpopular had Mary, her Catholic schemes, and her Spanish nuptials become !

While Elizabeth was in the Tower, legal proceedings were instituted against her.⁸¹ This injustice roused Wyatt to a sense of his bargaining iniquity. He made a voluntary confession to Courtney, in the Tower, that he had falsely accused both him and the princess ;⁸² and afterwards on the scaffold, before his

⁷⁹ 'She has so weakened her people by removing the persons who could lead or excite them to rise, by putting some to death, banishing others, and detaining the larger part in prison, that there are but few means remaining to oppose her will. But to debilitate them still more, she is deliberating about taking away all their arms, and under pretence of knowing the state of her force, to seize all the arms in the castles and strong places.' *ib.* 98.

⁸⁰ Dr. Wotton stated in his remonstrances to the French court as ambassador from England, 'that Carew and other English gentlemen had gone to Havre-de-Grace with some vessels, to make war on the emperor, and that an infinite number of others were daily joining him; that a great quantity of English were continually arriving in France, all asking to be employed in the king's service at sea against the emperor, saying that they would never submit to a foreigner ruling them; and that a company of English light horse which were in the king's service in Picardy, has gone to Carew, and offered their services to act with him on the seas.' He complains of other facts of this sort. *Noailles*, v. 3. p. 109-111.

⁸¹ *Noailles'* lett. 29th March, p. 141. She was imprisoned on the 18th, *Godw.* 299. Renard on 5th March 1554, reported, that some persons had deposed, that Courtney knew of the conspiracy, and had consented to it, and that Carew had corresponded with him *by a cipher cut on a guitar*, as to his marriage with Elizabeth. p. 159. Such a correspondence looks more like romance than truth.

⁸² *Foxe*, 1296. *Stowe*, 624. *Godw.* 299. Renard mentioned, but does not base it on any authority, that lord Russell's son was a prisoner in his father's house ; that *during the rebellion* he had received letters from Wyatt, addressed to Elizabeth, which he had conveyed to her. p. 159. That Wyatt should write to her during the few days which followed his revolt, or rather to a third person for her, neither involves her in any previous concert with him, nor is any proof that she wished to receive such letters when he was committing treason, and still less so

execution, he solemnly declared to the people, that she was not privy to the risings before he began.⁸³ Gardiner, from his hatred to Elizabeth and desire of destroying her, had endeavored to suppress the diffusion of Wyatt's first private examination;⁸⁴ but the publicity of his declaration at his dying hour precluded concealment, and preserved the victim they sought to sacrifice. The severity of her imprisonment was relaxed,⁸⁵ but she was continued in the Tower,⁸⁶ and schemes were in agitation to convey her

publicly. The fact, if true, of Wyatt's sending them to another, warrants the inference that he had no previous communication with her.

⁸³ Stowe, *ib.* Godw. *ib.* The French ambassador proves their veracity; for in his dispatch of 13 April, he reports, 'Wyatt was beheaded last Wednesday, dischargeant avant que de mourir Mad. Elizabeth et Courtenais, whom he had charged with knowing his enterprise, on the promises made to him of saving his life.' p. 155. He repeats this fact again, p. 174. Renard states, after Wyatt's first accusation of Courtney, that they had been confronted together, and that Courtney then denied the charge. p. 164. He admits that Courtney had always remained near the queen during the insurrection, had served in her army, and fought against Wyatt in his skirmish at St. James's, tho, he adds, with little zeal or firmness (p. 166), and that Elizabeth was ill in the country during it. *ib.*

⁸⁴ See the account in Foxe, 1296.

⁸⁵ On 17th April, Noailles' notes were, 'M. Elizabeth having since her imprisonment been very closely confined, is now more free. She has the liberty of going all over the Tower, but without daring to speak to any but her appointed guard. As they cannot find her to be implicated, it is thought she will not die.' p. 167. On the 4th May he reported, 'She is treated better. The queen, in speaking of her, is said to call her 'Sister,' which she has not done since her imprisonment, and has replaced her picture next her own in her gallery.' 206.

⁸⁶ Foxe has transmitted to us a few facts concerning her, while in the Tower. She was a whole month in close prison, till, becoming indisposed from it, she desired lord Chandos to allow her to walk, as she felt herself not well. He declared his sorrow at refusing her, but his commands were contrary. She asked leave to walk only in the rooms called the Queen's lodgings. He sent to the council for instructions, who, after a debate, permitted it, if the windows were kept shut, and she not suffered to look out, and if he, and the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's ladies accompanied her. After this the leave was extended to a small garden, if the windows and doors were shut up. A little boy of four years old, who brought her flowers every day, was forbidden to do so, and the constable of the Tower was removed, to make room for a

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either to Flanders or to Spain.⁸⁷ She was saved with great difficulty, from Mary's desire for her execution,⁸⁸ and was at last removed to Woodstock, and

sterner keeper in Sir Henry Beddingfield, who, coming with his hundred new soldiers in blue coats, so alarmed her, that she asked whether the lady Jane's scaffold was taken away or not, and inquired whether he was such a man, 'that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge, he would see to its execution.' Foxe, 1297, 8.

There is not, however, any reason to believe that Mary ever contemplated an action so atrocious. Sir Henry came to remove her to Woodstock.

⁸⁷ Noailles, p. 167.

⁸⁸ The most authentic circumstances on this important point, seem to be these: Elizabeth told Castlenau, a future French ambassador, as he has recorded—'She was put into prison by the command of Mary, and was in great danger of losing her life. She often told me that Mary had resolved upon taking it, as well from la mauvaise volonté which her sister bore to her, as from the accusations invented against her, that she had written to the king of France, and had communications with him. She assured me, that having no hope of escaping it, she desired to make her sister only one request—that she might have her head cut off, as in France, with a sword, and not with an axe, as in England, and therefore desired that an executioner might be sent for out of France.' Mem. de Castel. 1. p. 32.

The Spanish ambassador's despatch to his master, of 2 March 1554, stated, that Mary's cabinet had debated strongly, whether she should be taken to the Tower, or be imprisoned and interrogated in her own house. Some declared that the proofs against her did not justify the imprisonment of any person, even of less rank than her's. Gardiner asserted the contrary. Mary, observing the difference, told those who were against the Tower, that she would then make one of those the responsible keeper of her sister. This was declined, for its personal risk, and Elizabeth was then sent to the Tower at the ebb tide, before the people could be aware of it. Elizabeth refused to go till she had spoken to her sister, and if not allowed an interview, that she might write to her. The letter was permitted, but this made it too late for the tide, and she was not therefore moved till the following day. He expressly adds, that Mary was very angry at this delay (*tres fâchée de ce contre temps.*) She complained of her ministers, and said they had served her ill, and that this would not have been done in her father's time, for he never gave an order without its immediate execution, as none of his ministers dared even to defer it. p. 170. No words can more explicitly shew the endangering state of Mary's mind against her sister. He adds, that Gardiner, after examining the proceedings, was of opinion, that, according to the law, neither she nor Courtney could be sentenced to death. The other ministers and the *queen were very far from this opinion.* Mary thought *them both guilty enough to deserve death*; but she dared not take it upon herself to put them to death without being authorized by law, and therefore banished Elizabeth to Woodstock Castle, and Courtney to that of Tenderinghay, where they were very straitly guarded. p. 171. This needs no comment.

confined in its castle.⁸⁰ The nobility and gentry continued to emigrate;⁸⁰ and many were ready, from patriotic feelings, for another commotion.⁹¹ What an accusing picture of the desolation and misery of a nation, solely caused by the royal bigotry to the Romish slavery!

⁸⁰ She was kept in the Tower till 19th May; when, Noailles says, 'being purgée et trouvée innocente' of all that had been charged against her, she was taken to Richmond, without being allowed to see her sister (p. 226,) and thence to Woodstock Castle. He sent a person with a present of apples to her, on her way—an apparent civility—but intended to learn, if he could, what the emperor was negotiating about her. The guards stopped, stripped, and examined his messenger to his shirt; but found nothing except the apples. p. 238. At Woodstock she was confined as closely as in the Tower: sixty soldiers all day guarded within and without the walls, and forty all night outside; but she obtained at length permission to walk in the gardens, with the doors fast locked, being at least five or six locks between her lodging and the walk, sir Henry keeping the keys. Foxe, 1898.

While here, she wrote with a diamond on one of the windows—

Much suspected by me
Nothing proved can be,

Quoth Elizabeth, prisoner.

Her feelings were so discomforted on being left so desolate in the hands of her enemies, that in her garden walk, hearing a milk maid singing pleasantly near, she wished she could exchange conditions with her, as her case was better, and her life more merry. Foxe 1899.

⁸⁰ The French despatch on the 9th April was, 'A great number of the nobility are in the habit of going to France. Every day they run over with such eagerness, that half this kingdom seems to be in motion to go there.' Noail. 155. On the 17th the statement was, 'Nothing is ordinarily spoken of here, but of gentlemen stealing over into France. He esteems himself to be best off who can sell his property, and pass thither without danger.' ib. 169. The same fact is mentioned in the despatch of 15th April, from Bourdeaux: 'Many persons of various qualities have left these parts, with all their goods, to settle at Geneva. Every day great numbers, with the money for which they have sold their lands. The [English] parliament is trying to stop them.' 2 Ribier, p. 519.

⁹¹ Such was the despatch of the 13th April: 'There are many others like Wyatt. There would be found an infinity who would risk their lives to preserve the liberty of their country.' No. 155. On 29th April we read, 'The common language of the greatest part, expressed assez haut, is, that before Midsummer there will be 50,000 men in arms to get rid of this prince.' ib. 185. The London schoolboys, to the amount of three hundred, dividing into two parties, fought on this subject; and the anti-Spanish party conquering, took the one who had personated

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Altho the queen bound herself to the marriage with Philip, by every solemnity that could assure the emperor of her sincerity,⁹² yet the indications of the public disposition were so unsatisfactory, that he was afraid of trusting his son among a people so adverse.⁹³ When he had become sure of the marriage, he permitted cardinal Pole to come to his court, on his way to England ;⁹⁴ till, finding that he was

Philip and raised him on a gibbet, where he would have perished if he had not been rescued from their hands. The French envoy thought this to be an indication of the general feeling. Noailles, p. 130. Mary had the younger severely punished, and the elder imprisoned. Ren. p. 177.

⁹² ' In addition to her former oath, she received the Spanish ambassadors afterwards in a room where the Eucharist was exposed, and there, kneeling down, protested that she had consented to marry the prince from no personal motive, but solely for the benefit of her kingdom, and that this marriage should never cause her to violate her coronation oath. The ratifications were then exchanged, and presents given ; and the Spanish count presented to Mary, from the emperor, a ring of great value. She then again knelt down, and implored Heaven to enable her to fulfil all the promises she had given, and to make the marriage happy to her and to her people.' Greffet, 161-3. It might have been so if she had not meddled with their religion ; but, resolving to change that, she frustrated her well-meant prayer.

⁹³ On 7th March the emperor wrote, that provision must be first made for his son's safety, and that it would be difficult to give him assurances of this strong enough to dissipate his alarms. The language of his envoy's answer, on 14th March, will best shew the state of the nation, as he observed it to be : ' When I consider the confusion which reigns about religion ; the continual quarrels of the ministry ; the particular interests which divide it ; the character of the nation, who love change and revolutions ; who make it a sport to break their oaths and betray their masters ; the natural aversion they have for strangers, and especially for Spaniards ; and the difficulty of relying on their promises or regard,—my mind is so troubled that I cannot give your majesty any perfect assurances on the subject. Yet things are too much advanced to draw back, and we must act on hope, without exacting guarantees which cannot be obtained.' Renard, 180-2.

⁹⁴ Noailles, p. 187. The emperor had some reason to fear Pole, for the French ambassador, on 17th April, reported, that the nobility and populace fully believed that the cardinal had been proclaimed at Paris duke of York and Lancaster, and would soon make a descent on England, and that persons were going over to him to see their king, and to be the first to do so. 169. Renard apprized his court, that some theologian in Pole's suite had written a long reasoned letter to the queen, advising her not to marry, but to live in celibacy ; and to deter her,

dissuading the pope from granting Mary's request, to be allowed not to force back the church lands from their present lay possessors, he desired the pontiff to recal him.⁹⁵ But Julius III. liked the compulsory restitution too much to do so. Philip at last arrived in England; and the marriage was completed with all the magnificence which an emulous court and rich nobility could exhibit.⁹⁶ To appease the mistrust of her people, she assumed the title transferred by her father from the pope to the English crown, 'Supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland.'⁹⁷ An attempt to make the people believe that Philip was her rightful successor, failed of its impression;⁹⁸ and the future supposition of Mary,

added, that at her age she could not have children without great danger of her life. Ren. p. 183.

⁹⁵ Noailles' lett. 13th May, p. 217.

⁹⁶ Noailles, on 29th March, described to his court the preparations made to receive the prince, p. 137-141; and on 31st the equipment of the fleet to fetch him, p. 144; the meeting of parliament on 9th April 1554, p. 151; its proceedings, p. 166; the execution of Wyatt on 13th April, p. 154; the proceedings against his accomplices, p. 172; the execution of sir Thomas Gray and others on 29th April, p. 183; the pasquinades published and circulated even in her palace, on the marriage, p. 211; the further preparations for the prince, p. 245; his arrival on 19th July at Hampton-court, p. 283; and the marriage on the Spanish saint, St. James's day, 25th July 1554, p. 290.

⁹⁷ The Frenchman thus expresses this Machiavellian policy: 'Elle n'a eu honte de reprendre ce tiltre de blaspheme.' p. 175. On 18th August a singular petition, drawn by Ascham, was presented to Philip, for his aid, from 30 prisoners in Ludgate, who stated that they had been merchants who had lost their property by the frequent depravation of the coinage, by French piracies, by shipwreck, by heavy usuries, and by fraudulent debtors; and that they were confined for 10,000*l.* but that 2,000*l.* would free them. Asch. Ep. 275.

⁹⁸ To please her husband, and reconcile the people, a genealogy was made out, deducing him from John of Gaunt, p. 186; and a request was made in parliament to publish in the churches, that he was the true heir and next successor to the English crown. 192. This not satisfying, another was fabricated, and the first forbidden to be read. 254.

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that she was likely to give to the nation an heir from herself, was treated with insulting derision.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ She had a Te Deum chanted on the expectation, and to procure its realization, Noailles, 141 ; which was ridiculed by a placard attached to her palace gate : ‘ Shall we be so stupid, O noble English ! to believe that our queen is pregnant ? With what could she be, but with a monkey or a bull-dog ? ’ Greffet, 193.

CHAP. XV.

POLE'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND, TO RE-ESTABLISH THE PAPAL SYSTEM AND SUPREMACY—THE PERSECUTION, MARTYRDOMS, AND CHANGES WHICH ENSUED.

To detail minutely the measures by which the compulsory re-establishment of popery in England was effected, is unnecessary here, because they form the usual portion of our Ecclesiastical History, and have been frequently narrated by those who have appropriated their works to that separate subject. A glance at the most marking and characteristic features of the transaction will be sufficient for the object of the present composition; and especially as the forced mutation was as transient, as all that is iniquitously projected and done, deserves and is repeatedly experienced to be. Neither the deed, nor its chief producers, long survived its accomplishment. It lasted scarcely four years; and within that time its great authors, Julius III., Gardiner, Mary, Pole, and Charles V., successively departed, without even enjoying their triumph at the success of their achievement; for each lived during the short interval, and died, with the companionship of much personal misery, from sickness, lost reputation, hostilities, and disappointment.

CHAP.
XV.

The attachment of Mary to her religious system was unquestionably sincere and fervent,¹ and would

¹ Cardinal Bellay wrote to his prime minister, on 26th December 1554, from Rome, that Pole's messenger had told him, 'that Mary

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have been unimpeachable, if it had not been extended into tyranny over others. She might have also pleased herself with any private personal ceremony or Romish formula, for the satisfaction of her own scruples, whether reasonable or not, before she took the crown—as she confidentially confessed she had done,²—provided she had resolved to act towards her people, in the full spirit and meaning of the words of the obligation, which she publicly expressed, and according to the subsisting laws under which she was enthroned; but to make any mental reservation, for the express purpose of acting upon what she concealed, instead of that which she audibly uttered, was to commit one of the most dangerous frauds, and in a sovereign one of the most criminal misdemeanors, which social beings, who must judge of each other so much by their external sensations, can commit towards those whose welfare rests upon our sincerity. The peril of the disingenuity, however, did not occur to her, tho its evils fell heavily upon her subjects; because Wyatt's rebellion gave the crown new strength, and enabled it, after the suppression of that treasonable movement, to confound all just opposition with legal criminality. Thus empowered to be violent by the defeated violence of others, she and her new husband proceeded to make

was in such an inestimable fervour de devotion towards the Roman religion, as to have informed the cardinal, that she would rather be the child of one of her washerwomen, under the obedience of the church, than the queen of all the world without it; and had directed him to assure the pope, that she had been all her life intercurrent in this intention.' Lett. Rib. 2. 480.

She added, 'That she never would have received the crown if she had not been absolved for having communicated with heretics and the enemies of the church.' ib. 481.

the nation feel that she had been a hypocrite at her coronation, and would now be a persecutor and a tyrant.³ The unpopularity which she had begun to create, and her own unhappiness,⁴ increased from the hour in which she commenced this change of conduct, till, after living a very short period without honor, she died, unlamented, without fame, tho greatly qualified to have secured the enjoyment of both.

The coming of Pole had been announced by a proclamation.⁵ He entered the kingdom a few days after the parliament met, with a bull from the pope, giving him a full authority to act on the church

³ The same dispatch states her orders to tell the pope, 'That she now would shew by her exterior conduct what she had always had in her heart especially towards the Holy See, to which and to Pole she is and would be une tres humble fille et tres obeissante, hoping to bring back in this parliament all things to their former state.' *ib.* 481.

⁴ Noailles' representation on 16 June 1554, was, 'Every day, both at court and elsewhere, many placards, letters, and other defamatory libels, are scattered, against her and the lords of her council. So that she is in that spite and rage against her nation, that both to great and small she ever speaks in anger, and with a mauvaise visage, blaming some for their ill services, and others for the little fidelity, and the crossing actions which they daily do against her will. She is also alarmed at the king's fleet being at sea, and has stopped her going to Hampton, fearing that the continuation of the report would cause those to rise who are on the eve of doing so.' Noailles, 3. p. 250. Next day he wrote, 'She does not cease to be in a continual and extreme displeasure against all her household, and is even discontented with her own husband for delaying so long. I am assured that of a night she is for some hours in such a reverie of her passions, that very often she becomes beside herself (*elle se met hors de soy.*) I think that the greatest cause of her grief comes from her vexation at seeing her person so fallen away, and her age so increasing in its effects upon her, [she was then thirty-eight.] The reports she hears of battles at sea give her such apprehensions and extreme fright, that every hour she alters her opinions, which occasions her to send you so many contrary advices.' p. 251, 3.

⁵ It was issued on 10 Nov. 1554, as from Philip and Mary, declaring their pleasure, 'That he repair to us, and use and exercise his authority legantine.' 4 Wilk. Conc. 109. On 16 Nov. he wrote his thanks from Ghent to Philip, for sending his letters to him by two of the English cabinet, Paget and Hastings, who were to accompany him to England. Ep. Poli. v. 4. p. 173.

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lands as he should think fit.⁶ He made an oration to the two houses, exhorting them to return to the Romish faith, hinting at extermination, and yet solemnly declaring that he would use no compulsion;⁷ and he absolved the kingdom from the papal interdict. The House of Commons had been prevailed on to petition for the suppression and destruction of all heretical books; the revival of the cruel persecuting statutes;⁸ and for the restoration of all the authority of the antient church; and Pole was enabled to announce to the pontiff the return of the English kingdom to its subjection to his see⁹—an

⁶ It is dated 28 June 1554, from Julius III. in Wilkins's Conc. v. 4. p. 102. On 13 October, Pole, from Brussels, detailed to the Pope his conference with the emperor about the church lands. In this Charles stated strongly his feeling of the opposition which would arise in England on the restitution of the church property, and added this remarkable observation, 'The name of obedience to the church is *universally abhorred there*, and so is the red hat and the monastic garments.' See his letter in Burnet, v. 6. p. 308. On 7 Nov. cardinal Morone apprised Pole, that the Pope had granted the bull in pursuance of the desire of the emperor, and the king and queen of England, who wished this point to be made clear before he was admitted, and who thought there was no other alternative than to leave the church property in the hands of its lay possessors; and telling him, that the 'Theologi and Legisti at Rome had decided, that if the goods of the church could be alienated for the redemption of captives, much more was it lawful to do it for the recovery of an intire kingdom.' Ep. Poli. v. 4. p. 172.

⁷ Collier, v. 2. p. 372; and Foxe, 1341, has given it at length, and the absolution. Coll. p. 374. Foxe, 1343. In the speech Pole says, 'Providence had established the queen in her right, for recovering the true religion, and *exterminating error*.' But towards the close he said, 'I must solemnly declare I have no prejudicial instructions to any person. My commission is not to pull down, but to build; to reconcile, not to censure; to invite, but *WITHOUT COMPULSION*.' Coll. p. 373. What a contrast between words and subsequent conduct!

⁸ See it in Wilkins, v. 4, p. 96, 7. These statutes were accordingly revived by the Act 1 & 2 Phil. & Mary, c. 6. 'They were the 2 Hen. 4. c. 15. and 2 Hen. 5. c. 7.

⁹ On 30th Nov. 1554, his letter to Julius III. announces, that 'on this day, Saint Andrew's, this kingdom has returned to perform its debitam obedientiam to St. Peter and the Holy See.' ib. 110. Foxe, 134. On 24 Dec. the pope, 'in exultation at the event, issued his bull of plenary indulgence to all who should give thanks for it, and pray for

act which was preceded by a theatrical attempt to make the nation believe that Mary would present them with a future sovereign.¹⁰ To quiet the possessors of church property, who had made this sacrifice of conscience to secure their acquisitions, Pole, as legate, issued his dispensation, declaring that they should not be molested.¹¹ The clergy, in convocation, had agreed to an address to the same effect, avowedly because they deemed the restoration impossible, and because it would endanger the new re-union of the church,¹² and also because they saw without regret the demolition of the monastic affluence.¹³ The statutes then passed, which both established the laity in their church possessions, and also repealed the acts which had abolished the papal supremacy.¹⁴ The restoration of this, renewed all

those that remained in error, and for peace between the princes.' Wilk. p. 111. An Act was passed, restoring to the pope his authority, Stat. v. 2. p. 110; and to the bishops their jurisdiction, p. 111.

¹⁰ On 27 Nov. Gardiner, as chancellor, and nine others of the cabinet council, addressed a letter to Bonner, as bishop of London, stating that Mary was pregnant, and ordering Te Deum and masses on the occasion. See it in Foxe, 1341; and Wilk. Conc. p. 109. This turned out to be either a mistake or a wilful imposition. Its concurrence in time with the return to Rome subjects it to the suspicion of the latter.

¹¹ It is in Wilkins, p. 112, dated 21 Dec. 1554. It also ordered, that all cathedral churches, hospitals, and schools, founded since the secularization, should remain as they were, and that the marriages contracted should remain valid. His reason alleged for it is, that the stability of the re-union will be principally maintained 'if no molestia is brought on the possessors of these ecclesiastical goods.' ib.

¹² See the address in Strype's app. v. 3. p. 250. They ask the crown in their name to insinuate to Pole, and to intercede with him as legate, to this purpose. *Ingenue fatemur, quam quasi impossibilis esset recuperatio, propter multiplices ac pœne inextricabiles contractus, &c.* ib.

¹³ Some of the clergy had shared in the spoliation. The chapter of Litchfield, and the abbot of Westminster, obtained some manors. Mary herself had made grants of large quantities of abbey lands. Tanner, Not. Mon. pref. 39; and Gardiner had declaimed strongly against the monasteries, and in many sermons praised the king for suppressing them. Foxe.

¹⁴ These enactments were made in the same statute of 1 & 2 Ph. & Mary,

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the powers and abuses of the popedom which were noticed in the preceding chapters. Some prisoners were released; and Mary, Pole, Gardiner, and Bonner, proceeded to those persecutions that have assimilated the reign of this infatuated queen, with those reprobated names of antiquity, which none more severely and more justly brand with all the punishment that lettered diction, in its admonitory displeasure, can inflict, than the historians of the Roman church; who, keen-sighted on the evils which that in its infancy endured, are entirely blind and insensible to its subsequent imitation of all which they most zealously condemn.

The milder severities that were enforced on those who chose to remain in their reformed belief and worship, would leave a gloomy shade on the remembrance of the sovereign and government which directed or allowed their imposition;¹⁵ but, discordant

c. 8. Stat. vol. 2. p. 101-5. The combination of the two objects in the same Act shewed that they were the consideration of reciprocity for each other; and that the restoration of popery in England was a bargain of temporary commutation of the pope's supremacy and system for the gentry's quiet possession; a mercenary sale of conscience for property. On such a transaction it was no unnatural result, however unrighteous, that the great object of the papacy having been thus gained, the next pope should in the next year proceed to annul the concession for which it had been granted, keeping fast hold, however, of that boon by which he was profiting.

¹⁵ Coverdale, who fled to escape them, thus describes these punishments: 'Some were thrown into dungeons, ugly holes, dark, loathsome, and stinking corners. Others lay in fetters and chains, and loaded with so many irons that they could scarcely stir. Some were tied in the stocks, with their heels upwards. Some had their legs in the stocks, and their necks chained to the wall with gorgets of iron, having neither stool nor stone to sit upon to ease their wearied bodies. Others stood in Skevington's givies, which were most painful engines of iron, with their bodies doubled. Some were whipped and scourged, beaten with rods, and buffeted with fists. Some had their hands burnt with a candle, and some were miserably famished and starved.' Pref. to Mart. Lett. Strype's Eccl. Mem. v. 3. p. 400.

as they are with all that is now deemed humane or rational, they pass from our attention amid the more painful emotions which arise, on finding that in the four years of the Marian persecution, TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHT fellow-creatures were burnt alive,¹⁶ in the different counties in England—not at once—not by a single act of precipitate fury—not in one of those paroxysms of passion which, from their absence of wilful design, convert murder into manslaughter, and divest crime of its contriving and purposed malignity—but deliberately, gradually, and successively, month after month, with unsatiated and unrelenting repetition and perseverance! It is this which astonishes the mind in the Romish warfare against Protestants, and in its autos da fé. To see men of rank, education sacred office, and well-informed intellect, calmly resolving and unhesitatingly exerting themselves to consign thousands of their fellow-creatures, of moral habits, worthy characters, and of highly cultivated understandings, to poverty, dungeons, torture, and

¹⁶ Lord Burghley took the trouble to enumerate distinctly those who were burned by Mary and her cabinet in the different counties of England in every month, and has left a MS. of the detail and amount. His final summary is,—

In 1555	-	-	-	-	71
1556	-	-	-	-	89
1557	-	-	-	-	88
1558	-	-	-	-	40
Total					288

‘ besides those that died of famine in sundry prisons.’ See his paper in Strype’s app. Eccl. Mem. v. 3. p. 557. That this nobleman had yielded to the pressure of ambition or terror, and conformed to the Catholic religion, was noticed by Collier, v. 2. p. 409, from Burnet, v. 3. Dr. Nares has shewn that he confessed and attended mass in Mary’s reign, from a document in the State Paper Office. p. 673.

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the agonizing stake, for no other fault than a refusal to believe and practise the religious system which the papal hierarchy, often much against the intellectual convictions of its own members, or at least many of them, has decided to support—to perceive such determined and merciless resolutions undeviatingly put into actual and dreadful execution, from generation to generation, and in most countries of Europe—at such a spectacle, which history for several centuries has exhibited in modern Europe, what can the most forbearing spirit, not trained to these perversions, feel or think on this melancholy subject? What is this mysterious mutability within us, which in the true christian, in the philanthropist of all ages, and in the female bosom of all climes, can be so benevolent, so generous, and so kind; and yet, when it has become a Catholic priest or jesuit, should thus change in so many to be the unfeeling, the remorseless, the systematic, and the unpitying persecutor? It is an enigma which philosophy cannot solve. We can only refer it to some terrible inspiration from the most revolting quarter.¹⁷ To

¹⁷ It is with a melancholy truth that Mr. Gibbon has so emphatically remarked, ‘The church of Rome defended by *violence* the empire which she had acquired by *fraud*: a system of peace and benevolence was soon disgraced by proscriptions, wars, massacres, and the institutions of the holy office. In the *Netherlands alone*, more than ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND of the subjects of Charles V. are said to have suffered by the hands of the executioner.’ Decl. Rom. Emp. c. 16. If we add to this number those who were put to death for their religious secession from the Roman church in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Ireland, and other parts of Europe, these wilful and systematic destructions of fellow creatures arise to an amount which astonishes and dismays the enumerating mind, which sees no security against their repetition but the absence of the political power. Individual Catholics, from their own good feeling, censure them now; but so did many others at the time of their perpetration; and yet their ruling powers maintained and executed the sys-

these afflicting executions Mary gave her previous official and written sanction.¹⁸ Cranmer's catastrophe both she and her husband specially commanded.¹⁹ Gardiner, while he lived, was active in almost all the arrests, examinations, and punishments; and, as the prime minister and chancellor, is responsible for the whole of the atrocities that were done in the very short period during which he lived after their commencement.²⁰ Bonner was a more unfeeling and

tem, and have never since disavowed or annulled it for the future. Such persecutions still remain the unrepealed constitutional law of the Roman hierarchy.

¹⁸ On her council communicating to Mary their resolution on the intended persecution, she expressed in her answer in writing, that 'touching the punishment of heretics, we thinketh it *ought to be done* without rashness, *not leaving* in the meantime to do justice to such as by learning would seem to deceive the people. Especially within London I would wish none *to be burnt* without some of the council's presence, and both there and every where good sermons at the same time.' Collier has printed this paper, v. 2, p. 372; and Burnet, 4, p. 402. Here is an express permission, after deliberation, with some prudential cautions or qualifications.

¹⁹ The writ to burn Cranmer, dated 24th Feb. 1556, was issued in the name of both Philip and Mary. Wilk. 4, p. 140. Their joint commission was also issued on the 16th of the same month to the bishop of Exeter and others, to inquire into all heresies; to search out and take possession of all heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings; to *search* out all persons who refused to be confessed, or to hear mass, or to receive the sacrament, or to come to the parish church; to call before them any suspect persons, and to award such condign punishment, by fine or imprisonment, as to their wisdom should seem meet.' Wilk. Conc. 4, p. 141. The day after Cranmer suffered, Pole was consecrated to his see of Canterbury. There could be none of the human sensibilities in a man who could step so immediately into a dignity vacated by such an act, of which he had been one of the commanding instruments.

²⁰ Some gentlemen wish to screen Gardiner from the imputation of these cruelties; but Peter Martyr, after he had escaped out of England, in his letter in November 1553, to Calvin, ascribed them to him. After mentioning the imprisonment of the two archbishops and two bishops, he adds, that 'many other learned and godly divines were taken up and committed to gaols, and were like to suffer death, especially since Gardiner, a man of cruel and severe disposition, now managed all church matters.' Strype's Eccl. Mem. v. 3, p. 6. Gardiner ordered or sanctioned the arrests of Rogers, Sanders, bishop Hooper, Dr. Taylor, bishop Farrer, Bradford, and others, and personally examined them before they

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prominent actor; yet cardinal Pole, the humanest of the persecuting band, authorised, encouraged, and commanded them; and, what presses still more his memory, for three years after Gardiner's death, which left him the predominant counsellor of the

were burnt. Foxe, pp. 1349; 1361, 9; 1384; 1411; 1458; 1521. He did this, knowing that they would be so executed, and as prime minister permitting and not preventing nor opposing the infliction. He also, on 29th January 1555, issued the sentence against Hooper, which Strype has printed. App. p. 276. The jesuit Parsons once said he was mild, and most tender hearted. So have been many Spanish inquisitors. Many of the most cruel in all ages have been polished and cultivated men, and very courteous in other concerns. Nor did Jesuits then consider the burning of heretics to be any impeachment of their humanity. Of Gardiner, nine lords of the state council, in their public document, (in Burnet, v. 5, p. 279) say, 'He shewed not only a wilful pride, but a cankered heart: guilty of open and shameful lies, by which impudent falsehood he shewed himself most unworthy to be a bishop. For religion, he is as far from any piety or fashion of a good bishop, as a player of a bishop in a comedy is from a good bishop.' This is coarse language for courtly men, but they must have had strong impressions from the conduct which provoked them to use it. Yet after declaiming against the monasteries, and commending the king, in his sermons, for suppressing them (1 Burn. 251;) and after insulting the pope, as he did in his zeal for Henry (see Hist. Hen. 8., v. 2, p. 216;) and after his own many heresies enumerated by Foxe, p. 1626, 7; his leading such fierce prosecutions against the reformers under Mary, are facts which tend to prove that he either had no moral principles at all, or very inconsistent ones. He was chancellor and chief minister on 25 May 1555, when the king and queen's mandate was issued to Bonner, complaining that their letters to the justices of the peace to act against heretics had not been duly enforced, but that 'divers of such persons had not been proceeded withal according to the order of justice,' and therefore ordering Bonner 'to proceed against them, if they shall continue obstinate, according to the order of the laws.' Foxe, p. 1437. When Tooty had been hanged for felony, Gardiner was the first who signed the council's letter of 28th April 1555, stating that they had heard that at his death he had professed heretical opinions; and that 'as we think it not convenient that such a matter should be overpassed without some example to the world, we pray your lordship to cause further inquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed;' and accordingly his body was dug up, tried, found guilty of heresy, delivered to the secular power, and burnt. Foxe, 1439. But as Gardiner died on 12th November 1555, the cruelties of the three succeeding years rest on his survivors, cardinal Pole, the next prime minister, and the time-serving instrument Bonner. Gardiner could not be concerned in these last atrocities. It has been supposed by some that he disapproved of them; but Pole and Bonner only continued *his* system and practice after he was in the grave.

queen, wilfully continued them.²¹ And all this was done under the sanction or by the desire of their pontifical head.²² The victims began in February 1555,²³ and continued to be sacrificed in the last year of Mary's reign, when Pole, so far from evincing a desire to end them, published new edicts for their repetition,²⁴ and only a short time before his own death, consigned three men and two women

²¹ Pole, by his constitutions, as legate, in 1555, declares that 'All heretics, who *hold* or teach otherwise than the Roman church believes and holds, *damnantur et anathematizantur*:' and it commands that 'all censures and *punishments* appointed by law or by man against heretics and their defenders; and also against all ordinaries and others who shall be *negligent* in *extirpating* heresies, be exacted.' 4 Wilk. Conc. 121. Nothing could well go beyond this. The bishops who neglected to *extirpate* heresies, that is, the persons who held them, should themselves be punished.

²² The burnings began in the last four months of Julius III. and never ceased under Paul IV. his successor, until Mary died. This last pope, by his decree of 19 Jan. 1556, ordered Cranmer to be given up to the secular power; that is, to be burnt. Foxe, p. 1490, 1st ed. If the friend and admirer of Julian so clearly perceived the true character of Christianity, as to remark in his day, of a prelate, that he was not acting in conformity with his religion, 'quæ nihil nisi justum suadet et LENE,' (Amm. Marc. l. 22. c. 11.) what would he have felt and said of the papal hierarchy, on observing these transactions? Paul IV. had been in England himself for three years, as collector of the Peter's pence, before it had been abolished, and said, that then 'he was extremely pleased with the forwardness of the people in their contributions.' Collier, p. 381.

²³ The first who was burnt was Rogers, a prebend of St. Paul's, and a companion of Tyndale, on 5 February 1555; bishop Hooper on the 9th of that month; bishop Farrer on the 16th March; and the two bishops, Ridley and Latimer, on 16th October, at Oxford. The new year 1556 opened with the venerable Cranmer's destruction. England was disfigured by a constant succession of these dreadful murders till Mary died. Foxe, p. 1348-1620.

²⁴ Gabriel Harvey names him as the first in the list of burners; Gardiner, as Vulcan, the next; and ignivomus Bonner, the alter Mulciber, as the third. Strype, 3. p. 401. In January 1558, Pole headed the convocation of his province, which ordered, in their constitutions, two bishops to inquire and punish heretical pravity in Oxford and Cambridge; and annually to demand the execution of the Arundel or burning statutes. 4 Wilk. 167. He also, on 28th March 1558, issued his directions to Dr. Harperfield, 'our commissary general, and five others,' to make inquisition, and the 'pertinaces, obstinatos, and those adhering to their heresies, to reject from the society of the faithful, to exterminate and deliver them up to the secular power, if the atrocity of the fact

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to perish by this terrible death.²⁵ The fiery vengeance was even extended to the bones of the dead, whose living sensibility was beyond the reach of the persecutors.²⁶ Great numbers of the most learned and respectable persons of the country emigrated abroad,²⁷ as no alternative remained, if they adhered

should so require.' *ib.* 174. In September 1555, he sent his commission to Oxford, to examine and judge Latimer and Ridley; and if they did not recant, 'to yield them to receive punishments due to all such heresy and schism,' Foxe, 1595; that is, to be burnt, as they were.

²⁵ On 7th July 1558, only four months before his death, he sent his certificate to the queen, that the five persons he named, two of them females, had confessed and defended their heresies; and as the *sancta mater ecclesia* had nothing else which she could do, 'we leave the said heretics and relapsed, to *your secular arm condigna animadversione plectendos.*' p. 174. Collier dates it 17th July. p. 89. On 13th November following, the queen and her husband's writ was issued to the sheriff, reciting that Bonner had manifested to them some heresies, and decreed them to be left to the *secular* forum; therefore they being willing to defend mother church, 'et quantum in nobis est,' they command that these heretics 'coram populo igni committi; et in *eodem igne* realiter combini facias.' in Wilk. 174. Now, as Philip was then out of England, and Pole was archbishop of Canterbury and Mary's prime minister, it is impossible to suppose that this writ was issued against his will, or without his sanction. Bonner was the last man to have opposed his superior will; he lived, as he once intimated, for 'his pudding;' see before, p. 149, note 91; and therefore would not have counteracted Pole. Nor was this mandate Bonner's act; it only recites his certificate; it was not issued by him; a higher power than his commanded the burning, and the director of the royal will and conscience, who was Pole, may be assumed to have been that person. This instrument was issued only four days before Mary's death.

²⁶ The condemnation and burning of the bones of Bucer and Phagius at Cambridge, were done in full communication with Gardiner. The whole process of this solemn absurdity is detailed by Foxe, pp. 1774-82. The effect was so ludicrous, that we find that the very country boors laughed, while they abhorred, at hearing dead men cited to answer for their heresy, and at seeing the Romish officials carrying out the dug-up bones to burn them in the public market-place. Foxe, 1781. We must, however, in justice add, that absurd and revolting as it was to burn the bones of the dead as a vindictive punishment, the malice of the thought did not originate with these Marian persecutors; the act was decreed by a previous council, among other malignities against heretics; and the decree still remains in force and unrepealed.

²⁷ Peter Martyr wrote to Calvin in 1554, that 'there was every where a flight of good men, who could possibly get away.' He had escaped to Strasburg. Strype's Eccl. Mem. v. 3. p. 6. This worthy author has

to their conscientious convictions, but destructive rebellion, or the miserable death of the slow-consuming stake.²⁸

collected an enumeration of those who became voluntary exiles for religion only. Some settled at Frankfort; some at Basle, and read lectures there; others, and an archbishop of York, at Wezel and Friesland. Knox, who had been king Edward's chaplain, and was destined to be the great reformer of Scotland, resided with several at Geneva; at Strasburg, several knights, Grindall and Sandys, who became archbishops of Canterbury and York, and many others. Several went to Zurich; and among these, two who were afterwards the bishops of Durham and Litchfield. P. Martyr joined them, with Jewel, and became professor of divinity there. They were kindly treated by the Swiss ministers, Bullinger and Bibliander, and by the magistrates and people. The expressions applied to them do an honor to Zurich which ought not to be forgotten; 'incredibilis humanitas et civium omnium omnia officia charitatis plenissima.' Strype, p. 231-3. Several of them wrote and printed tracts in support of their principles. Knox was invited to Frankfort, to be the pastor of the English congregation there. *ib.* 236. Other persons emigrated from the persecuting government to Paris, Orleans, and Rouen; and some to Venice and Padua. *ib.* 244. Gardiner was so enraged at their escape, that he declared he would make them eat their fingers for hunger. *ib.* 403.

²⁸ We have two specimens of the sufferings to which this selected mode of death exposes the victims, in what occurred at the burnings of both the bishops Hooper and Ridley. In Hooper's catastrophe, the faggots were brought green, and therefore burnt slowly and with difficulty around him. As they flamed, the wind blew the fire from him, so much that he was scorched instead of being burnt. When they got some dry wood, this burnt his lower parts, but on account of the wind, only tortured his upper body, so that when this supply was consumed, he was in full life, and, wiping his eyes with both his hands, called out, 'For God's love, good people! let me have more fire.' His legs and thighs were burning, but not his trunk, because 'the faggots were so few.' A third fire was then kindled, but so ineffectually, that the bladders of gunpowder which he had from the beginning placed under his arm, and for which his persecutors reviled him as intending suicide, did not explode. His tongue was seen to swell, till he could not be heard to pray, yet his lips moved till they shrunk to his gums. He then struck his breast with his hands *till one of his arms fell off*. Yet he was so alive as to use the other, the blood and melted matter oozing from the fingers end, till at length his head fell forwards, and he expired. Foxe, 1373. I do not believe that his torment was intentionally protracted, but I quote the circumstances, as shewing the horrible nature of this kind of execution.

Ridley's is another instance of similar horrors, tho the kindness of relations was allowed to hasten his death. Latimer, on the other side of the stake, was soon surrounded by the flames, and perished; but on Ridley's side, from 'the evil making of the fire, because the faggots

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But in pursuing this system of burning, the papal clergy forgot the lessons of their Aristotle—that there are two sources of emotions within us; not terror only, but terror and pity. The executions by conflagration always excited both; and of these, the compassionate was the most lasting and the most distressing feeling. Few could enjoy without compunction the horrors they inflicted. Hence their much loved stake always counteracted its appointed effect, and disappointed their wishes. It roused more indignant sympathy than it spread intimidating fear. The terror was obliterated by the pity, which soon became aversion and enmity to the merciless punishers.²⁹ Nor can we wonder at this result,

were laid about the gosse, and over high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood.' When he felt this, he desired them for Christ's sake to *let the fire come to him*. His brother-in-law hearing this, but not understanding what was the best to do, tho he was there for the purpose of shortening his pains, with this intention heaped more faggots upon him, until he covered him with them, supposing that the more wood was laid, the sooner he would be burnt. This made the fire so vehement around his lower limbs, as to consume them entirely before his upper body and vital parts were affected; which caused him to spring up and down, crying out, 'I cannot burn! I cannot burn! Make the fire come to me.' After his legs were burnt away, 'he shewed the side towards us, his shirt and all, to be untouched with the flame.' His moaning outcries mingled with his prayers, 'Lord! have mercy upon me. O let the fire come to me—I cannot burn.' All pitied, but knew not how to help him, till one of the bystanders thought of pulling away with his bill the faggots above him, which had the effect of keeping the flame from ascending. The fire then sprang up. He writhed himself eagerly to that side where it did so. Some sparks at last caught the powder under his arm, and he was seen to stir no more. Foxe adds, 'It moved hundreds to tears in beholding the horrible sight; there was none which would not have lamented. Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Many sympathized with the emotions of his brother, who was greatly agitated at seeing that what he had done to accelerate his end, had so increased his torture.' Foxe, 1607. Such are the dreadful sufferings to which human beings have devoted and exposed their fellow creatures; nor is the dreadful punishment yet disowned or abolished; it has been merely suspended, not relinquished.

²⁹ We perceive this effect in the observation of the French ambassador, a zealous Catholic, on the burning of the first sufferer, Rogers:

when we perceive how reflecting minds contrasted what the reformers had abolished, with what the Romish hierarchy unchangingly retained.³⁰

The reduction of academical education to its antient trammels and enfeebling slavery was a solicitous object with Pole and his coadjutors. One of the greatest benefits of the Reformation to the intellectual improvement of Europe, was the depreciation of the antient scholastic theology, which had superseded the Scriptures, and thereby became one of the most supporting columns of the Catholic Church; because by confining the ecclesiastical education to Peter Lombard's Sentences, and his commentators, no better divinity, and no superior feelings of religion, were known or cultivated.³¹ But

' This day was performed the *confirmation* of the alliance between the pope and this kingdom, by a public and solemn SACRIFICE of a preaching doctor named Rogerus, who has been burnt alive for being a Lutheran; but he died persisting in his opinion. At this conduct, the *greatest part* of the people took such pleasure, that they were not afraid to make him many acclamations to strengthen his courage. Even his children assisted at it, comforting him in such a manner, that it seemed as if he had been led to a wedding.' Noail. lett. 4 Feb. 1555. No words can be more emphatic of the nature and effect of these vile deeds. It was in his opinion 'un sacrifice' done for 'la confirmation de l'alliance' with the pope; and the spectators huzza'd the sufferers.

³⁰ Melancthon has shewn this difference in the following enumeration of the practices which had been superseded: 'There was horrible darkness in the church. Human traditions were the destruction of pious minds, and the ceremonies of worship were exceedingly vitious; foolish prayers, indulgences, images, saint-worship, manifest idolatry, a great similitude to Pagan rites. The true doctrine of penitence for remission of sins was unknown. What faith in Christ consists of; justification by faith; the difference between the law and the gospel; the true use of the sacrament—these were all untaught. The keys were perverted into the foundation of a pontifical tyranny. Human ceremonies were preferred to all civil duties. To these was added most profligate habits of life, from the celibacy of the clergy.' Melancth. Op. v. 4. p. 837.

³¹ The Oratio for Luther, printed among the works of Melancthon, remarks, that Eckius came forward against Luther expressly as the defender of the scholastic theology, and pitying its down-fall, and

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as soon as the New Testament was presented to the young and studious mind, the delightful contrast of its style and lessons attracted and monopolized the attention and feelings: and the wordy dogmatisms and polemical nothingness of the logical theology were abandoned and undervalued.²² The universal experience of this result, both in England and the Continent, occasioned assiduous care to be taken to reinstate compulsorily the study of the antiquated schoolmen. It was therefore authoritatively re-established at Oxford, with all its appendages and darkening and debilitating consequences.²³

All the measures of Mary's bigoted resolution to extinguish by force all dissent, and those dissenting

because his friends, who had risen by it, thought their fame and benefit in danger, unless Eckius conquered: and it was by his new stream of argument from the Scriptures, against the old dialectics, that Luther conquered at Leipsic. Mel. Oper. v. 2. p. 40.

²² Cranmer's secretary, R. Morice, thus described Latimer: 'He had bestowed all his time in the labyrinth study of the school doctors, as Duns Scotus, Dorbel, Thomas Aquinas, Hugh de Victore, with such like. Being mightily affected that way, and perceiving the youth of the university leaving off these tedious authors, and inclined to the reading of the Scriptures; he tried to persuade them to keep to their sophisms and disputations, and to leave off their new-fangled study of the Scriptures.' But a lecture of divinity read in the university school by Mr. Stafford, on this new study, so convinced and changed him, that he eagerly adopted what he had condemned, and preached zealously every day on the Gospels and their study. Strype, v. 3. p. 368.

²³ Ormaneto, afterwards bishop of Padua, was sent to 'reform' the two universities: 'He displaced every heretic, and all *suspected* of heresy, and placed over it Peter Soto, a Dominican, who had been confessor to Charles V. and eight others of the same order, who restored, says Ribadineira, the solid scholastic theology, and abolished the affected elegance of words with which the heretics were enchanting their hearers.' p. 218. Peter informed Pole, that on visiting the University of Oxford, he had found school divinity greatly neglected—that no lessons were then publicly read upon it—that he thought it would be expedient to give lectures on the old *magistrum scientiarum*, and he desired to have the office himself. Pole stated to the king that he had mentioned this proposal to Gardiner, who thought that such an exposition ought to be read there, instead of the Hebrew lecture. Ep. Poli. 5. p. 47. Soto was a Spaniard, and with Garcia, another Spaniard, was made public professor of divinity at Oxford. Strype, p. 475.

from the Roman Church, were of a cruel character and operation: and none displayed this lamentable feature more painfully, than the order that all foreigners should quit the kingdom. As English Protestants were flying to France, Germany, and Switzerland, to escape her persecutions; so the French and Flemish reformers sought an asylum in England, from the analogous severities of their oppressing governments. But the very cause of their coming, produced the order for their expulsion; and the Spanish Jesuit, who was in our island at the time, records and exults in the fact, that by this proclamation 'more than thirty thousand heretics, strangers of different nations,' were compelled in a few days to quit the country which they had chosen as a 'safe harbor' for their endangered lives.³⁴

³⁴ After mentioning the burning of the English heretics, Ribadineira adds, 'To do this with greater speed, quickness, and efficacy, the queen commanded that all foreigners who had no public offices, nor were naturalized, should, within so many days, under severe penalties, go out of the kingdom. By this sole command, more than 30,000 heretics of various nations and sects, who in the time of Edward had flown from all parts into England, as the den and secure port for their errors and wickednesses, were expelled.' p. 216, 217. In 1557, an Act of Parliament was passed, that every person born under the dominion of the French king, not being denizen, should depart the realm, and not return during the wars with France. 4 & 5 Philip and Mary, c. 6. stat. v. 2, p. 136.

NOTE

On the Catholic Invectives against Protestants.

It surprises us at first to read, in the Roman Catholic sermons and compositions of this period, and in so many since, such bitter and indiscriminate abuse of the Protestants of all sects, under the general name of heretics and infidels. They are classed repeatedly with Turks, Atheists, and unbelievers, without any other separation than the typographical comma, as if they were considered by the writers, and meant to be represented by them to the reader, as no other and no better. The papal author, be it in a history, sermon, edict, bull, or controversial treatise, continually masses together and assails, with undistinguishing invectives, as well the infidel who disbelieves all Christianity, and even the Deity, with the reformers who most sincerely accredit and revere religion. We see them continually spoken of with the most

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invidious epithets and damnatory reprobation, as one loathsome mass of impiety and detestation. It seems such irrational and violent and wilful prejudice to class together intentionally and deliberately the Atheist and the Protestant, and to load them alike with such inveterate and rancorous epithets of reproach and vilification, that we can scarcely understand how any persons of cultivated intellect, of the Catholic church, could have so pertinaciously and so universally pursued this practice. Our most illustrious names in science or literature, and especially if clergymen, are seldom noticed without some depreciating adjunct. For some time, this surprised myself, and I could not account for it to my own satisfaction; until at last I discovered that it was done upon a premeditated system of their hierarchical policy. The ingenious chieftains of the papal church, after the first ardent conflicts, in which they gained no victories and made no intellectual conquests, observed, that to discuss the points of difference between themselves and the Protestants, was to make the opinions of the latter more known; to subject their own tenets to investigation, discussion, and the consequential decisions of human judgment, and to take the chance of the varying talents of their own defenders: and to be so often defeated and so strenuously opposed, as to make it morally certain that if they resorted to human reasoning, and rested on the mind's unbiassed conviction, their excluding system would be overthrown; and their papal and traditional Christianity would be improved and enlightened into what was really scriptural, apostolic, and divine. To prevent this evil, and to maintain their despotism unshaken, and their artificially compacted system unbroken and intire, they felt it more prudent to withdraw from discussion, and to dissuade such preaching. Where the government was Catholic, their safety lay most surely in resting upon the arm of power, while it was disposed to befriend them; and in teaching their dogmas and rites as positive injunctions and authoritative institutions commanded by the pope as the voice of their church, as their only qualified and rightful judge, and therefore indisputably placed by the adoption and decision of the popedom beyond the province, the right and the power of human reason. We are led to this inference, not from speculations and guesses of our own imagination, but from the express instructions of the cardinal Valiero, the friend of St. Charles Borromeo, who, in his *Rhetorica Ecclesiastica*, thus recommends the papal clergy to shape their public preaching. His words are: 'Admonishing the clergy, when they address a sermon to the people, not to start a disputation against heretics; not to mention their arguments, lest they fall into the suspicion of vanity, and throw scruples into the minds of the simple. *Let them say generally, that all heretics are wretched persons, &c.* But I should deem it more useful that ecclesiastical orators should pass over in silence their pernicious opinions, as confuted and exploded by the most learned men for many ages.*

* 'Monentes clericos, ne habentes concionem ad populum, temere *disputationem* instituant contra *hæreticos*; eorum *argumenta* ne commemorent, ne forte in vanitatis suspicionem incidunt, et simplicium *mentibus* scrupulum injiciant . . . in universum dicant, *miseros esse hæreticos, &c.* . . . sed utilius duxerim ut *perniciosas* eorum *opiniones* a doctissimis hominibus multis jam sæculis confutatas et explosas, *ecclesiastici* oratores *silentio prætereant*: tempus que, rem pretiosissimam in explicatione divinæ legis, &c. ponant.' *Rhet. Eccl. I. 2, c. 45.*

The principle enforced in this passage is to speak of Protestants only with *general invective*, and not to specify their opinions or their arguments, and if possible not to mention their doctrines at all.

The amiable jesuit, abbate Roberti, whose mildness of temper seems never to desert him but when he mentions heretics, that is, Protestants, in his letter on preaching against the 'spiriti forti' of the age, so lately as 1781, cites Valiero, with the applausive epithets of 'chiarissimo' as to himself, and 'aureo opuscolo' as to his work, v. 4. p. 95, as a right admonition to the clergy not to preach against innovators 'li novatori.' The rule he inculcates is, that in a metropolis like Paris or Venice, where the opinions contrary to the Catholic faith or to religion could not be concealed, but were often in active opposition, they might and should be resisted; but in towns and villages, and places where the contrary tenets were not known, or only to a few, or but imperfectly heard of, to be entirely silent upon them. He says, our famous English jesuit (and traitor) Father Parsons, in one of his books, acted upon a different principle, 'because he wrote in a schismatic revolt to a *national multitude, of atheists, sceptics, and latitudinarians*, and wished by a most reasoned volume to draw them to BE CHRISTIANS and Catholics.' ib. p. 63. Reader! who were the persons whom the really good abbate Roberti, in 1781, knew so little of, as to call 'a moltitudine nazionale di atei, di scettici, di latitudinari,' whom this earlier jesuit Parsons, who will appear in our future Chapters, wished to *make Christians*? No other than our venerable reformers, and Protestant church and nation, in the time of Elizabeth. Thus Roberti exemplifies the advice of Valiero—'call them, in a lump, miseros,' &c. And in the same manner the abbe Bergier, in his *Encyclopædie Theologique*, published at Padua in 1788, repeatedly links together 'les heretiques et les incredules,' and labors to give the impression that there is no difference between Protestants and atheists, sceptics and latitudinarians. So strong is the tendency to confound them, that we have seen enlightened Catholic laymen in our own day disposing themselves to believe and to print that our present church of England is still, as Roberti intimates, of this character.

On this system, Roberti in 1781 thus characterizes Luther and the reformed ideas, and thus applies his principle: 'If in some island not yet assailed by the movements of the innovators, or in some corner of Italy, where only some curious persons who read pamphlets, or some doctor who piqued himself on erudition, had any information on these theological madnesses, a preacher should ascend a pulpit before a people accustomed to take in crowds indulgences of pardon from Assisi, and to give alms for masses for the souls of the dead poor, and should relate to them that a *wicked and turbulent German apostate* (un cattivo e turbolento apostata Tedesco) had raved against purgatory and indulgences, I should have disapproved of him, tho he had been a better controvertist than Bellarmin.' p. 103. By the people, he does not mean the mere mob. 'When I mention the people, I do not mean only haberdashers and fishmongers: When I speak of people, I mean a duke of twenty; a prince of thirty; a marquis of forty; as Seneca says, 'I term the togatos the people.' By people, therefore, I mean in this place gentlemen, in other respects polite, prudent merchants, industrious artizans, and others who, unused to actual study, and ignorant of certain books, are living in una securita tranquillissima della lor fede.' p. 64.

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It is from the universal practice of this system of general abuse of Protestants by the most reprobating epithets, and of the *altum silentium* as to their doctrines and opinions, that the great mass of the Catholic population of all classes, have been kept in total ignorance of every thing concerning the Reformation and its professors, than that both are execrable and foolish things. Our officers and travellers found many amusive instances of this perversion and delusion when they first entered Portugal and Spain.

That the same system of ignorance is still pursued whenever it can be enforced, we see from Wolff's *Journal in Syria*, in May 1824: 'The Catholic archbishop, Pierre Coupery, pronounced excommunication against every Catholic who should enter into conversation with me about religion.' v. 2. p. 302.

It is manifest that the contest was given up by the Romish church as an intellectual or as a scriptural question, within a few years after Luther's decided attack, and was then rested upon its traditions and on its power. The original tradition was in no written shape. It was invisible to every human eye, and undiscoverable by any human research. But it was inferred from the older ritual ceremonies, from some allusions in some fathers contradicted by others, from some decrees of councils, and principally from the papal determinations which had been issued in different ages, as discussions or expedencies had occasioned various pontiffs to assert them. Hence as the written Scripture was not their foundation, the written Scriptures were depreciated and put aside, and the Catholic population was forbidden or discouraged from reading them. Every other line of study and reading was recommended in preference to them. It was on this principle that some of the old French poets composed their poems. We see this in the instance of Jean Bouchet, who lived in 1536. The Catholic bibliographer, Gouget, says of him, 'Another motive which led him to write his *Triumphes*, was to hinder women from reading the translations of the Bible made by the heretics and their works, and to substitute his poems for those *'dont la lecture devoit leur etre interdite.'*' *Biblioth. Franc.* v. 11. p. 286. It was on this principle that the Jesuits forbade the queen mother of France from being present at the discussions between the Catholic and the Huguenot disputants at Poissy. In this system of wilful abuse and calumny, the Dominicans and the Jesuits have been peculiarly prominent. Few of their works mention Protestants in any other way. It was on this plan that Sanders was procured or induced to make up his *History of the English Reformation under Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Elizabeth*, which he wilfully composed of the most calumniating falsehoods; and being thus concocted and seasoned to their taste and purposes, it was made the standard authority for the Catholic historians on the continent, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ribadineira, a contemporary, quotes it as his authority; and so do many others that I have seen, of the same period.

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AMBASSADORS TO ROME—NEW POPES—PAUL IV. DEGRADES
CARDINAL POLE—THE EMPEROR'S ILLNESS AND ABDICATION
—FRANCE AND ROME ALLY WITH THE TURKS—MARY'S PER-
SONAL MISERY AND DEATH.

THE foreign transactions of England during these domestic calamities, contributed no lustre of political glory, to divert or abate the national dissatisfaction. The heart of the country was not with its government, and its antient spirit sank to a wintry torpidity. Its arm was unnerved, and its character decayed; while the competition between France and the emperor was undiminished and inextinguishable.

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The war between these jealous potentates continued during the Spring and Summer of 1554, with a fluctuating success in Italy, and with a gradual progress of the French force in Flanders.¹ The great anxiety of the Parisian court was to keep England from intermeddling.² Pole wished the pacification

¹ Thus in March, Strozzi, on the French side, gained a victory over the duke of Florence, and took the pope's nephew, Ascanio, a prisoner. Noailles, 3. p. 150. But tho he raised his force to 25,000 men, p. 275, yet on 2d August, he was totally defeated by the marquis Marignan, with the imperial army, near Lucignano, with the loss of 2,000 taken, and 4,000 slain. See Marignan's letter to Charles V. in Lett. Prin. v. 3. 155. In Flanders, the connetable Montmorency invaded the Netherlands, and took Marienburg, Durant, and other places, and defeated the emperor's vanguard at Renty. p. 268, 276, 317. In November Brisac entered Piedmont, and took Yvrea from the Spaniards. v. 4. p. 70.

² See Henry 2d's letter of 24th May, Noail. v. 3. p. 234; the connetable's, p. 319; and the king's, of 24th Sept. p. 320; Mary's answer, of 14th Nov. 323; and the subsequent dispatches..

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of their hostilities, to combine their power against the Protestant cause.³ He endeavored to procure at least a truce;⁴ but both parties continued to fight and to listen to those who recommended negotiations.⁵ Gardiner evinced his jealousy and dislike of Pole,⁶ and would not consent to his being the mediating agent.⁷ Nor was the parliament tractable to the queen's nuptial politics: it had allowed her to change the national religion, on the bargain, that the church lands should not be reclaimed; but it would not invest her Spanish husband with the matrimonial crown of England, nor admit foreigners into its fortifications, nor give her power or money for a foreign war.⁸

The negotiations went on;⁹ while three ambassadors, a bishop, a lord, and a lawyer, were sent to Rome, to thank the pope for receiving the nation into his bondage, and to take the oath of obedience to him.¹⁰ The death of Julius III. gave birth to new

³ See Pole's letter to Hen. II. of 13th Dec. p. 324. and to the connetable, p. 326; their answers, 327, 9; and Noailles' interview with him, v. 4. p. 31. The minister ordered the ambassador to thank him for what he had done towards a reconciliation, and to assure him of Henry's desire to promote 'sa grandeur et son advancement.' v. 4. p. 7. See also the abbe S. Salcet's avis, p. 42-7.

⁴ Lett. 16th December. Noailles, p. 63, 65.

⁵ See Noaill. 4. p. 66, 84, 104, 111, 160. Pole wished the treaty to be carried on in England, to which the French objected. 106.

⁶ Noaill. p. 120.

⁷ Ib. 129. Noailles, on 15th and 20th January, 1555, p. 138, 142, described his further conferences with Pole on this subject.

⁸ Noailles' despatch of 20th January 1555. v. 4. p. 153.

⁹ Noail. v. 4. p. 167, 179, 118, 203, 216. On 10th March the emperor interposed delays, hoping to hear of the capture of Sienna, and thereby to make better terms. p. 224. But Brisac in the meantime surprised Casal. 227. The discussions continued till the pope's death. 232-260.

¹⁰ Noailles' lett. 13th February. p. 182. Henry ordered them to be handsomely accommodated thro his dominions. p. 189. Lord Hardwicke

views and intrigues, to secure a favorable successor, for which the usual bribery was not omitted.¹¹ The king of France was earnest for his partisan.¹² The

has printed an account of this journey, written by one of their train, which, as he truly remarks, 'contains many curious particulars of the face of the country, the appearance of the great towns, and the customs of Italy at that time. This is the *last* embassy which went from England to pay public homage to the see of Rome.' Hardw. State Papers, v. 1. p. 62-102. They thus notice the French sovereign Henry II.: 'The king is a goodly tall gentleman, well made in all the parts of his body; a very grim countenance, yet very gentle, meek and well-beloved.' p. 68. At St. Andre they heard that the pope they were sent to, Julius III. died on 25th March. p. 73. They went on, notwithstanding. At Bologna they received news of the death of the next pope, Marcellus II. on 30th April, (p. 88,) but continued their journey. On the 10th June they made their oration to the new pontiff, Paul IV. kissed his foot, which had a crimson velvet slipper, with a cross of silver. He 'blessed them, and so they departed sanctified.' p. 97. On the 12th they went to his Chamber of Presence, and saw him go to even song, 'in a chair of crimson velvet wrought with gold, and two servants going before him, crying 'Abasso! abasso! which is to say, kneel down.' p. 98. On 13th when he went to mass at St. Peter's, 'two triple crowns were borne before him, of an inestimable value;' and two men preceding, 'with great broad fans made of peacocks' tails, to keep the sun and flies from his holy face.' p. 98. Yet the writer, with all his veneration, adds, 'We saw a world of relics, very ridiculous and incredible.' p. 99. He computed the distance from London to Rome to be 1,158 miles. p. 100. They left the Papal court on 16th June.

The cardinals had also their peacocks' tails, with their silver crosses and pillars, carried before them; and every time a cardinal went over the bridge near St. Angelo, a cannon was fired from the castle for an hour. 'The pope is bound to observe that to his well-beloved brethren, whenever they pass the bridge, whether they come to the court or no.' p. 97.

We are accustomed to speak only of the pope, but it is probable that the combined aristocracy of the cardinals at Rome, who constitute his consistory, has, and exerts, more of the real power of the Papacy than the chosen pontiff. He has the name and state, but he can do little without them.

¹¹ The king of France immediately, on 4th April, wrote to cardinal Ferrara, that he would omit nothing to make him pope, adding, 'The cardinal may also promise, in the king's name, to the other cardinals who will and can assist him, as far as 25,000 crowns of yearly revenue in benefices, out of the first which shall become hereafter vacant, and at the disposal of his majesty; and above all, to deliver to those to whom he shall make the promise, such assurance in the said name as he shall think requisite.' Lett. in Ribier, v. 2. p. 605.

¹² On 9th April he directed his ambassador Lausac, when the conclave was assembled, to tell the cardinals, 'mes partisans,' that if they see that the cardinals Ferrara, or that those of Tournon, Bellay, or

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conclave met in a large body,¹³ and disappointed all expectants and corrupters by choosing the worthiest person in their consistory to be their chief.¹⁴ This election was the more extraordinary, because their acts commenced with abrogating the bull of their own reformation.¹⁵ The new pontiff was indeed too good

Armagnac, cannot attain the papacy, but they must consent to an Italian pope, or to the cardinal St. Croix, who, from the great party he has, may be the one chosen, and if the cardinal of England (Pole) should not be named, I wish them to prevent the election of St. Croix, and that they should rather choose the Card. England.' p. 606.

¹³ Thirty-seven cardinals, on 5 April, entered the conclave, of whom twenty-five were required to be the deciding majority. As they are closely shut up till they elect, their first act was to open the windows and order away all the pots and dishes and victuals, that no air might be generated noxious to health. The official cardinals then locked the doors. Their form of voting was by delivering papers, 'I, cardinal A. elect B. to be the pope.' On the first scrutiny, were 12 for Naples, 8 for Croce, and 6 for Ferrara. This was no decision, and all the night passed in 'grandissime prattiche,' and especially by the cardinal Ferrara. Observing these, the imperials united, and thought of naming Croce, who, on this, had the next day, the 9th, twenty-five or twenty-six votes: very great words arose on this result, and Ferrara and his followers tried to make a disturbance. But the others fetched in Croce, who said, 'I will not repugnare allo spirito santo.' He thanked them, and declared that he would never attend to his own particular interest, but solely to the universal good. The writer says, 'I was the first to kiss his feet, but he would not let me.' On 11th he dressed in white and washed the feet of twelve mendicants, 'which was a most beautiful ceremony.' 'On 6th May he will be 54.' Lett. Prin. 3. p. 162, 3.

¹⁴ On 13th April, Avanson announced to Henry, that on the preceding Tuesday (9th April) St. Croix was chosen. 'Yesterday morning he was to have been crowned, and after his coronation to be carried on the shoulders of twelve estafiers; but he stopped them, and had his chair set down, and said he meant to save the usual expense of 30,000 crowns, and to give half of it to the poor. One of his intimates told me to-day, that he intends soon to begin some grand reformati^ons sur l'etat ecclesiastique.' Lett. 2. Rib. 606. He is described as 54 years old; large in person, hoary, of a fine countenance, full of gravity, of a delicate complexion, and weak; quiet; of few words, but sweet, and always resolute; of a most virtuous and excellent life, learned, good, and intelligent.' Lett. Prin. 3. p. 163.

¹⁵ Avanson's Lett. 5. Ap. p. 604. They also decreed, that they would not consent to any alienation of the domains of the church; that the pope should not make above four cardinals, of whom one should be the person to whom he gave his own hat, and two only of the others should be of his relations, until the number of cardinals should be reduced to forty. ib. 607.

for his age and station, corrupted and perverted as both had become.¹⁶ He began immediately his plans for a real emendation of the offensive abuses of the hierarchy,¹⁷ and he was on the bed of death three weeks after his appointment.¹⁸ Many of his contemporaries ascribed his premature fate to his virtues, and to poison.¹⁹ But as he was an ailing man, it seems more candid and true, to ascribe his unexpected decease to the increasing malady of a weakened constitution.²⁰

¹⁶ Atanagi, the next day, writing from Rome, calls him 'un principe così sacro, così buono, et così da ogni parte perfetto.' Lett. Prin. v. 3. p. 165. The archbishop of Salerno thus disclosed his feelings to his friend, the prelate of Fesole: 'I could not believe that St. Croce could be made the pope. I deemed it a thing impossible, because all his manners, and the path in which he walked, seemed to me to be the contrary to that by which the papacy is obtained.' Lett. Prin. p. 166. This was he who said that he did not see how it was possible for a pope to be saved. Godw. Ann. 316. The archbishop of Salerno's letter implies nearly as much. The cardinal Tournon, on 20th April, informed the connetable of it, with the addition, 'It is a very long time since the see has been filled with a man of greater worth.' He calls it 'a good and holy election.' p. 150.

¹⁷ Lett. Rib. v. 2. p. 607. Lett. Prin. v. 3. p. 163. The archbishop's letter strongly expresses the pope's intentions, 'di rinovazione e de reforma,' and that all hope of this from human hands had been taken away by his death.' p. 167. Resolved not to pervert his sacred office, like former pontiffs, to the aggrandisement of his family, he wrote immediately to his brother, desiring that neither he nor any of his relations would come to Rome.

¹⁸ Rib. 609. On 22d day of his pontificate. ib. Lett. Prin. 165-167.

¹⁹ 'By this, Heaven has shewn us that our iniquities are not yet complete.' So that up to May 1555, all the corruptions complained of in the church were continuing, in the opinion of this great prelate, who died at Trent in 1563. p. 168.

²⁰ Atanagi's account the day after his death is, 'Yesterday morning, at the fourteenth hour, such a syncope came on, that he could not speak. The catarrh having fallen on him, or, as they say, lagoccia, the physicians thought he was sleeping, and that his repose was good, and therefore let him be so above an hour; but when they after that strove to wake him, they found him immovable, and deprived of sensation. In this state he survived, always inghiottendo il catarro, till half past seven, when he expired.' Lett. Prin. 3. p. 165. In his preceding epistle, of 20th April, to the bishop of Urbino, we see the anterior symptoms of his illness, eleven days after his election: 'His Beatitude could not this

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Mary exerted herself to have Pole now raised to the coveted see;²¹ but Paul IV. was chosen to succeed him,²² and forming some excellent resolutions,²³ adopted the most certain way of never executing them, by intermingling immediately with politics.²⁴

morning distribute in the chapel, from a little cold which last evening came upon him with some fever, so that this morning he had a vein opened. May heaven preserve him ! He is not of a strong complexion, but weak, and more from infirmities than age, as he has not passed his fifty-fourth year. And taking now so much fatigue as he does, because he will know and do every thing, it is not surprising that this little disturbance shall have come to him.' Lett. Prin. p. 163. So Avanson reported on 22 April to the king of France: 'He is a little indisposed, and was bled yesterday,' p. 607; and on 4 May, 'he fell into a malady which his physicians could not understand, for when they thought that he was cured and reposing, it was in a sleep which they call 'sur-bec,' produced by a great abundance of catarrh, so that he was deprived of speech ten hours before he died.' 2 Rib. 609. The lamentations on his loss are general, in all the correspondence that remains to us.

²¹ Her original letter, of 30th May 1555, to her ministers at Calais, directing them to urge the French court for its interest in her behalf, is in the British Museum, MS. Titus, B. 2. p. 113. On the same day the connetable ordered Noailles to assure Pole of his support. Noaill. v. 4. p. 301. And on the 15th, Gardiner strongly urged his nomination. ib. 315. Pole was at first unwilling to go to Rome on the occasion (ib. p. 265); but Gardiner afterwards intimated that he was inclined to take the journey. p. 267. The Italians thought that his absence would hurt his interest (p. 271); but a fever which attacked him in April, perhaps prevented him. ib. He did not credit the sincerity of the French promises, but believed they meant to promote Ferrara. p. 304. As this cardinal was the king's uncle, it was a natural suspicion.

²² He was card. Theatin, and dean of the college. Avanson on 4th May thought the choice would fall on him, but notices 'the debility of his person and mind, from his age, already in decrepitude.' Lett. Rib. p. 610. On 23d May, card. Armagnac announced to the king, 'To-day Paul IV. is chosen;' with the more favorable addition, 'in age, learning, and holy life, he yields in nothing to Marcellus, but that he is older. I have always found him very affectionate to your crown.' ib. 612.

²³ On 28th Aug. Lausac's dispatch from Rome was, 'The pope has ordered me to tell his majesty, that he would do all in his power to discharge his office well, and especially in the reformation of the church, the punishment and correction of its abuses; and to discharge the office of an universal father, and to appease the quarrel between the contending princes without using arms. But it seemed as if the devil would counteract him in this good intention, for his subjects had been excited against him, and he had sufficient argument, from all sides, of the ill-will of the emperor and his ministers to him.' Lett. Rib. 615.

²⁴ The Pope added. 'He could not but be in great suspicion, and

He began in a few months to form injurious ideas of the emperor, and to meditate on the means of dispossessing him of his Italian dominions.²⁵ He made seven new cardinals.²⁶ But his warlike schemes were baffled by a truce for five years, after varying but never discontinued negotiations,²⁷ being agreed upon between England, France, and the Imperial Sovereign,²⁸ which Henry II. took some pains to explain, and apologise for, to his surprised and offended ally the Grand Signor, who was thus suddenly deserted by the power whose policy he had aided and confided in.²⁹ It was preceded by a league between Henry and the duke of Ferrara.³⁰ In the next year, Henry II. disgraced himself by desiring

had therefore been constrained to arm himself; and yet he knew his force to be too feeble to resist if he had not confidence in heaven and in your majesty. He wished the king was delivered from this Turkish fleet, and instead of it, that Venice would join to put Italy in safety and liberty.' *ib.* 616.

²⁵ The pope's nuncio in Spain has written to him that he must regain the favor of the emperor, or he would resent it; but the pontiff answered, that he would declare that the Imperialists had been trying to poison him. He hopes to be so strongly allied with your majesty, as to free Italy very soon from the emperor's tyranny, and to see one of your children king of Naples, and the other duke of Milan.' *Lett.* Av. 1 Oct. *Rib.* 619.

²⁶ *Rib.* 621.

²⁷ They occupy the largest portion of the 5th volume of Noailles.

²⁸ It was dated 5th February 1556. *Rib.* p. 625. The king describes it as requiring neither party to restore their acquisitions; that it comprised all his allies, and was most honorable to himself. Noailles, 5, p. 297. On 21st August, the too celebrated duke of Alva addressed to the pope his justification of the emperor's military measures. In this he makes an accusing charge on the pontiff: 'Your holiness, from the assumption of your pontificate, has oppressed, pursued, and ill treated, by imprisonment and by seizure of their property, the servants of his majesty, and has since been urging with importunity the princes of Christendom to enter into an offensive league with you.' 2 *Rib.* p. 653.

²⁹ See the king's long letter to his ambassador, of 13th Nov. 1556. *Rib.* 660-3.

³⁰ On 12th Jan. 1556, the king apprised his ambassador of it: 'By this time the league is made between the pope and me, comprising my uncle the duke of Ferrara.' p. 278.

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and attempting to introduce the inquisition into France, in compliance with the expressed wishes of the pope.³¹ His states had the manly spirit to resist and prevent the nefarious project,³² to his avowed vexation, but to the great honor and happiness of his country. He dishonored himself by planning a disguised substitute for it, which he could surreptitiously establish;³³ thus falsifying the promises and the hopes which some features of his mind had excited in superficial observers.³⁴

The competition of Pole may have left a sting of jealousy in the pontiff's mind; but whatever was the secret cause, one of his first measures was, to annul

³¹ In his private dispatch to Selva, of 13th Feb. 1557, he says, 'Seeing the heresies and false doctrines which are shooting up in my kingdom, I had already determined, according to the persuasion and advice which the cardinal Caraffa, when abroad, gave me on the part of our holy father, to introduce here the inquisition as the true means to extirpate the root of such errors, and to punish and correct those who begin them, and their imitators.' Rib. 677.

³² 'But some difficulties occur about it. The states of my kingdom will not receive nor approve of the said inquisition, alleging the trouble, divisions, and other inconveniences, which it would bring with it.' ib.

³³ He adds, 'It has seemed to me best to provide for another way, and to ask the pope for his brief to such of the cardinals and great churchmen here who are known and approved relations of our faith, to act like the Inquisition, under the authority of the Apostolic see, and with the invocation of the secular arm.' ib. He adds, 'I will employ myself vivement, as one who desires nothing in this world so much as to see my people clean from such a dangerous pest and vermin as these heresies are.' ib. 677. This letter makes us recollect that our English ambassadors thought his face *looked grim*, tho his manners were mild. See note 10. p. 469.

³⁴ Palliano, on 29th October 1554, wrote from Paris, 'The king has an intrepid and unwearied mind, turned wholly upon glory. His subjects adore him, and go with alacrity to put their lives at his disposal. You may expect something from him that will transcend Alexander.' Lett. Prin. p. 158. He states the usual revenue of France to have then been eight millions of gold; and the extraordinary, whatever the king chose. ib. 157. He was more justly estimated by spirits of congenial bigotry with his own. And of these, Davila, the celebrated historian, seems to be one; for he states Henry's determination to *exterminate* the Protestants, in language as strong as any of that devoted class needed

the donations of the English church lands ;³⁵ and he two years afterwards expressed his intention to revoke Pole's legantine authority, which occasioned Philip and Mary to solicit very earnestly that he would abandon such a purpose.³⁶ The pope persisted ; and summoned him to Rome. The English parliament was then influenced to interfere on the cardinal's behalf.³⁷ But Pole had ventured to remonstrate with his papal chief, for entering into a war with Philip,³⁸ and Paul created Francisca Peyto a new cardinal, and appointed him to be his English legate.³⁹ The queen, indignant that her favorite was displaced, ordered the messenger's papers to be seized, and himself and the new hat forbidden to land.⁴⁰ The

to use, and apparently with as much 'gout' as if it had been a subject of *gastromanie* instead of human butchery. He says of this Henry II. of France, 'He did all that he could to eradicate the seeds [of the Huguenot religion.] Ce qu'il sçeut bien temoigner, quand, *avec un rigueur inexorable*, il voulut que *sans remission aucune*, en condamnant *a perdre la vie tous ceux*, qui seroient accuses et convaincus de suivre ces nouveautez.' He adds, 'It is to be believed that by force of *bleedings* they would at last have put out of the bowels of France *all this peccant humor*, if supervening accidents had not interrupted the course of this resolution.' Hist. Guerres Civiles, l. 1. p. 30. Yet Henry II. in this extirpating fury was but the pipe and puppet of his papal directors. He only sought to execute their determined plans and resolutely pursued system.

³⁵ His official paper on this point is dated Prid. Id. July 1555. 6 B. 4.

³⁶ Their imploring letter, dated 21st May 1557, is in Strype's Eccl. Mem. app. v. 3. p. 475, 6. Some of the nobility also addressed to the pontiff a similar request. ib. 480-2. The English ambassador at Rome was also instructed to remonstrate ; and in his dispatch of 15th May 1557, he stated, that he could only obtain from the pope an assurance, that if the queen wrote to him for the continuance of the legate, he would appoint him accordingly. Burnet, Ref. v. 4. p. 439.

³⁷ Their petition is in Strype, p. 476-480. From Pole's letter to Muzzarelli, we find that some personal differences were existing between him and the pontiff, before the latter attained his dignity. Ep. Poli. v. 4. p. 91.

³⁸ Ep. Po. i. v. 5. p. 20, 2.

³⁹ On 20th June 1557. Ep. Poli. 5. p. 444.

⁴⁰ Strype, v. 3. app. 37, 39.

pope, whose suspicion and vindictive temper were equally remarkable,⁴¹ intimated to the ambassador, that he suspected Pole of heresy, and meant to confront him with cardinal Morone.⁴² The queen replied, by remarking the inconsistency of such conduct.⁴³ Paul dissembled a while, till he had arranged his differences with Philip; but altho Pole expostulated with him, with much reason,⁴⁴ and solicited the interference of his friends, he could not procure a revocation of the degradatory proceedings. This pope was indeed what the profound and observing Gratian portrayed him to be, 'fierce and untoward;'⁴⁵ and his conference with the French ambassador illustrates and verifies the epithets of the Spanish moralist; tho, as to that hatred of the Protestants which it displays, he only breathed the usual spirit and language of the popedom, from the time that Luther had first attacked and lessened its worldly power and pecuniary interests.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Cujus erat ingenium elatum, vehemens, acre, et cum pronum ad suspicionem, tum, ubi fides et religio ageretur, præceptis ad vindicandum. Gratiani de Cas. illust. p. 226.

⁴² Strype, p. 34, 36. 'The pope chose to say, he must leave the college purged from all suspicion of heresy.' p. 36. The cardinal was arrested and imprisoned. Ep. Poli. v. 5. p. 31.

⁴³ In the preceding year he had agreed, at the queen's request, to give Pole a pension of 1,000*l.* a year. Carne's lett. Bur. 424. Tho why an English archbishop should desire such a foreign bonus is not very manifest. Pole also reminded him of his own panegyric upon him in full consistory, on conferring on him Cranmer's archbishopric. Strype, 35.

⁴⁴ Strype has given extracts of its most important contents, p. 36-9. Pole, unfortunately, could appeal, as he did triumphantly, to the reunion of England with Rome, as an answer to the charge of heresy. Strype, p. 35. See also Ep. Poli. v. 5. p. 31.

⁴⁵ In his well written account of this pontiff, Gratian, a contemporary, describes him as possessed of many virtues; but as also having a *ferax et perversum ingenium.* De Cas. Illust. p. 316.

⁴⁶ His dispatch to his sovereign is dated from Rome on 14th November 1556. 'The pope has declared that the peace was only a diabolical invention to hinder the ruin of the heretics; and that whoever

The emperor's infirmities were now increasing upon him with unmitigated severity. As he passed his fiftieth year, he became subject to such a succession of disease, as to bring on those premature debilities which announced an early dissolution. As these increased, the most active politician in Europe, on whom, from the extent and diversity of his empire, the greatest quantity of indispensable business was daily pressing, became unable, tho never unwilling, not only to transact but even to

promoted a *peace with such people, was a minister of the devil*, and that God would curse him, and take vengeance on him ; and that he would pray God to curse him as he should curse him. He said to us walking up and down, ' I swear to you by the Eternal God, that if I could learn that you intermeddled in such practices, I would make your heads fly off your shoulders : and do not think that for doing this I should wait for any news from your king ; for the first thing that I would do should be to cut off your heads, and then I would write to him, that I had punished you as traitors both to him and to myself. And do not imagine that these are mere threats, for I adjure heaven again when I say, that I would stir my hands in such a strange manner that it should be long remembered. And I will have an eye in my back upon you ; and if I can find you en faux latin in the least thing, it shall cost you your heads. Listen to me, for your own sakes ; you are too young to cheat me ; I have endured too much ; an infamous and cursed truce has been mentioned to me, and I have borne it for once ; but he that shall a second time give me a peace, I swear by the living God I will have his head on the ground, let come what may from it. I am very much dissatisfied, and write it to whom you like, to find myself thus abandoned, and to be only paid off with fine words. But tho I should die and be ruined from it, I would not give in for that. I shall never die young now. I do not say that I should not approve of a sure peace, not feigned nor dissembled ; but I well know that these wicked heretics only seek one to ruin me first, and then the king and his kingdom.' In fact his holiness went on upon this topic of cutting off our heads, and on his discontent, for nearly an hour, and in such fury that he talked himself quite out of breath, until he could speak no longer. At this juncture the cardinal Caraffa came in, to whom the pope said, that ' he had been so vexed, and so full of bitterness from his heart, that the poison had even come up into his mouth.' The cardinal endeavored to soothe and console him.' Lett. du Silve in Ribier, v. 2. pp. 666, 7. Such are the secret pictures of the infallible Vatican ; and so determined was it on the *extermination* of the reformed, that any peace with them was an unpardonable crime.

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attend to it.⁴⁷ His bodily functions supplied no longer that material aid and agency, without which the spirit loses its command over external things, and the power even of using its connected limbs and organs, and lapses into interior abstraction and conscious inertness. It is to this corporeal disability⁴⁸ and not to any sublime devotion or philosophical magnanimity of spirit, or unfathomed projects of policy, as some have amused themselves with imagining, that we are to ascribe his determination of abdicating his thrones in favor of his son and brother.⁴⁹ He became incapable of retaining what

⁴⁷ On 5th Feb. 1555, his state of health is thus described in the French dispatches: 'The emperor is in such an extremity of his health, that he has lost the use of one of his hands, two fingers of the other, and one of his legs shrunk, without any hope of being better. He is so much afflicted in mind, that nothing is communicated to him, or very little; and he amuses himself only in making and unmaking clocks, with which his chamber is quite full. In this he is employed all day, and also during the night, in which he has no repose; so that he is in danger of losing his understanding. He appears but the statue of a man, half dead, and thinner and more disfigured than could have been expected.' Ribier, v. 2, p. 486.

⁴⁸ On 4th Aug. 1555, Noailles learnt from a Spaniard of good intelligence, that the emperor was very weak both in mind and body, and had been advised to move from Flanders to Spain, as a more salutary climate for his altered health (5, p. 51,) and that it was becoming necessary to him to retire from worldly business. 52. On 20th August, he reported that Philip was leaving England to join his father. 76. Charles was then withdrawn into a small house near Brussels, with few attendants, and averse to business being mentioned to him. p. 78. On 26th Aug. Philip passed in armed state through London, to embark for Flanders. p. 99.

⁴⁹ On 6th Oct. Noailles communicated his intelligence, that the emperor was preparing his fleet for Spain, resolved to relinquish his empire to his brother, and his other dominions to his son Philip. 145. On 22d, he stated that the fact was unquestionable (p. 167); and three days afterwards, on 25th Oct. Charles resigned the sovereignty of Flanders to Philip, in a public meeting of the states. p. 191. On the 15th, he had invested him with Sicily, and meant also to resign Spain, reserving only a pension of 200,000 ducats. He wished for less, but his son insisted on this amount. p. 170.

he was reluctant to relinquish ;⁵⁰ and he had only to decide between a nominal continuance of sovereignty, amid total incompetency to rule or protect his dominions, and with a hastened death in attempting to force declining nature to do what it was no longer capable of performing; and a timely and voluntary secession before this accelerated dissolution and national disgrace and discontent should overtake him.⁵¹ He obeyed the uncontrollable necessity with manifest repugnance, after struggling in vain to overcome it; and having relinquished Spain and the Netherlands to his son Philip, and after an ineffectual trial to retain his imperial authority, and to transmit this also to his child, he resigned his German sovereignties to his brother Ferdinand, and with some difficulty recovered strength enough to take the maritime journey from Flanders to Spain. He there retired to the monastery he had chosen, and seems to have outlived the pity of that see,⁵² for upholding

⁵⁰ By the end of January 1556, he was so much weakened by his now habitual diseases, that his physicians thought he would be unable to leave Brussels, tho he was daily wishing to be in Spain. p. 290.

⁵¹ Perhaps one of the highest compliments that could be paid to the intellectual abilities of this declining emperor, was, after another year had increased this debility, unintentionally expressed by Henry II. on 13 Nov. 1556, in his letter to his ambassador at Constantinople. After mentioning that the emperor had abdicated his thrones, because he found himself fort caduc, and agitated with many continual maladies, and had reserved nothing but a pension for living in a monastery, where he might hear only of spiritual things, adds this confession of his dread of his yet remaining powers: 'I considered that however much he was diseased, impotent and decrepid as he really is, yet that his experience is great; and that his son is much given to his pleasures, voluptes et delices, and has been little concerned in great affairs. Therefore I thought it best to let the emperor execute his plan of retirement, and on this ground agreed to the truce, for it is not doing little to get rid of so powerful an enemy, and the most crafty and obstinate one in the world.' Rib. 2, p. 660. The young lion, who was to have surpassed Alexander, was yet afraid of the old, dying and unthroned one!

⁵² On 11th June 1558, the pope told the bishop of Angouleme: 'As

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which, tho it had often provoked his hostilities, he had yet shaken his long admired prosperity to preserve and to fight for.⁵³

The truce between France, Spain, and England, lasted little more than a year. The pope was impatient to break it; and, altho such a fierce enemy to turks, infidels and heretics, yet he chose to bend his most sacred principles so far to his convenience, as to seek the alliance of the Mahometan forces against his Christian flock. An example of moral pliability, which explains papal infallibility to be only papal

to the emperor, he has been a *personne cupide, cruelle, et ingrate*: but he was now a dead man, having retired from the commerce of mankind, and also, as he understands, agitated with the same disease as his mother.' p. 747. The pontiff, however, condescended to add a few words of praise, because he was *now* shewing 'some bon naturel; and only desired to be a son of his Holiness, like other kings.' *ib.* Charles V. died soon afterwards, on 21 September 1558.

⁵³ Unless the popes of this century reason or decree differently from those of the sixteenth, Charles V. is, according to their estimation, the *last* emperor of Germany that has appeared in Europe. Paul IV. thus expressed the papal theory on this subject to the French envoy, on hearing of the death of Charles: 'He has died emperor, because in this quality he recognized all the popes who have been so since his election and coronation, and in like manner has been acknowledged by them. *Without their license* and permission, he could not renounce or depose his dignity; and with this, no other but him as yet appeared *valablement pourvu*.' Letter of Babon, 12 Dec. 1558. Rib. 775. This was repeated at that Christmas. 'The pope spoke to me of the obsequies of the emperor Charles, saying, 'He died emperor, having been consecrated by the pope, *without whose authority* he could not renounce nor concede to any one his dignity. Ferdinand has no other quality than that of the king of the Romans.' 'From this,' says the French diplomatist, 'he means to infer that the empire is at present vacant.' *ib.* 777.

No emperor of Germany, since Charles V. has sought or received any consecration or coronation from the popes, notwithstanding the papal theory, that they are therefore not emperors, but only kings of the Romans. Hence, according to the doctrine of the Vatican, Napoleon, whom the sovereigns of Europe divested of his imperial title, was the only legitimate emperor that Europe has seen since Charles V. and was so till he died. On this system, the crowns of Christendom, as well as the mitres of the clergy, are still subject to the will and domination of the tiara.

inclination and self-interest.⁵⁴ Philip was indignant, and threatened to depose him;⁵⁵ but when the duke of Guise went to Rome from Paris, the pontiff revealed the passions, unbecoming his tottering age, which had been smothered in his bosom,⁵⁶ and declared that if Mary supported her husband, he would excommunicate her also.⁵⁷ The king of France, who

⁵⁴ It is from the bishop of Lodeva's dispatch to Henry II. of 5 Jan. 1557, that we learn this revolting fact. He states that cardinal Caraffa had offered to the Venetians, Ravenna and Cervia for 300,000 crowns; and had stated, 'That his holiness not being able to have forces at sea equal to those of the enemy, *etoit forcée de se servir des Turcs*, which was a very dangerous melange, and displeasing to him, *but that he could not do less*, seeing the manner in which it was wished to command and tyrannize over him.' Lett. Rib. v. 2. p. 674.

⁵⁵ The bishop subjoined, 'Sire! the king of Spain has written to all the Spanish cardinals, and others his confederates and partisans not at Rome, to look out for some place where they can assemble, that they may make a congregation or form a council to discuss *the deprivation* of the pope, as one not elected canonically, and for his bad government, naming for this purpose the city of Pisa, where such an assembly had been held against Julius II.; and that the Spanish king knowing the pope intended to use privations against him, thus wished to prevent and to invalidate them.' Rib. 674.

⁵⁶ On 8th March 1557, De Selvis reported from Rome, that the holy father on the 4th had stated, that he had been obliged to dissemble, but it was now no longer time to be silent, but to take measures against the enemies of the church; that he would deprive Philip of the crown of Naples, and invest one of the sons of France with it, and would issue his excommunications against the emperor and all his *adherents*. The duke of Guise, wiser than the pope, remonstrated with him, that it was not good thus to make the people in general desperate, and that his censures ought not to be extended to the inhabitants of England, Germany or Flanders. Lett. 2 Ribier, 679, 680.

⁵⁷ It was about this time that Philip, tho he stands in history as the cruel and degraded slave of Popery, and acted like a miserable Galerius of its merciless persecution, yet was dreading a papal excommunication himself. He wrote to his sister, the regent in Spain, 'Since I informed you of the conduct of the pope, and of the news from Rome, I have learnt that his holiness proposes to excommunicate the emperor and me; to put my states under an interdict, and to prohibit divine service. Having consulted learned men on this subject, it appears that this is only an abuse of the power of the sovereign pontiff, founded on hatred and passion.' He then contrasts his own *merits* towards the papal see: 'After having destroyed the sects in England, brought the country under the influence of the church, and *pursued and punished the heretics without ceasing*, I see that his holiness evidently wishes to

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had coquetted with the grand signor on the truce,⁵⁸ now sought again the aid of the dissatisfied Turk; but the infirmities of the sultan made him unmanageable;⁵⁹ and the pontiff, finding that Henry expected something of him which he did not chuse to grant,⁶⁰ became suddenly more mild toward the Spanish sovereign.⁶¹

On 1st June, war was proclaimed by England and Spain against France.⁶² Seven thousand English joined Philip's forces in Flanders; and on 10th

ruin my kingdom.' Llorent has recently published this letter in his *History of the Inquisition*, p. 181. It was the alarm of such papal attacks which caused Philip to let his confessor, Alphonso, preach before him against religious persecutions, that he might, if it should become necessary, adopt some measures for conciliating the feelings of his English subjects, which his severities had more revolted against him. Perhaps if the pontiff had executed his threat, Philip, like Henry VIII. would have become a reformer.

⁵⁸ He directed his envoy to assure the great Mahometan, that altho he had made the truce because it was highly useful and necessary, 'yet if it be requisite for the accommodation of the will of the grand signor, my good and perfect friend, I will not fail to break it on all sides so vigorously as to prove its good result; but his galleys must be in the Italian seas to join mine at the beginning of May, and it is certain that they will find the kingdom of Naples without any guard or defence, as the duke of Alva has drawn off all his garrisons to make war on the pope.' 2 Rib. 662, 3.

⁵⁹ The ambassador, De la Vigne, on 21st April, acquainted his sovereign, that the Turk was displeased at the truce having been made without his privity: 'It is not easy to make him alter the opinion he has once conceived, for he is barbarement opiniatre, as all ignorant people usually are. It will be very difficult to draw any thing more from this signor. He is 69, ailing from the gout, which is tormenting him more and more, and makes him very difficult, and dreaded by all his ministers.' Rib. p. 686. Of this sultan the ambassador stated, on 17th November 1553, 'Mustapha, the son of the grand signor, has been strangled in his presence.' ib. 499.

⁶⁰ Guise required the investiture of Naples, the deprivation of the Spanish cardinals, and a post like Civita Vecchia for his navy. Rib. 692.

⁶¹ The French despatch of the 15th June was, 'The pope has spoken in the consistory more mildly than usual of Philip, and has made the queen of England's confessor a cardinal.' Rib. 700.

⁶² Lett. earl Shrewsbury, 1 Lodge, p. 239. On 31st July, Mary informed Sir E. Dymoke, that the king had passed the seas in person, to pursue the enemy. ib. 250.

August the Prince of Savoy won the decisive battle of St. Quentin, against the connetable Montmorency.⁶³ The pope without scruple abandoned his unsuccessful ally, and made his peace with the conqueror.⁶⁴ The sultan also refused to give Henry the pecuniary aid which he had stooped to ask of the Mussulman sovereign.⁶⁵ The French government then strove to excite the Scottish nation to attack England, as a diversion of its force.⁶⁶ On Henry's soliciting from the pontiff a relaxation of his assumed privileges, the haughty Paul IV. asserted unequivocally his right to deprive sovereigns of their thrones,⁶⁷ and that it was insolence and presumption

⁶³ He was wounded, and taken prisoner with his son. Godwin remarks, that this year wheat in England, which, from the dearth before harvest, sold at 53s. a quarter, after the crop was secured, fell to 5s. ; a remarkable fluctuation. p. 329. On the disaster of St. Quentin, Henry instructed the duke of Ferrara to make his terms with Philip, Rib. 700, but to pay him back his 100,000 crowns, p. 703, which he granted him in November. p. 672.

⁶⁴ The bishop of Lodeve, in apprising Henry, on 23d September, of this fact, reasonably adds, 'You must not trust them hereafter.' Rib. p. 704.

⁶⁵ 'The grand signor answers, that his law forbids him to lend money to Christians, and therefore he cannot accommodate you with the two millions of gold which I asked for.' Lett. 28th December, of De Vigne to the king. Rib. 711.

⁶⁶ The Scots appear to have unwillingly complied with this solicitation, for one of Mary's cabinet council informed earl Shrewsbury on 18th September 1557: 'The Scots prepare an army to be levied throughout their whole realm, and to be near Edinburgh at Michaelmas, with 40 days victual. An express this last night has told me, that the Scots much grudge against this war occasioned by the French ; and that there are sundry noblemen in Scotland who would have peace with this realm. They are discomfited with the great victories which the king hath had over the French, and do not trust their fair promises.' 1 Lodge, p. 271.

⁶⁷ Such was De Selve's despatch of 8 Jan. 1558, to his sovereign, after his interview with the pope, who said, 'He could not injure the supreme authority which God had given him, of his vicar on earth, to consent that his jurisdiction should be declined for the shadow of any privilege soever ; et qu'il *pouvoit priver* et empereur et rois de leurs empires et royaumes sans avoir a en rendre compte qu'à Dieu ; and that there were no privileges against his jurisdiction, and if there were, that it was an abusive, bad, and damnable thing.' Lett. Rib. 2, p. 716.

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for any of them to think otherwise;⁶⁸ and that he would teach them that it was so;⁶⁹ and that every emperor and king, if they were Christians, ought to confess that he was their master, and that they ought all to receive the law from him, like disciples and inferiors.⁷⁰ The most effectual reply which could be given to pretensions so arrogant, was the moral lecture which the French cardinal addressed to the papal legate at Paris, a few days after, on the gross immoralities permitted or sanctioned by his pontifical chief, among his relations and court, which on less authority might have been thought to be either scandal or exaggeration.⁷¹

⁶⁸ 'Et que ce seroit une grande insolence et presumption, et peu chretienne de le penser autrement.'

⁶⁹ Ib. 'Also that he would judge them, and deprive them, when he saw that they deserved it, and that the case required it.' ib.

⁷⁰ 'Et qu'il n'y avoit empereur ni roi s'ils estoient Chretiens, qui ne deussent confesser qu'il estoit le maitre, et qu'ils devoient tous prendre et recevoir la loi de lui comme disciples et inferieurs.' ib. He frightened the ambassador into a sort of admission of these claims. 'I said, your majesty did not wish to diminish the supreme authority which Heaven had given him.' ib. The menace of 'couper la tête,' see before, p. 477, perhaps alarmed him.

⁷¹ On 17th January 1558, the cardinal Lorraine informed De Selve, 'I told the legate I would, as a cardinal, frankly express what I had in my heart. The worst was, the public report so much circulated of what was done at Rome during this pontificate. I had examined, and heard privately, persons of authority who had returned from Italy, besides the public voice of those of inferior quality who have been at Rome. I perceived that they were scandalized to have seen and known manifestly what was presented before their eyes, to the common scandal and contempt of our religion; and among the principal were publicly named those which touched most nearly in consanguinity our holy father the pope, not sparing as to them nor as to others who held high stations there, ce peche si abominable ou il n'y a aucun distinction du sexe, masculin ou feminin, which was indeed a strange prodigy, and a prognostic of some sinister event or misfortune to the church, and offensive to this kingdom, which has always abhorred extremely that such monsters and brutalities should be suffered in the place where the light and splendor of our faith ought to be found: and that people did not forget to say that our said father is the cause and principal occasion of the war which has recommenced, and by which this kingdom is suffering, while he and his are enjoying repose and tranquillity in *their Rome*.' Lett. ib. 722.

But the military celerity, or rather the corrupting intrigues, of the duke of Guise having wrested Calais from the English crown, after it had been adorned with this trophy of its third Edward for above two centuries,⁷² this splendid addition to the power and safety of France dazzled the holy father's mind into another vacillation: a conqueror seems to have been in his sight a magician, who instantaneously enchanted him; and he declared that he was more delighted with this success than if the French king had added half of England to his dominions.⁷³ Amid these transports for the augmented potency of a government that was ever willing to counteract his Spanish tormentors, the pontiff evinced the most vindictive ingratitude to that queen, who had injured her health, her comfort, her good name, her future hopes, and her before happy nation, purely to aggrandize and gratify his worldly interests and political see.⁷⁴ But tho Calais was lost from treachery,

⁷² The governor of Boulogne informed Henry that he thought it might be taken; which Marshal Strozzi, having examined the fortifications in disguise, confirmed. Philip offered to defend it, but the English ministry, jealous that he would appropriate it to himself if his troops were admitted, declined his proposition. The duke of Guise encamped his army before it on New Year's-day 1558, and four days after lord Wentworth chose to surrender it. Stowe, 632. Godwin Ann. 331. The letters in Hardwicke's State Papers, v. 1. p. 103, shew how feebly it was defended. That it was given up, seems to be the reasonable inference, either from corruption or disaffection. In such a reign the latter is most probable. To fight for Mary, was to fight for a burning priesthood and for papal slavery. Treason is never honorable, and never justifiable; but in some circumstances it is not unnatural.

⁷³ 'On 29th Jan. Vineu arrived with the particulars of your capture of Calais. Next day we informed the pope of it, 'qui ne pouvoit se lasser de la magnifier, saying that he rejoiced at it, for these reasons—1. His great love for you;—2. For the universal good of Christendom, as he estimated this conquest more than if you had conquered half the kingdom of England.' De Selve's lett. of 1st Feb. 2 Rib. 725.

⁷⁴ '3. Because Heaven shewed that it intended to chastise the pride

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the troops of Philip were faithful, brave, and again successful. His general, count Egmond, decisively defeated the governor of Calais, who advanced from the new conquest to invade Artois and Flanders.⁷⁵ An English fleet sacked the petty town of Conquet,⁷⁶ a mere ravage inflicting individual suffering, without any national advantage; while the two contending kings, having assembled their armies and encamped near each other, the French on the Somme, and Philip on the Anthy, found each other too formidable to be attacked with any certainty of success, and passed their summer in mutual skirmishes and wiser negotiations, till the death of Mary changing the interests and the projects of both, suspended awhile the amicable treaty.⁷⁷

The misfortunes and misery of Mary's life began from the period of her lamentable measures to force back her subjects into the papal subjection and superstitions. Without these, her people would have been reconciled to her Spanish match. But after it

of the queen of England, who had, against reason, retained in Calais, as prisoner, a servant of his holiness, who was going to England on the revocation of cardinal Pole, and taken away his writings and memoirs. Heaven had chosen to bring her to penance for it, and for the defiance she sent you this summer by her herald.' He added the sneer, that the loss of Calais was the loss of the dower that Philip had settled on her for the portion her marriage had given him. *ib.* 725.

⁷⁵ This was the battle near the shore of Gravelins, fought 13th July 1558. The first charge of the French disordered the Spaniards. 'These rallied, and the battle became obstinate, when ten English men-of-war sailing by, and observing the conflict, discharged their ordnance with such destructive effect on the French battalions, that they broke, and were routed with the loss of 5,000 killed, and the capture of their chief commanders.' Godwin, 334.

⁷⁶ Lord Clinton's first aim, with his fleet of 140 sail, was Brest; but that was ascertained to be impregnable to his means. Godw. 335.

⁷⁷ Godw. 336. The dauphin Francis, and Mary the queen of Scots, were married 28th April 1558. *ib.*

became obvious to all that she and her husband had resolved to leave no alternative between the apostacy of their conscience and a merciless persecution, the confidence between the throne and the people was broken up. All personal attachment and loyalty ceased. The submission and calculations of resentful fear alone kept the general surface tranquil; and such a tranquillity could be but a temporary and alarming truce. Oppression produced its usual effect of wretchedness to the oppressor as well as to the oppressed.⁷⁸ Gardiner, who was her first chief counsellor in this unrighteous career, died soon after the cruelties began, wretchedly and reluctantly, clinging vainly to life and state to his last gasp.⁷⁹ Mary persevered in the unnatural and unavailing abominations, only to increase the aversion of her

⁷⁸ In the middle of June 1555, she was so unwell for a week, that the medical attendant expected her confinement. Noailles, 5. p. 12. Her household looked for her delivery at the latest by the end of the month. Her person had become enlarged during the last four months. p. 13. The expectation continued in July. p. 31. On 20th August all hope had ceased, but Mary meant to 'feign as long as she could, till she saw things more established and secure in favor of her husband.' p. 83. She kept Philip a year near her by the belief and hope, which made him the more indignant against her for his disappointment. p. 136.

⁷⁹ Noailles, on 7th August 1555, remarking to his king, that he was so ill of the jaundice, that several physicians thought he would not live long: added, 'His death would not be less useful for your affairs, than agreable a la plus part de ceux de ce royaume.' 5. p. 58. On 27th August, Gardiner was so much worse, with such a probability of being weaker, that neither a much longer life, nor the continuation in business, was to be looked for. p. 107. On 9th Sept. he was no better. 127. On 5th October he conferred with Noailles very earnestly for two hours; and tho the addition of dropsy had increased his danger, yet, to make those at his levee believe he was not dying, as they thought, he would accompany the ambassador when he left him, thro three rooms full of people, altho so weak that Noailles kept him up by the arms. p. 150. On 21st Oct. he chose to attend the opening of Parliament, tho he had been forced to abstain from business for fifteen days. He went to the ceremony on horseback. supported by four of his people. p. 173. He died on 12th Nov. p. 206. 1 Lodge, 209, clinging to state business to the last three days. p. 194.

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subjects, and to live in continual terror of their exploding resentment ;⁸⁰ she saw that she was hated, and felt and mourned her personal insecurity.⁸¹ The disaffected even sought aid from France.⁸² Verifying

⁸⁰ In the parliament of November 1555, she found her subjects ' plus rudes et obstinés ' than they had been in all her reign. They refused to pass an Act of outlawry against the life or property of those who had become voluntary exiles. Noailles, p. 242. On 15 December the ambassador wrote, she was ' so discontented as to shew her anger by putting some knights in the Tower, for having spoken in this parliament more openly than she wished. I think by such rigor she will never suppress the heart and intentions of her people, but will daily increase it to prepare her total ruin as soon as they have the means.' p. 246. ' She found such difficulty and resistance, that she did not dare to propose the coronation of her husband, but broke up the parliament sooner than she had intended, both she and her most favored counsellors having received une grande escorne.' p. 253. ' Many books were printed during this parliament, in English, to the defamation of the king and queen and Spanish nation, and scattered about London, and even in the chambers of the parliament, which have greatly disturbed the queen and her cabinet.' p. 254. On 12 March 1556, his avis au roi was, ' This queen from the fear which she has of some movement of her people, has despatched in haste her mandatory letters to the lords and officers of her kingdom, to make a muster of their people, and to have them ready when she should want them.' p. 321. On 9 April, he mentioned that the ministers had great suspicion of her subjects, having had day and night, during Easter, besongner the drawbridge of the city, doubling the watchmen all over the kingdom, and sending out ships of war along the coasts, 328. She was uneasy lest the king of France should support the discontented. p. 331. On 21 April she had closed the ports and passages, to intercept all persons and letters to and from France. 341. She demanded the English refugees to be given up to her. 347.

⁸¹ On 29 April, we read, ' the queen lets herself be seen less than ever. She is in a greater suspicion than she ever was.' 351. On 7 May, we find her abusing the English exiles : ' They were gens abominables, heretiques, et traistres. That from their crimes she might justly call them so, etant si vilains et execrables.' p. 353.

⁸² The French ambassador, who was watching, hoping, and probably encouraging every token of disaffection, stated, on 27th July 1555, ' This nobility and people have a desire to make some commotions between this time and the middle of September, and the council of the kingdom are in apprehension of this extremity.' p. 44. On 12th March 1556, he apprised his court that some English desired to pass into France, and to undertake something for their freedom, and wished him to ask his king to assist them. He sent La Marque ' with all their plans, which are not of small importance,' but had stopped them until he received further instructions. p. 313. We hear afterwards of a youth personating Edward VI. p. 318 ; and that ' the council had reprimanded for their religion, lord Oxford, the great chamberlain, the

the prophetic declaration, that the minds of those who have become evil characters, will be 'like the troubled sea, and have no rest,' she was living every day in a state of angry and suspicious irritability; passionate, gloomy, and self-tormented.⁸³ Time brought no mitigation or change, either in her public cruelties or in her personal misery.⁸⁴ She increased

earl of Westmoreland, lord Willoughby, and other great lords of this nation, being Protestants.' p. 319.

⁸³ The ambassador stated, 'However little I had contradicted, and I might have done so very much, she flew into an extreme colere. I assure you, Sire! this princess always lives now in the two great extremities of anger and suspicion, being in a continual fury, that she can neither enjoy the presence of her husband nor the love of her people; and she is in a very great fear of her own life being attempted by some of her household, as one of her chaplains had undertaken to kill her, tho they wished not to make a great noise about it. See, Sire! what this rich heiress has gained—and I think this unhappiness must every hour increase, as I see no means by which she can be ever loved by her subjects; she will therefore be compelled to live in perpetual dread, and, on the other side, be so undervalued by a foreigner and her own husband, as not to enjoy his presence long.' p. 356. 'The familiarity in which your majesty lives with your subjects, make all those of this country who hear of it sigh. They are living now in such misere, that there is not one but who fears for his head either now or by-and-by. Admiral Howard drew me to a window, and said, that our mode of living was very different from theirs, who could see neither their king nor their queen, but were languishing in continual fear and suspicion, so that he would rather be a poor gentleman in your kingdom, than admiral where he was. These, Sire! are strange words from one of the greatest and most favored in this society, and you may guess if the rest are more content. They see the approaching ruin of this kingdom, as indeed seems evident from the great division that is among them, and from the little love which the queen bears them, and from the *great hatred* of the subjects to the said lady.' p. 358.

⁸⁴ In May, matters were still worse: the despatch of 11th May was, 'This queen continues to increase her ennui. She succeeds in nothing she desires, as she sees that besides the doubt in which she lives among her household, her husband only sends her excuses. She has dismissed her guard, and will only shew herself in her room to four ladies. A fifth, who sleeps with her, approaches her only during the three or four hours of the night, during which alone this poor princess sleeps. The rest of the time she employs in tears, regrets, and writing to attract her husband, and in rage against her subjects. She is dismayed at the infidelity of those whom she thought the most attached, as the greatest part of these miserable servants are relations, allies, or favored followers of

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the severities to others which brought down the arrows of vengeance on her own heart, without lessening the joylessness and hopelessness of her mind and condition.⁸⁵ Neither Tiberius, Dionysius, nor Damocles, were more striking examples of the personal wretchedness of the tyrant, the cruel, or the oppressing, than this misguided queen, whom her subjects had at first been so disposed to love and honor. She could trust neither her cabinet nor her court;⁸⁶ and Philip, or his observing counsellors,

all the greatest in the kingdom, and even of the lords of her council. She is in such a fury at this, that she cannot refrain from speaking very little to her own advantage, and to say privately, that she is only trusting for a short time lord Montague and her great steward, who are two young men that are not much adapted to draw her out of the danger into which she has plunged herself.' p. 362.

⁸⁵ On 22d May 1556 we have a despatch still more unfavorable: 'My wife saw her on the 18th, and found her in appearance ten years older than when she last saw her. She knows herself to be neglected, and she finds little certainty in the promises of her husband; and to be secure in her residence here, she is forced to cause such a number of persons to die by the fire and the sword, and in all the extremity of the rigor of justice, that her people make a great clamor about it, being of opinion that these pauvres miserables, who are led to so many punishments, all die innocent.' p. 370. The ambassador returning to France, we have no further delineation of Mary's personal wretchedness from her misconduted reign—the greatest popularity destroyed by her tyranny and inhumanity in forcing her kingdom to popery, and to that ecclesiastical system which exacted and perpetrated the horrors we have noticed.

⁸⁶ On 31st October 1555, we learn from Noailles, that she was 'en une extreme colere' with the lords of her parliament, p. 188, and had 'grand soupçon' of the pope. ib. She mistrusted her cabinet so much, as to have given them 'commandement expres' to conclude nothing of any weight without communicating it to Pole, having resolved to undertake nothing of any importance without his advice and authority in her affairs 'qu'il n'en vent accepter ni prendre.' p. 189. After Gardiner's death she could not 'resolve to whom to give his seals, as all who were les plus experimentes et dignes de cette charge, were suspected by her as to their religion. Hence she is in great pain, both to see thus the nobility who are assembled here, and even the most inconsiderable, speak with *more* license against her religion, since the chancellor's death, than they did before. Besides, the rest of her council cannot afterwards agree together so well as they did. Most of them are suspected. A large part is thought to be inclined to have some secret intelligence

were too dissatisfied with the prospect, for him to remain in a country where his personal safety could never be assured.⁸⁷ The only good act he did which at all gratified the people, was to preserve Elizabeth from the death, to which Mary's jealousy and vexation would have doomed her.⁸⁸ No life of any human being has ever hung on a more slender thread,

with Madam Elizabeth. She has told Pole, that there is now no one in her council in whom she has perfect confidence but himself.' p. 205. Pole continued to be her prime minister. pp. 256, 275, 282, 288, 311. Caricature prints were also circulated, of a withered and wrinkled queen, with Spaniards at her breasts; to intimate that they had reduced her to skin and bone, with legends representing the rings, jewels and money she had privately given to Philip. She was greatly incensed at this, and ascribed it to some of her own council, who only could have known of the secret presents. Carte 3, p. 331.

⁸⁷ Philip's preference for others had first disquieted her, Noailles, p. 172; but his continuance in Flanders without returning to her as he had promised, increased her vexation, p. 172. His protracted absence put her into a great 'fureur.' p. 188. On 30th December 1555, the prothonotary Noailles wrote to a lady, that the 'prince perceived such a *tres mauvaise pensée* to be nourishing against him, that he had within the last four months dexterously drawn out of their hands and got away, piece by piece, all which remained there of his, as well men as goods; so only his confessor was left with his wife, tho she had tried all she could to detain some of his train. She had spared neither tears nor piteous remonstrances, nor all the sad complaints which could issue from the heart of a woman tormented with extreme passion.' p. 266.

⁸⁸ Michele's report, in 1557, to the doge of Venice, particularized this circumstance: 'It is believed that but for this interference of the king, the queen would, without remorse, chastise her in the severest manner.' He also remarks of Mary, 'The evil disposition of the people towards her;' and 'she is a prey to the hatred she bears my lady Elizabeth.' Ellis Lett. second ser. v. 2. p. 237. Foxe gives us a repeated assurance, which I consider to be the full belief of the time, that Gardiner was always laboring for her destruction, and that it was his death which preserved her. p. 1622; 1900. Philip paid her such respect, that once meeting her, he 'made her such obeisance that his knee touched the ground.' p. 1901. The Spaniards favored her, and entreated their king to deliver her from her imprisonment; which he soon afterwards did. p. 1899. Elizabeth herself afterwards acknowledged that she had owed her life to his interference. The certainty that her death would have placed Mary of Scotland, then married to the heir apparent of France, his great political enemy, on the throne of England, may have been Philip's chief inducement to this unusual act of liberal humanity.

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during all this reign, than this 'Sorella,' this princely sister, to whom the expressive intimation of the Vatican had so early and so emphatically directed⁸⁹ the attention of the queen, whom it governed, flattered, and misled.

The departure of Philip left Mary without any friend in whom she could fully confide, except cardinal Pole, the instigator and partaker of her sanguinary cruelties; and the pope's blow of unexplained but implacable vengeance at him, made him as miserable as the sovereign, whose better mind he had so greatly assisted to miscounsel and deprave. Mary pined into premature decay; which the loss of Calais hastened. She said that if she died, the dissection of her heart would show that Calais was the cause.⁹⁰ We may refer its withering effect in part to her unquestionable patriotism; but it is probable that the more fatal poison was the certainty it gave her that even her bosom friends were deserting her. The governor of Calais was always one of the most trusted and faithful servants of the English crown: and that lord Wentworth should give up such a fortress, which had defied all the power and efforts of France for two centuries, after a siege of a few days, was such a revelation of the secret defection of those on whom she most relied, that her spirits could never recover the mortifying discovery. She had forfeited the affections of her kingdom, and

⁸⁹ See before, Chap. XIII. note 27.

⁹⁰ One of her last attendants told Foxe, that on their remarking to Mary that they feared she took thought for king Philip departing from her, the queen answered, 'Not that only; but when I am dead, and opened, you shall find Calais lying in my heart.' Foxe, 1901.

plunged into the worst of crimes, the destruction of some of the best of her fellow-creatures for unoffendingly retaining their religious and natural right of private conscience, in order to please and aggrandise a popedom, that was now both insulting her, and degrading the counsellor by whose exertions and contrivance the unpopular revolution had been violently effected. As personal misery was thus pursuing both the queen and the cardinal, the illnesses of each increased ; and when Pole drew near to that new scene of existence, in which he would have to account for his conduct before a tribunal, at which no political machinations of religion are of any estimation or avail, some unexplained but important feelings or mutations arose in his mind ; for on his death bed, and when his expressions imply that he thought he was so, he sent his chaplain to Elizabeth, with some secret communication, which he desired her to believe, and which would make all persons, and her more especially, satisfied of him.⁹¹ What

⁹¹ All that we know of this circumstance, is from Pole's letter in the British Museum, MS. Vesp. F. 3 ; from which Collier printed it ; it is dated three days only before the queen's death. ' It may please your grace to understand, that albeit the long continuance and vehemence of my sickness be such as justly might move, casting away all cares of this world, to think only of that to come ; yet, not being convenient for me to determine of life or death, which is only in the hand of God, I thought it my duty before I should depart, so nigh as I could, to leave *all persons satisfied of me, and especially your grace*, being of that honor and dignity that the providence of God hath called you unto. For *which purpose* I send to you at this present my faithful chaplain the dean of Worcester ; to whom, may it please your grace to *give credit*, in that he *shall say unto you in my behalf*. I doubt not but that your grace shall *remain satisfied thereby* ; whom God Almighty long prosper to his honor, your comfort, and the wealth of the realm.' Lambeth, 14 Nov. 1558. Collier's Records, p. 83. This letter obviously alludes to some important communication.

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was thus imparted, has not been disclosed. Soon afterwards, death claimed his victims, and intercepted all further repentance. The queen died 17 November 1558, and the cardinal on the following day. Two events, which gave England a freedom, and a felicity in mind and conscience, of which she has never since been deprived.

CHAP. XVII.

ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH—HER PREVIOUS POPULARITY—
HER DANGERS, AND CAUTIOUS MEASURES—PEACE WITH
FRANCE.

THE successive deaths of Gardiner, Mary, and Pole, terminated for ever the sanguinary dominion of Rome over the English nation; the tyranny of the papal hierarchy, and the practice of burning alive those, who chose to separate the Christianity of the Scriptures from that medley of tradition, council determinations, papal decretals, and scholastic logic, which had become the favored system of the Vatican. Dark and dreary were the prospects of the conscientious and of the intellectual, until these three individuals disappeared; because, by attaching all the power of the English crown to the popish cause; and by exerting all its commanding means of inflicting legal misery, they put every one in the nation, who was not a papist, under the hopeless necessity of suffering all the wretchedness which they chose to impose, or of revolting against the government, which had become the stern and persevering tyrant. But no one who is not in an hospital of insanity, would rise into individual rebellion; and combinations of numbers to the same end, are almost always experienced to be unavailing agitation, destructive to its plotters. No movement but that of national resentment, so universal as to be irresistible, can achieve the desired deliverance; and the evils must

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press severely on every class of the social order, before any general sensibility can so vindictively arise, as to break the chain of oppression on the heads of the oppressors. Years of misery must therefore first revolve, before a national chastisement of this sort will occur: and while this was slowly preparing to overwhelm the misled Mary, but was only in its growing state, her machinery of evil continued to go on in all its infelicitating operations.¹ Instead of lessening its mischief, its promoters were seeking to extend the inquisitorial eye and scourge from the highest to the lowest, from the most solemn to the most minute concerns.² The sullen despotism of the throne was not insensible to its own peril; and sought to avert what it had provoked, by proclamations of new violence, which treated human life like worthless and disposeable lumber, that power might destroy whenever it pleased.³ But Mary's fortunate demise preserved the public peace, and began the public happiness. The metropolis exulted at the

¹ Only a week before the deaths of the queen and cardinal, on 10th November, five persons were burnt alive at *Canterbury*, and therefore under Pole's authority. Strype, v. 3, part 2, p. 123. So determined were both, to the last, to continue the exterminating system.

² It was made a request before the inquisitorial commissioners at Ipswich, in 1556, 'That none may be suffered to be midwives but such as are catholic.' One woman was presented by the sworn informer, 'who presumeth upon the office of a midwife not called;' another for 'swelling by too much riches into wealth;' two 'for refusing to behold the elevation of the sacrament;' others for not 'having their children dipped in the font;' and thirty-four for flying out of the town, and hiding themselves. Foxe, 1894, 5.

³ On 6th June 1558, the proclamation was issued, which, reciting that 'divers books filled with heresy, sedition, and treason, had been brought into the realm, and some covertly printed,' declared, that 'whoever shall be found to have any of the said books; or finding them, doth not forthwith burn the same, without shewing or reading them to any other person, shall be taken for a rebel, and without delay be executed according to MARTIAL LAW.' See it in Strype, v. 3, part 2, p. 131.

change.⁴ The cruel were disarmed. Their terrors ceased. They were yet too ruthless, and too formidable, to make it safe for the new queen to develop at once all the meliorations which she contemplated ; but the general mind, inferring her future conduct from her anterior character, the heart felt a new happiness to be advancing on it as she acceded, and became immediately exhilarated with the belief, that it would possess the sweet enjoyments of an unfettered judgment and of a liberated conscience, undismayed by dungeons, torture, confiscations, or the agonizing flame.⁵

That Elizabeth had survived the jealousy of Mary and the political hatred of the restored papal hierarchy, was owing in part to that Spanish chivalry, which would not allow a princely female to be killed for Machiavellian policy ;⁶ altho its bigotry could see heretics in the fire without compassion, and perhaps

⁴ Strype, v. 3, part 2, p. 118.

⁵ Speed has arranged those who were burnt by Mary, under these classes :

5 Bishops,
21 Divines,
8 Gentlemen,
84 Artificers,
100 Husbandmen, servants,
and labourers.

26 Wives,
20 Widows,
9 Virgins,
2 Boys,
2 Infants.

Hist. Eng. p. 852.

⁶ When Lord Paget said, that ‘ the king would not have any quiet commonwealth in England, unless her head were stricken from the shoulders, the Spaniards answered, ‘ God forbid that their king and master should have that mind to consent to such a mischief.’ ‘ From that day the *Spaniards never left off* their good persuasions to the king, that the like honor he should never obtain as in delivering the lady Elizabeth out of prison ; *whereby* at length she was happily relieved.’ Foxe, 1899. One of these Spaniards was the duke of Alva, who was in England on 14th April 1555. See Mason’s letter in Burnet’s Ref. v. 6, p. 333. Philip so much befriended her, that in September 1555, he recommended her to Mary in several letters, and also to the Spanish lords who were in England. Noailles, 5, p. 127.

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with satisfaction : and in part also to Philip's political jealousies. She declared to the French ambassador, after her accession, the dread and danger in which she had been living.⁷ This lasted while Gardiner existed ; but when this her most dangerous foe had departed, the better feelings of cardinal Pole, naturally right and gentlemanly whenever he could separate them from his Roman bondage, may have secretly contributed to her preservation.⁸ But her greatest safety was in the general sympathy, which increased as Mary's popularity declined.

The council of the reigning queen had sought to intimidate or allure this sister, whom she so disliked, into such an admission of guilt as would justify the imprisonment to which they had subjected her ; but the princess wisely preferred to endure the worst result, than to confess a falsehood that would implicate her with crime and danger.⁹ It is manifest that if the insidious request had obtained from her a self-accusation, it would have been used as the pretext

⁷ See the remark of Castelnau, quoted before, page 491, note 88. In her declaration of 1 October 1585, Elizabeth avowed her obligations to Philip : ' We do most willingly acknowlege that we were beholden to him in the time of our late sister, which we then did acknowlege very thankfully, and have sought many ways since to requite.' See it in Morgan's *Phen. Britan.* p. 308.

⁸ Foxe has transmitted to us one instance of his unconcealed respect to her. He represents Sheriffe as saying, ' I saw yesterday in the court that my lord cardinal meeting her in the chamber of presence, kneeled down on his knees, and kissed her hand.' Foxe, 1901.

⁹ At Woodstock, a secret friend advised her to make this submission. She refused : ' If I have offended, and am guilty, then I crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certain I should have had ere this, if it could be proved against me. But I know myself to be out of the danger of it, and wish I was as clean out of the peril of mine enemies, and then I am assured I should not be so locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am.' Foxe, 1898.

or palliative for future severities, and have averted the public pity.

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Born of Anne Boleyn at the period when her mother's beauty and graces were most strongly interesting the difficult taste of Henry VIII., ELIZABETH was yet an unwelcomed child, because she disappointed her father's hope of a son and male successor.¹⁰ He recovered from his vexation so far as to give her a splendid christening; but she was often made to feel, during his reign, that she was not the offspring he desired; and the precipitated downfall of her mother prevented her from sharing those royal splendors and that high consideration, which Mary had received from her birth, and retained, till her mother's unfortunate divorce. Adversity is not unsalutary to our eager youth; and often converts its privations into blessings, which enrich the maturer age. Elizabeth experienced its advantages while her father reigned: nor were the dangers and depression of her life and spirits, for the first five years after the eager age of twenty, under her sister's dissatisfaction, less salutary to the strength and improvement of her intellectual personality. From this beneficial discipline, she came to the throne at the age of twenty-five, with a mind which had been highly cultivated by her studies, and much exercised by her sufferings; which had all the vigor of youth, yet tempered with the prudence of maturity; and which, long accustomed to self-government, found a sufficiency of still surrounding difficulties, to continue its moral education, and to animate it into activity, penetration,

¹⁰ She was born on 7 Sept. 1533. Hist. Henry VIII. v. 2. p. 340.

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serene fortitude, and solid judgment. By these qualities, she maintained her throne unshaken, made her people happy, and attached to her reign the affectionate popularity of her immediate subjects; and to her memory, a grateful admiration from their benefited posterity.

The attempt to draw her into a self-arraignment was renewed in the last period of Gardiner's administration, in the summer of 1555, when she was brought to Hampton Court under a strict guard;¹¹ but she embraced the opportunity of the state examination, to express to the four ministers who came to her apartment, her intreaty to be set at liberty.¹² Gardiner, evading the concession of this great boon, urged her to admit the charge against her, and then to put herself on the queen's mercy. She spiritedly refused.¹³ The next day he intimated that her compliance was necessary for their indemnity.¹⁴ This

¹¹ Foxe, p. 1900.

¹² 'My Lords, I am glad to see you; for methinks I have been kept a great while from you, desolately alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a mean to the king and queen's majesties, that I may be delivered from my prison, wherein I have been kept a long space; as to you, my lords! it is not unknown.' Foxe, *ib.*

¹³ 'She made answer, that rather than she would do so, she would lie in prison all her life. She craved no mercy at her majesty's hand; but rather desired the law, if ever she did offend her majesty in thought, word, or deed. And besides this; in yielding, I should speak against myself, and confess myself to be an offender, which I never was towards her majesty; by occasion whereof the king and the queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion; and therefore, I say, my lords! it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected of my prince.' Foxe, 1900.

¹⁴ Gardiner, kneeling down, declared that the queen marvelled that she would so stoutly use herself, not confessing to have offended, so that the queen should seem to have wrongfully imprisoned her grace. 'Nay,' quoth the lady Elizabeth, 'it may please her to punish me as she thinketh good.' Gardiner's answer was, 'Her majesty willeth me to tell you, that you must tell another tale, ere that you be set at liberty.' The princess replied, 'She had as lief be in prison with

had no effect. After a week's further confinement, her sister, who had not seen her for two years, sent for her late at night,¹⁵ and was importunate with her on the same point, as a justification of her own conduct.¹⁶ But the princess persisting in her resolution, not to accuse herself by her falsehood, she was at last released from actual imprisonment, to be put under the milder superintendence of one of Mary's counsellors; in which state of inspection, amounting to a species of honorable restraint, she remained until her sister died. It was while under this wardship that she was questioned on an abuse of her name for traitorous purposes;¹⁷ when she returned an

honesty and truth, as to be abroad suspected of her majesty. This which I have said I will stand unto, for I will never belie myself.' The bishop again knelt down, and said, 'Then your grace hath the vantage of me and other the lords, for your long and wrong imprisonment.' Her answer was firm: 'What advantage I have, you know. I seek no vantage at your hands, for your so dealing with me; but God forgive you and me also.' The interview here ended. 'The rest knelt, desiring her grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked up again.' Foxe, p. 1900.

¹⁵ 'She was amazed at the sudden sending for her, (at ten o'clock,) thinking it had been worse than it afterwards proved; and desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her; for she could not tell whether she should ever see them again or no.' *ib.*

¹⁶ She was conducted to the queen's bedchamber, and on seeing her, knelt down, and declared herself a true subject to her. Mary answered, 'You will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth. I pray God it may so fall out.' 'If it doth not,' said Elizabeth, 'I request neither favor nor pardon at your majesty's hands.' The queen replied, 'Belike you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully punished.' 'I must not say so, if it please your majesty, to you.' 'Why then, belike you will to other.' 'No,' was the steady answer; 'I have borne the burthen and must bear it. I humbly beseech your majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life lasteth.' And so they parted with very few comfortable words of the queen. It is thought that the king, Philip, was there behind a cloth or skreen, and that he shewed himself a very friend in that matter.' Foxe, 1900.

¹⁷ On July 1556, the council wrote to Sir Th. Pope, 'that one Claybardo had been sent over from the English revolvers in France, who,

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easy answer of exculpation, expressed in a lettered style.¹⁸ After this, the king of Sweden's proposal to marry her, being by Mary's order communicated to her, she fully declared her solemn resolution at that time not to change her maiden state,¹⁹ whatever might be her future determination under other circumstances.²⁰

Mary, from policy or natural sympathy, resumed some of her former habits of sisterly civilities in private;²¹ but separated her from her public state,²²

naming himself the earl of Devonshire, had used also the lady Elizabeth's name to stir up rebellion, tho ineffectually; and directing him to mention the circumstance to her, that she might see how little those men stuck to compass their purpose by untruth.' Lett. Burn. Ref. v. 4. p. 432.

¹⁸ In her answer she said, 'I wish there were as good surgeons for making anatomies of hearts, that might shew my thoughts to your majesty, as there are expert physicians of the bodies, able to express the inward griefs of their maladies to their patients; for that whatsoever others should suggest by malice, your majesty would be sure of by knowlege. But since wishes are in vain, and desires oft fail, I must crave that my deeds may supply what my thoughts cannot declare; and that they be not misdeemed there, as the facts have been so well tried. And as I have been your faithful subject from the beginning of your reign, so shall no wicked persons cause me to change, to the end of my life.' MS. in Strype's possession. Ecc. Mem. v. 3. p. 548.

¹⁹ She desired sir Thomas Pope, who had her in ward, and who mentioned the overture to her, to state to her sister, that in Edward's time 'there was offered me a very honorable marriage or two; whereupon I made my humble suit to his highness to give me leave to remain in that state I was, which of all others best pleased me. I pray you say unto her highness, I am even at this present of the same mind, and so intend to continue, with her majesty's favor. I so well like this estate, that I persuade myself there is not any kind of life comparable unto it.' Burn. Ref. v. 4. p. 448.

²⁰ Sir Thomas urging her further, she answered, 'What I shall do hereafter I know not, but I assure you, upon my truth and fidelity, I am not at this time otherwise minded than I have declared unto you; no, tho I were offered the greatest prince in all Europe.' ib. 449.

²¹ In September 1555, we read that she visited her often. Noailles, 5, p. 126.

²² Thus when Philip went in state with the queen thro the city to Greenwich, to embark for Flanders, Elizabeth was sent thither in a boat, assez mal en ordre, with a few attendants only, which the people thought was done to prevent their seeing her. Noail. Aug. and Sept. 1555, pp. 85. 126.

and compelled her to the conformity of attending with her at her chapel.²³ On her removal from London to Hatfield, for the winter, before the Parliament was opened, the people of all ranks greeted her as she passed with such joyous salutations as alarmed her prudence, and dissatisfied the court;²⁴ but which may have contributed to her preservation, by intimidating those who were disposed towards a darker policy. Projects of speculations of marrying her abroad were circulated;²⁵ and after Gardiner's death, some of the queen's cabinet were suspected of desiring to establish a secret intelligence with her.²⁶ Her sound judgment and moral principle kept her from sanctioning all such private machinations. The prime minister of France perceived the wisdom of her abstinence, and instructed his ambassador not to excite her to any disaffected conduct.²⁷ The court, however, were so uneasy at the increase

²³ 'Allant tous les jours à la masse avec elle.' Noail. Sept. p. 126.

²⁴ As both 'grands et petits followed her through the city, with tous signes de joye et autres salutations,' she fell back behind some of her gentlemen and officers, 'pour faire contenir le peuple et y aller plus retenu.' Noail. 22d October 1555, p. 173. Her great enemy, Gardiner, was now dying.

²⁵ One match, in November 1555, which Noailles thought likely, was with the archduke of Austria, who had then arrived at Brussels, p. 191; another, in May 1556, was to the prince of Savoy, ib. p. 365. Mary opposed this match as much as Philip pressed it. He directed her confessor to talk with her upon it, but ineffectually, and she requested him to defer it until he came to England. See her letter in Strype, v. 3. app. p. 418. 'The queen complains very justly of her not understanding some part of the friar's observations: 'He asked me, who was king in the time of Adam; and said I was under obligation to make this marriage by an article in my credo.' ib. Mary took such offence about this match, that she loaded Elizabeth with checks and taunts, and declared Mary queen of Scots to be the right heir to her crown. Camd. Introd.

²⁶ Noail. 205.

²⁷ The connetable, on 7th February 1556, ordered him 'surtout éviter que mad. Elizabeth ne se remise en sorte du monde pour entreprendre ce que m'écrivez: car ce seroit tout gater.' Noail. p. 299.

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of her popularity, and the decline of the public attachment to Mary, that plans of taking her out of the country, to Spain or Flanders, were in serious agitation in the cabinet.²⁸ In the meantime her governor tried to amuse her with one of the stately pantomimes which had delighted her father; till the queen forbad the representation.²⁹ In 1557 she was allowed to make occasional excursions, and always with considerable retinue, which evinced the public interest in her welfare.³⁰ A hunt in Enfield Chase was devised, and permitted for her recreation;³¹

²⁸ Noaill. April 1556, p. 343. Philip sent the duchesses of Parma and Lorraine to bring her with them to Flanders; but Mary, who was displeased with his attentions to the latter lady, would let neither of them visit Elizabeth, and they returned without her. Warton, p. 107, from Carte, 3. p. 338.

²⁹ The MS. Chron. Vitell. F. 5, which is greatly burnt, cited by Warton, thus describes it: 'In Shrovetide 1556, sir Thomas Pope made for the lady Elizabeth, all at his own costs, a great and rich masking, in the great hall at Hatfield, where the pageants were marvellously furnished. There were twelve minstrels there, antequely disguised, with forty-six or more gentlemen and ladies, many of the knights or nobles, and ladies of honor, apparalleled in crimson satin, embroidered upon with wreathes of gold, and garnished with borders of hanging pearl. And the device of a castle of cloth of gold, set with pomegranates about the battlements, with shields of knights hanging therefrom: and six knights in red harness turneyed. At night the cupboard in the hall was of twelve stages, mainly furnished with garnish of gold and silver vessels; and a banquet of seventy dishes, and afterwards a voidée of spices and subtleties, with thirty spice plates. And the next day the play of Holofernes.' The queen wrote to sir Thomas, disapproving of what he had done. She 'per case disliked these fooleries, and so these disguisings ever ceased.' Life sir T. Pope, p. 87.

³⁰ Thus, on 25th February 1557, she 'came riding from her house in Hatfield, with a great company of lords and nobles and gentlemen, unto her place called Somerset Place, beyond Strande Bridge;' and on 28th went to the queen at Whitehall, 'with many lords and ladies.' So in March to Sheene, 'with many lords, knights, ladies and gentlemen, and a goodly company of horse.' Strype's Eccl. Mem. v. 3. part 2, p. 108, 9.

³¹ She was escorted by a retinue of twelve ladies, in white satin, on their palfreys, and twenty yeomen in green, on their horses, to hunt the hart. On her entering the forest, 50 archers in scarlet boots and yellow caps, armed with gilded bows, received her; one of whom presented her with a silver-headed arrow, winged with peacock's fea-

and the queen, with kind feelings, gratified her by a visit in the spring at Hatfield,³² which she was invited to return, in princely honor, at Richmond, in the summer.³³ She was still more publicly countenanced at the royal Christmas kept by Philip and Mary, on the king's coming back from Flanders, where she was made a partaker of the festivities with a distinction which did credit to her sovereign relatives.³⁴ But her usual habits were retired and literary. Declining all business, she occupied herself with reading, playing on the lute or virginals, embroidering with gold or silver, translating what she liked in Latin, Greek, French or Italian,³⁵ and

thers, the device of sir Thomas Pope. At the close of the sport, she was offered the privilege of cutting the animal's throat: an honor more suited to the taste of that time than of ours. See MS. Vitel. cited by Warton, p. 88.

³² 'When the great chamber was adorned with a sumptuous suit of tapestry, called the hanging of the siege of Antioch; and after supper a play was performed by the choir boys of St. Paul's.' *ib.* 89.

³³ She went by water from Somerset Place, in the queen's barge, which was richly hung with garlands of artificial flowers, and covered with a canopy of green sarsenet, wrought with branches of eglantine in embroidery, and powdered with blossoms of gold. Four ladies of her chamber, and sir Thomas, were with her. Six boats followed with her retinue, in russet damask and blue embroidered satin, tasselled, and spangled with silver, with bonnets of silver cloth, plumed with green feathers. She was received by the queen, in a sumptuous pavilion in the form of a castle, with cloth of gold and purple velvet, placed in the labyrinth of the gardens. The sides of the pavilion were chequered into compartments, in each of which was alternately a lily in silver, and a pomegranate in gold. Here they were entertained with a royal banquet, and many minstrels, but without masking or dancing. The queen had a long consultation with sir Thomas Pope. MS. *ib.* Warton, p. 89, 90.

³⁴ 'The great hall of the palace was illuminated with a thousand lamps curiously disposed. The princess supped at the same table with the king and queen, next the cloth of state; and after the meal, was served with a perfumed napkin and plates of confects by the lord Paget. But she retired to her ladies before the maskings and disguisings began. On 29th December, she sate with their majesties and the nobility at a grand spectacle of jousting, where 200 spears were broken. Half of the combatants were accoutred in the German and half in the Spanish fashion.' MS. *ib.* Warton, p. 90, 91.

³⁵ Ascham wrote to Sturmius on 14th Sept. 1555: 'From Metellus

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in conversing with her excellent governor, who had splendidly demonstrated his regard for learning by founding and endowing Trinity College at Oxford.³⁶ But her just and superior taste led her chiefly to the Greek classics: and of these the great orators, for her political studies,³⁷ and Plato, for philosophical contemplation, appear to have been preferred.³⁸ Female literature had been rare, but was then attained by several.³⁹ Her more difficult merit was to preserve her mind, amid so much cultivation, from the pride of conscious superiority,⁴⁰ from that

you will learn what my most noble Elizabeth is, whom by my endeavors he spoke to. He will tell you how much she excels in Greek, Italian, Latin, and French; her knowledge of things, and with what a learned and intelligent judgment she is endowed. He declared that he considered it more to have seen her, than to have seen England.' Asch. Ep. 51, 3.

³⁶ On 28th March 1555, for a president, priest, and twelve fellows. Warton's *Life of Sir Th. Pope*, p. 115-130. In 1556, he wrote, 'The princess Elizabeth often asketh me about the course I have devised for my scholars, and that part of my statutes respecting study I have shewn to her, which she likes well. She is not only gracious, but most learned, as ye right well know.' Warton, p. 92. Our poetical and antiquarian laureat has devoted a deserved volume to the memory of sir Thomas, but without displaying in it that degree of talent which he really possessed. It is a plain compilation, which any one might have done.

³⁷ 'The lady Elizabeth and I are reading together in Greek the Orations of Æschines and Demosthenes on the crown. She first reads to me, and understands so knowingly at the first glance, not only their propriety of language and sense, but also the cause of the contest, the feeling of the people, and the custom and manners of the city, to a degree which would surprize you.' Ascham's lett. Sept. 1555, p. 53.

³⁸ Ascham expressed to her in a letter, 'Your practice of uniting illustrious learning with your high dignity, I know was suggested to you from the discipline of Plato.' Ep. p. 94. We may presume Cicero to have been her Latin author, as he was a favorite with her tutor. 'A sermo prudentior, or prudentia disertior, cannot be desired. The splendor of Christianity has obscured his other philosophy, and our modern tribunals are not adapted to his old orations, but there is no part of human life which his *Officia* do not embrace.' Ep. 105.

³⁹ The Countess of Pembroke was reading Pindar with Ascham. *ib.*

⁴⁰ Elmer, the friend of Ascham, who thought her not 'inferior in the best kinds of learning to those that all their lifetime had been brought up in the universities,' mentioned, that the Italian who had taught her his language, had declared to him, that he found in her two qualities which

vanity of personal display in gaudy dress which Mary indulged in and revived,⁴¹ and from that love of money and trinkets which so many yield to.⁴²

As Mary expired early on the 17th November, the state council proclaimed Elizabeth to be the new queen, about noon of the same day;⁴³ and then repaired to her at Hatfield, where she appointed sir William Cecil her principal secretary.⁴⁴ She composed her state council of both Catholics and Protestants,⁴⁵ tho her more confidential consultations

were seldom united in the same woman, 'a singular wit, and a marvellous meek stomach.' Elmer, cited by Strype, v. 3, part 2, p. 168.

⁴¹ 'There never came gold or stone upon her head till her sister forced her to lay off her former soberness, and bear her company in her glittering gayness, and then she so wore it, that every man might see that her body carried that which her heart disliked. I am sure that the maidenly apparel in king Edward's time made the noblemen's daughters and wives to be ashamed to be dressed and painted like peacocks. When all the ladies, at the coming of the Scots queen [a French princess], went with their hair pounced, curled and double curled, she altered nothing, but kept her old maidenly shamefacedness.' Elmer, *ib.* 167.

⁴² 'She never meddled with money, but against her will. The king left her rich clothes and jewels: I know it to be true, that in seven years after her father's death, she never in all that time looked upon that rich attire and precious jewels but once, and that against her will.' Elmer, *ib.* 167.

⁴³ Strype's Annals of Reformation. v. 1. p. 1.

⁴⁴ *Ib.* p. 8.

⁴⁵ The Roman Catholic portion was—

Archbishop of York
Marquis Winchester, lord
treasurer
Earl Arundel
— Shrewsbury
— Derby
— Pembroke
Admiral lord Clinton
Lord Howard of Effingham,
lord chamberlain
Sir Thomas Cheyney
— William Petre
— John Mason
— Richard Sackville
Dr. N. Wotton

The Protestants were—
Marquis Northampton
Earl Bedford
Sir Thomas Parr
— Edward Rogers
— Ambrose Cave
— Francis Knolles
— William Cecil
— Nicholas Bacon
Camd. Eliz.

Ribadineira distinguishes Cecil and Bacon as her preferred advisers. Hist. Inghil. p. 231.

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were confined to a selected portion of the latter. The late queen was buried with the usual state of royal solemnities. The ports were closed a while, and no one was suffered to leave the realm without a license.⁴⁶ Cecil prepared notes of the subjects to be immediately attended to, for her information and private consideration.⁴⁷ A fleet was ordered, to watch the channel ; and as some began immediately to plot to set up against her the title of the queen of Scotland, with the assistance of the Guises, her uncles, in France, orders were issued for their apprehension and examination.⁴⁸ The late queen, by giving this pretension her sanction,⁴⁹ had made it a topic of mischief and danger to her successor. Elizabeth entered London amid unusual gratulations.⁵⁰ The parliament was summoned for the

⁴⁶ Fabian Chron. p. 566.

⁴⁷ Strype has printed them, p. 6, from his MS. in the Cotton library. They were, the proclamation ; the interment ; and the coronation ; the notification of her accession by special messengers to the pope, emperor, Spain, Denmark, and Venice ; a temporary embargo at the ports—to secure the Tower—to write to all keepers of fortified places—to send new commissioners to treat with France ; and another to Ireland—to re-appoint the judges—to name new sheriffs—to prohibit money exchanges—to consider of the queen's removing to the Tower, and to take care that the preacher at Paul's Cross did not ' stir any dispute touching the governance of the realm.' *ib.*

⁴⁸ Strype, *ib.* 9–11.

⁴⁹ Camden mentions in his Introduction, that Mary often declared to Elizabeth that the Scottish queen was her undoubted heir.

⁵⁰ Before her rode many gentlemen, knights and nobles. Trumpeters sounding their stately music, were followed by the heralds in array. The lord mayor bore the queen's sceptre, and the earl of Pembroke her sword. THE QUEEN then came on horseback, in purple velvet, with a scarf round her neck. Sir Robert Dudley, the celebrated Leicester, rode behind her, as master of the horse ; and the guards, with halberds, closed the royal procession. Cannon were profusely fired. Speeches were made to her as she passed, from stationed children. Music was in various parts appointed to welcome her, while the thronging populace in their own way expressed their vociferating joy. Strype, p. 14.

ensuing January;⁵¹ and as it was feared that the French would attempt a speedy invasion, to place Mary on the throne, precautionary measures were taken into consideration;⁵² while ambassadors were appointed to foreign courts, and commissioners named, to continue the negotiations for peace, which had been begun at Cambray.

The French government, eager to exalt their dauphin's wife to the English throne, solicited Rome to begin its dangerous hostilities against Elizabeth; but the pope, hoping she might be alarmed to request his succor, deferred thus committing himself till he saw how she meant to act towards his see;⁵³ yet by the persecuting intolerance that he was manifesting to his highest church brethren, till they checked, as to themselves, by resisting, that infallibility which they inculcated to others, he evinced what his future conduct would be, when the queen

⁵¹ D'Ewes Jour. p. 2-9.

⁵² Strype, 15, 16. Cecil thought they would not defer an attack, because Mary the queen of Scots life was then too doubtful to allow it to be deferred; because they had a military force in Scotland, and had prepared a great army both of French and Germans; because their ships were rigged and victualled, and their captains appointed; because in a month they expected to have Scotland reduced to their power, and could then easily from thence penetrate into England, which had no strong place but Berwick to stay them, and this would not be fortified in less than two years; and because if they offered battle with their Germans, 'there was great doubt how England would be able to sustain it, both for lack of good generals and great captains, and principally for lack of people.' Yet to get strangers to defend the country would not be adviseable. Cecil's notes in Strype, p. 16.

⁵³ Sir Edward Carne wrote from Rome: 'The French here can obtain nothing at his holiness's hands against your majesty. He will attempt nothing against you or your realms, unless the occasion be given first from thence.' Some of the cardinals meant to advise the pope to send a nuncio to England, 'but they stay till your majesty doth first send hither to his holiness.' Lett. Haynes, 245.

should shew that she meant not to imitate her departed sister, in becoming his votary.⁵⁴

As Mary had left a vacant treasury, one of the first cares of the new government was to obtain pecuniary means for the conduct of its administration. The high character and popularity of the new queen procured the supplies which were immediately wanted.⁵⁵ Berwick was ordered to be fortified ; and as secret intelligence was received, that the French intended to surprise Newcastle, and to make that one of their points of invasion, on account of its vicinity for a co-operation from Scotland, levies were raised in the adjoining counties. The border marches were reinforced ; and the duke of Norfolk, as lord lieutenant of the north, was supplied with the means of repelling the expected

⁵⁴ It is from the ambassador (a Catholic) we learn this curious and expressive fact: 'His holiness had made a bull *against all those cardinals* that be inquired upon of heresy in the holy inquisition, that they should be deprived of their voices, active and passive, in the election of any pope ; that is, that they should neither give any voice for any other, nor be able themselves to be chosen. This bull was read in the consistory ; and the pope did subscribe it, as they say. But the dean of the college who should next subscribe, would not. Upon this opinion passed all the cardinals present, and so the bull could not pass.' Lett. Sir E. Carne, 16th February 1560. Haynes, p. 246. From this we learn that the common sense of mankind on the papal system had penetrated into the parliament of the Vatican, tho it did not chuse to act on its conviction beyond its own self-defence. The reasons alleged by the dean for not allowing the operation of the inquisition on the sacred college, were as applicable and conclusive against it, as to every other order of society.

⁵⁵ Sir Thomas Gresham was employed to borrow the money from the merchants at Antwerp, and the lord mayor and common council of London readily gave their bonds for the repayment. Strype, 17. The public accountants were called upon for their balances ; the debts to the crown, and arrears of the last subsidy, were collected ; and the temporalities of the vacant bishoprics were taken by the exchequer, while they remained void. *ib.* 17-22.

aggression.⁵⁶ Her coronation was then splendidly celebrated, with those popular festivities which combine feeling with ceremony, when the prince possesses the affections of the people.⁵⁷

To re-establish the Protestant religion was Elizabeth's most anxious desire; but altho she ascended her throne with a national exultation that has been rarely paralleled, it was, from the determination of

⁵⁶ Strype, 22-31. Cecil apprized lord Shrewsbury that the French had pressed fifteen thousand almaines in Germany, and were arming all their ships to the seas. *ib.* 24.

⁵⁷ The procession began from the Tower on 14th January 1559. On coming out into its court yard, 'before she entered into her chariot, she lifted up her hands to Heaven,' and was heard to say, 'O LORD Almighty and everlasting God! I give Thee most hearty thanks, that Thou hast been so merciful to me as to spare me to see this joyful day. I acknowledge that Thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as Thou didst with thy faithful servant Daniel, whom thou deliveredst from the cruelty of the raging lions. Even so was I overwhelmed; and delivered only by Thee. To Thee therefore alone be thanks, honor, and praise for ever.'

Mutual salutations passed between her acclaiming people and herself, as she rode slowly amid their shouts and pageants. In one part the eight beatitudes were represented, and as they saluted her, the public crowd loudly wished her strength against all her adversaries. She earnestly thanked them for their affectionate effusion. At Cheapside the trumpets and waving banners saluted her as she approached it. At the Cheapside conduit her attention was called to the figure of Time. 'Time!' she exclaimed, 'It is Time that has brought me hither.' An English Bible was then held out to her: 'she thanked the city for that gift, and said that she would often read it over.' At the end of Cheap, the recorder presented her with a crimson satin purse, richly wrought with gold, and filled with the civic present of 1,000 marks. It required both her hands and all her strength to take it, and the people were delighted to hear her declare, 'Be sure that I will be as good unto you, as ever queen has been to her people. No will in me can lack, neither as I trust will there lack any power. Persuade yourselves that for the safety and quietness of you all, I will not spare, if need be, to spend my blood.' 'It moved a marvellous shout and rejoicing, the *heartiness* of it was so wonderful.' At Temple Bar, the two giants, finely dressed, Gogmagog, the Englishman, and Corins the antient Briton, held out to her their Latin verses; and a child 'richly arrayed as a poet,' pronounced a farewell in the name of the municipality, closing its costly exhibitions 'with wishes for the maintenance of truth, and the rooting out of error, which as he repeated, she now and then held up her hands toward Heaven, and willed the people to say, Amen.' Fabian, 568-570.

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the Catholic sovereigns to repress the Reformation, an elevation of no common peril. When she consulted s̄r William Cecil, on the wish of the majority of the country that the subjection to Rome should be broken off, and that liberty of conscience and the reformed worship should be restored, with which her own sentiments corresponded, he carefully represented to her the dangers that would follow :⁵⁸ nor were his pictures the mere imaginations of his apprehensive foresight; she lived to experience them to their fullest extent; but, after a painful contest, mingled with many incidents of the most distressing nature, to triumph happily and gloriously over all their hostilities. The able secretary, after expressing the difficulties, suggested the remedies by which they were to be counteracted.⁵⁹ But from the certainty of the papal enmity, and of its endangering effects, it was necessary to advance to the meliorations which were so desirable, by a slow and wise progression, corresponding with the increasing popularity and growing strength of her new government, as it emerged from the debilitation and evils of the preceding reign.⁶⁰ On this plan, of avoiding

⁵⁸ Cecil stated them to be, 'The bishop of Rome will be incensed; he will excommunicate the queen, interdict the realm, give it a prey to all princes that will enter upon it, and stir them up to it by all manner of means. The French king will be encouraged more to the war. He will be in great hope of aid from hence, of those discontented with this alteration, looking for tumults and discords. Scotland will have the same causes of boldness. Ireland also will be very difficultly stayed in obedience, by reason of the clergy, that is so addicted to Rome.' He then portrayed the internal peril, from the different classes who were interested in the papal system. See the paper from lord Grey's MS. printed in Burnet, Ref. v. 4. p. 450.

⁵⁹ Cecil calmly stated the remedies which were most likely to prevent or avert these evils. *ib.* p. 452-4.

⁶⁰ In her first condition, she was justly described by bishop Carlton

the mischiefs of indiscreet precipitation, to release all the prisoners for religion—to suspend the commissions that had been issued against Lollards—to prohibit preaching awhile, that the popish priests might not excite sedition, which they had begun to do, and that their opponents might not stimulate the people to disputes and violences—to consult privately on the wisest means of reinstating the reformed religion—and to require all things to remain as they were, till parliament should revise them—were the first and least offensive measures which were publicly adopted.⁶¹

The advice of Cecil, that Elizabeth should restore peace between England and France, would have

to be a 'prince at the beginning weak; destitute of friends; unfurnished of treasure; unprepared of all things. She was had in no other account by her great neighbours round about her, but as one left as a prey to the strongest that would invade her and her kingdom.' *Carlt. Thankful Remembrance*. So Elmer as truly stated in his book printed the next year at Strasburg: 'She received the crown from her sister entangled with foreign wars; the French on the one side, and the Scots on the other. The French king, tho in truce, when he heard of queen Mary's death, kept still his Germans about him, upon hope, if there had been any stirs in England, that he might have set in a foot; and for that purpose had willed the cardinal of Lorraine to confer with our churchmen, to see what might be done.' *Elmer's Harbour, Strype*, p. 3. The lord keeper Bacon's statement, in his speech for her on the opening of her first parliament, did not overstate the difficulties she had to meet and surmount. See it in *Dewes' Journal*, p. 11-14.

⁶¹ *Strype*, 54-77. The principles on which she wished to act in religious legislation, Bacon, her lord keeper, expressed to the parliament in this speech: 'She earnestly requires you to spare no pains for the establishing that which, after your utmost inquiry, shall be judged most serviceable; that in managing this debate, no considerations of power, interest, or pleasure, or contests for victory, may prevail amongst you. To this purpose her majesty expects that you will decline squabbling, heat of disputation, and scholastic arguing. That no party language, no terms of reproach, no provoking distinctions, be kept up in the kingdom. That the names of heretic, schismatic, papist, and such like, be laid aside and forgotten. That on the one hand there must be a guard against unlawful worship and superstition; and on the other, things must not be left under such a loose regulation as to occasion indifference in religion, and contempt of holy things.' *D'Ewes' Journal*, p. 12.

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been easily accomplished, if the latter had not captured Calais; but the French were as determined never to give back this town, as the feelings of the English people and their ideas of the national honor required its restoration. Hence, altho six days after her accession she instructed her commissioners to intimate her amicable disposition, and the terms she expected;⁶² and tho Henry and Elizabeth exchanged their general professions of personal esteem,⁶³ and new ambassadors were sent out,⁶⁴ no real progress was made in the protracted negotiation. The new queen, desirous of averting Philip's enmity, while she declined countenancing the proposal and reports of a matrimonial union with him,⁶⁵ assured him that she would do nothing to prejudice her amity with him, nor make any treaty without his privity;⁶⁶ and he expressed his determination not to close a peace with France without the concurrence of England.⁶⁷ It was difficult for either Spain or Elizabeth to treat with their adversaries without exciting each other's doubt or jealousy,⁶⁸ and the

⁶² The bishop of Ely and Dr. Wotton were ordered, on 23d November, to say that her sister had been forced into the war, to demand Calais, the two millions due, and the 59,000 crowns of the pension; and to require that Aymouth, on the Scottish borders, should be razed, and Scotland refrain from helping the disorderly wild Irish. Forbes' State Papers, v. 1, p. 3.

⁶³ See Henry's letter of 30th December 1558, to Elizabeth; his charge to Cavalcanti; and Elizabeth's answer, of 8th January following. Forbes, 9-12.

⁶⁴ Lord Howard, her chamberlain, and others. Forbes 36.

⁶⁵ On 25th December, the pope mentioned this marriage to the French ambassador, but remarked, that it could not be done without him, and that Philip had not then asked him for a dispensation. He complained of the avarice of the Spaniards, and of their superbe deportement whenever they have the advantage. Ribier, v. 2, p. 773.

⁶⁶ Forbes, p. 8.

⁶⁷ Forbes, p. 16.

⁶⁸ In mentioning the overtures which the French had made for peace,

different interests of their two countries made a united negotiation scarcely practicable. The first efforts were therefore rather exploratory of each other's final purpose, than directed to any real arrangement; but as the new year revolved, an effective accommodation was more earnestly pursued. The English ambassadors were directed not to break it off, in case the French would not yield Calais, but to prolong the discussion, by waiting for the answer of their court.⁶⁹ In February, France and Spain had agreed on terms as to their own concerns, but deferred the conclusion till England could be satisfied.⁷⁰ Calais continued to be the obstacle, as France would not relinquish it;⁷¹ nor were her modifying propositions sufficiently inviting.⁷² Yet as a war presented such little probability of wresting this fortress by a formal siege, against the skill and vigor of a national defence,⁷³ and as Elizabeth perceived so clearly that a peace without this frontier gate into France would be more valuable

she desired her commissioners so to act, as 'not so to like it or to follow it, as to have jealousy arise in the king of Spain, but to preserve his amity, and yet not to refuse those offers.' *ib.* p. 4.

⁶⁹ Forbes, 40.

⁷⁰ Lord Howard's dispatch of 14th Feb. 1559. Forbes, 41.

⁷¹ *Ib.* 44.

⁷² One was, to make a truce for three or four years, and during that period to discuss the subject. p. 48. Another was, that Elizabeth's eldest son should marry the eldest daughter of the queen of Scots by the dauphin, and have Calais with her. p. 54.

⁷³ On this, lord Howard remarked to the queen, 'Spain had on foot in the preceding year the greatest army which the duke of Alva ever saw, and we a great navy: and yet how little did this great army and navy annoy the enemy. We could not do more now. By a war of six or seven years, there was no doubt that the enemy would be brought so low that he must needs yield to reason; but it is to be considered whether it be meet for you, at first coming to the crown, to continue the war.' *Forb.* 56, 7.

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to England, in the critical state of its interior circumstances and of her meditated improvements—than a long warfare to compel its surrender—she empowered her commissioners, if her other suggestions were refused, and if the Spaniards were not zealous to support them,⁷⁴ to conclude a treaty without insisting on its cession.⁷⁵ The Spaniards were not inclined to risk any thing to ensure Calais to England, tho vexed that France had repossessed it; and six weeks afterwards the treaty of peace was signed at Chateau Cambresis, leaving the disputed town for eight years in the hands of France.⁷⁶ In the same month the ratifications were completed.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ The queen's long letter of instructions, 19th February, to her ambassadors, intimated, that she would adventure one, two, or more wars for Calais, if she might see the way to recover it. 'By this means, they would perceive the real disposition of the duke of Alva. If he was not ready to animate them, they were to suggest, that France having Calais, would bring discommodities to Flanders. If nothing should be invented by the Spaniards, a suggestion was to be made for England to have Calais, and they Guynes. If this could not take place, then they might permit Calais to remain with the French for six, seven, or eight years, to be restored on such recompenses as Spanish arbiters should appoint.' Forbes, p. 59-61.

⁷⁵ Ib. 63.

⁷⁶ On 2d April 1559. The chief terms were, that France should keep Calais and Guynes for eight years; but the king promised for himself and the dauphin, and their successors, that at the expiration of this period they should restore this place to Elizabeth and her successors. Art. 7. And for securing the fulfilment of this restitution, the French king was to give as soon as possible the security of seven or eight foreign merchants, who were to bind themselves to pay 500,000 gold crowns of the sun, in case the French king should refuse to restore it: but whether this penalty was paid, or not, he was still to remain bound to make the restitution. Art. 9. This was repeated in Article 14, p. 74. Forbes, 71-73. So that the money was not a commutation for the fortress, but an additional forfeiture. The restitution was positively promised and sworn to. The terms as to Scotland were, that neither country should receive rebels; that the fortifications of Aymouth should be rased; and that all other rights of the parties should remain as they were. p. 75. The treaty is also in Rymer, v. 15, p. 513.

⁷⁷ Henry's ratification omits the day. Forbes, 82. That of Francis

It was a peace of temporizing policy, and not of cordial confidence. Three months before its conclusion, Dr. Wotton, the minister at Brussels, had explained to Cecil his opinion, that they could not have a true peace with France;⁷⁸ and the efforts of this nation, to make a separate peace with Spain, that would leave it free to enforce Mary's competition against Elizabeth, were so well known to the English cabinet as to give it the same conviction.⁷⁹ But the pacification was equally important at that juncture to the queen of England and to the French king, and from an analogous necessity. She had to preserve her throne from the hostility of the papal portion of her people, if they should be turbulent; and Henry was alarmed by the increase and combination of the reformed party in his dominions.⁸⁰

inserts it, 18 April. p. 83. On 21st April, Francis and Marie of Scotland wrote a French letter of civility to Elizabeth. p. 84.

⁷⁸ Lett. 9th January. His reasons were, 'Their antient immortal hatred; their spite at our great victories; their insatiable ambition; their great desire of revenge for our so often hindering their enterprises; the pretence they now make by the Scottish queen's feigned title to the crown of England; their commodity to invade us by land on the side of Scotland; their great helps to this from the Scotch and some other nations; the most dangerous divisions in religion among ourselves; the crown of England in a poor state for lack of money, which they understand too well; our lack of good soldiers and captains, and of all kinds of munitions; the nakedness of all our country, having no place so fortified as to sustain a siege; their great commodity thereby to subdue England, and, bringing this once to pass, they would shortly after be monarchs of all Europe. These things make me fear that they can mean no true peace to us.' *ib.* Forbes, p. 19.

⁷⁹ Sir W. Cecil thus mentions them in August 1559: 'It was manifest how they laboured to have had the Burgundians conclude a peace without England. Their insolent reasons shewed what ground they meant to work. They could most falsely say at that time, that they knew not how to conclude a peace with the queen [Elizabeth,] nor to whom they should deliver Calais, except to the dolphin's wife, whom they took for queen of England.' 1 Sadler's State Pap. 379.

⁸⁰ On 15th May, the new envoy, sir N. Throckmorton, wrote to Cecil, 'that there had been a tumult at Poitiers; that the Gospel was

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This division of his subjects he became as determined to suppress,⁸¹ as Elizabeth was desirous of emancipating her crown and country from their new thralldom to the Vatican. Each sovereign was afraid of the disaffected or resisting in their nations being actively supported by the other, if war should continue; and therefore, when the English ambassador, who was sent to confirm the new treaty, accompanied those who had negotiated it, to Paris,⁸² the French king treated them with every personal and stately civility.⁸³ His son, Francis, was lavish of his friendly assurances, in which the queen of Scots joined.⁸⁴ Henry repeated his public attentions to

publicly preached there, and at Caen in Normandy. Forbes, p. 90. 'That 50,000 persons in Gascony, Guienne, Anjou, Poitiers, Normandy and Maine, had subscribed to a Confession like that of Geneva, which they meant to exhibit to the king; and that the spirituality of France, intending to urge him to the utter subversion of them, was glad of the peace.' Forbes, p. 92.

⁸¹ On 24th May, the communication from Throckmorton was, 'This king mindeth himself to make a journey to the country of Poitou, Gascony, Guienne, and other places, for the repressing of religion, and to use the extremest persecution he may against the Protestants in those countries, and the like in Scotland, and that with celerity, immediately after the finishing of the ceremonies' on the marriages he was contemplating. Forbes, p. 101.

⁸² They described to the queen their journey. At Amiens the mayor made them 'a great present of fish; a marvellous great salmon, great carps, great pikes, great breams, and great perches; with thirty great pots of wine, whereof six were of Ypocras. At Lusarches they had a good supper; but my lord chamberlain being pained with the tooth-ach, could not be at it.' Forbes, 103.

⁸³ 'We went booted and spurred, and well washed with the rain, straight to the king's presence, and to the king dolphin, where the king, with words and countenance as gentle and loving as could be devised, received us.' ib. 104. 'We were then brought to the French queen; and having talked awhile with her, we did reverence to her three daughters, the queen of Scots being not there, for that she is sickly. Finally, we cannot see how more honor nor gentle entertainment could have been shewed us than hitherto hath been. The king sent us word to have audience at two, but afterwards intending that afternoon to play at tennis, we are therefore to be with him about eleven, which is the time that he riseth from dinner.' ib. 105.

⁸⁴ 'Albeit the queen of Scots was sickly, we were brought to the

them, and took his public oath to the official pacification.⁸⁵ His presents were munificent;⁸⁶ and in the meantime he strengthened his alliance with Spain, by contracting marriages of his daughter with Philip, and of his sister with the duke of Savoy.⁸⁷

But the two religious systems which each was patronising, were too angrily and too irreconcilably opposed at that moment to each other; and the consequences of either sovereign succeeding in repressing what they discountenanced, were too full of danger to the other, for any confiding amity to exist between Henry and Elizabeth. The Romanists were the minority in England, as the Protestants were in France; and each looked to the prince who sym-

king dolphin and her. He said he was very glad to see the king his father and your highness in such amity, and that he would not fail to do all that he could for the conservation of it. The queen of Scots said, that her husband and she were so well contented with the peace, that they would omit nothing that might tend to its conservation.' p. 106. 'And for because the constable, considering the queen's weakness, seemed to be loth we should trouble her with long communication, we took our leave of them for this time.' p. 107.

⁸⁵ On 28th May they accompanied the king to the cathedral of Notre Dame, where he took his oath to the treaty. 'In his way to and from the church, he used me the lord chamberlain thus honorably: Whereas all the other ambassadors rode before him thro the streets, he caused me to ride by his side, talking with me; and further, when we were to depart from the church, and the pope's ambassador pressed to go before me, the king put him back, and took me by the hand, and bade me go by him, and willed the pope's ambassador to come at his ease.' Forbes, p. 112. In a chapel near the court, at even song, Francis and the queen of Scots gave their oaths to the treaty; when Mary, 'who took upon her to speak more than her husband, answered me, that because your majesty was her cousin and good sister, they were glad of the peace, and on their parts would endeavour themselves to see it maintained.' ib. 113. Elizabeth, on 26th May, signified that she had sworn to the treaty. ib. 108.

⁸⁶ These were, 4,140 ounces of plate, of the value of 2,066*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the lord chamberlain; 1,500 ounces of gilt plate, worth 2,000 crowns of the sun, to Dr. Wotton. But, adds Throckmorton, the ambassador last sent to ratify, 'I, none.' Forbes, p. 117. ⁸⁷ Ib. p. 100.

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thised with their tenets for private or public succor; because, if Henry could destroy the reformers he was about to persecute, Elizabeth would be unsafe in her secession from the papacy; and if she could restore and complete the Reformation in England, the Huguenots would multiply in France, with a certainty of having both friendship and assistance from the English people, and favor and sympathy from the government, whom their successes would secure and consolidate, as far as would be compatible with the relations of public peace. From the moment that the Austrian, French, and Spanish cabinets decided to unite with the papal power, to extinguish the Reformation, and to make the sword their instrument, the cause of every Protestant party, in every country of Europe, became a common cause, tho local or temporary circumstances and policy prevented any formal or banded confederation between them. Hence, the population of Europe soon separated into two grand antagonist distinctions of mind and belief; and became, from them, as really arrayed against each other, as if they had been two mighty armies taking the public field to contest for the sovereignty of the moral world. If the popedom had left every nation to itself, to act and think as it preferred, the good sense and real welfare of each would have soon produced, if not a similarity of system, at least a fraternity of good will, and of mutual toleration; but the papacy being determined to forego none of the worldly advantages of its spiritual sovereignty, it stimulated the Catholic kings and people into an active contrariety and animosity

against the Reformation. The cause was taken out of the hands of reason, piety, and virtue, and placed wholly on the arm of vindictive power.

The mental conflict which had now begun in Scotland on this spirit-stirring theme, brought the French and English cabinets into the most mistrusting and watching jealousy. Some of the Scotch nobility and people desired a Reformation; and Knox, who had returned to it from Geneva, became its popular leader.⁸⁸ But the government was Catholic, under the regency of the queen dowager who conducted the administration on behalf of Mary, its reigning queen, who was then in France with her husband, the dauphin. As the reforming party increased, it became obvious that military violence only could suppress it, and this system required French forces for its effectual execution. But it was impossible for France to land troops in Scotland, without endangering the tranquillity and safety of England, if their efforts became successful. England, therefore, could not allow what the French court determined to attempt. This position occasioned the latter to defer its plan of attacking the Scotch reformers, till they had extinguished their own;⁸⁹ to prepare gradually for an expedition to Edinburgh,⁹⁰ but to avoid all immediate explosion

⁸⁸ On 7th June 1559, the dispatch from France stated, 'Great consultations on Scotland, greatly perplexed with the news from it, and who to send thither.' Forbes, p. 118. 'Knox is now in as great credit in Scotland as ever man was there.' *ib.* 119. On 13th June his wife was at Paris, with her mother, about to go to England. *ib.* 139.

⁸⁹ 'A courier is sent hence with letters, with advice to the queen dowager to tolerate for a time, till they here may overcome these great matters here, and so take order accordingly.' Forbes, p. 139.

⁹⁰ 'It is thought that the marquis De Beuf shall ere long be sent into Scotland, with great furniture of war, and shall be dispatched

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with the English government,⁹¹ about whose operations it became inquisitive and uneasy.⁹² It was indeed a crisis in which the future was too doubtful in its aspect, for the consequences to be foreseen. Some members in the French parliament inculpated their hierarchy, when that urged cruelties on the Protestants.⁹³ They were threatened, but not intimidated; and some were arrested;⁹⁴ but too many persons of consideration concurred in their sentiments, to make severer measures adviseable;⁹⁵ while

before the queen dowager comes thence. They will begin to set up 500 men at arms in that country, which he will take with him.' *ib.* 118.

⁹¹ The English envoy expressed his conclusions to be, 'I cannot conceive that they here mind to break with us, at least these twelve months. The constable by no means mindeth to give advice to war, but will do what he can for the entertainment of peace, as long as he may. All that is like to be done for breaking with us is judged to begin towards Scotland, and therefore thought to be grounded on the king dolphin, who is counted to be head of all these doings in Scotland.' *ib.* 118.

⁹² 'The cardinal Lorraine is busy in inquiring of Elizabeth's ships, and if new great ones be made.' *ib.* 119. And Throckmorton hinted to Cecil to consider 'to nourish the garboil in Scotland as much as may be.' *ib.*

⁹³ On 13th June, Throckmorton reported to the queen, that the French king had opened his parliament. The cardinal Lorraine, earnestly inveighing against the Protestants, requested execution to be made of them, and confiscation of their goods. Six of the counsellors of the court opposed it. One declared that the cardinals of France were endowed with such great revenue, and therewithal so negligent of their charge, that those whom they appointed to serve under them, were insufficient to instruct the flocks committed to their cures. With this the cardinal was so dashed, that he stood still, and replied not.' Forbes, 126.

⁹⁴ 'The constable said, Vous faites la bravade, and asked how they durst say so to the king. They answered, that they did it because the king was present. 'If you desire to reform, ye must not begin with the common sort, but with the greatest.' The king was offended, and a guard appointed to arrest two, and afterwards four; of whom five were committed to the Bastile.' *ib.* p. 126.

⁹⁵ The ambassador collected the Parisian feelings on these events. 'Some say it is done to please Philip and the duke of Savoy, who are taken to be bent against the Protestants; but others, that the cardinals wished to give the greater terrors to others, who be in divers corners a great multitude, and *many great personages*. Some, that the king was minding to have a reformation, but, wanting money, wished to erect a new court of confiscations to repress them, and to levy great

the great cause in Scotland commenced its first public operations in Dumfries, under the countenance of the chief nobility, and with the immediate effect of referring the religious discussion to the consideration of the Scottish parliament.⁹⁶

But the most disturbing point of the English cabinet at that juncture, when the papal party in England, having lost its sovereignty by the death of Mary, was eagerly looking out for another supporting chief of regal pretensions, was the fact, that the dauphin of France, and his young Scottish wife, were assuming in France the title of king and queen of England, and were quartering its arms with those of Scotland, in their escutcheons and state parade.⁹⁷ As the dauphiness was actual queen of Scotland, and the heiress to the English throne if Elizabeth should die without issue, her assumption of the right and title to be so while the maiden queen was reigning, was an usurpation on her reign, a denial of her succession, and a perpetual incentive to her people to rebel and depose her. It became more disquieting to Elizabeth, because the pretensions appeared to

sums. One of the presidents, Siguier, a true man, on whom the constable much stays, is a Protestant, and one of the chiefest setters forward of the rest against the cardinal.' 'Of 120, president and counsellors, only fifteen were for the king and cardinals; the others are against the cardinals.' Forbes, p. 127.

⁹⁶ Cecil apprised Throckmorton, that 'the first beginning of innovation in Scotland was at Dumfries, where Knox and others began to preach. Only the duke and earl Huntley were with the queen dowager. The other part had Argyle, Marshall, Glencairne, Errol, Ruthven, Dunn. It is now accorded that every man shall be free for any thing done, and the cause of religion be ended by parliament.' Lett. 13th June 1559. Forb. 131.

⁹⁷ An escutcheon, with the arms thus quartered, was conveyed to sir William Cecil, who immediately apprised the ambassador that it was 'not to be passed over in silence,' and desired him to confer with the constable upon it. Forb. p. 131, 2.

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be privately countenanced by the French government, notwithstanding the late treaty,⁹⁸ and were talked of with a publicity and in a manner⁹⁹ that, without actually compromising the cabinet of France, could not but have an exciting and disturbing effect in England, on the minds of all whose passions or interests led them to desire in Mary another Catholic sovereign.¹⁰⁰ The combined heraldry was openly exhibited on a day of stately festivity, in the royal and noble tilting on Savoy's nuptials.¹⁰¹ The king of France, who had recently fixed his determination on a severe prosecution of those who desired a reformation in his dominions, unfortunately took his share of this martial amusement with his court, on the third day of the joyous emulation. The English ambassador was the only diplomatist admitted to be present.¹⁰² He saw Henry run many courses very well and fair; but on the next encounter, with the captain of the Scottish guard, the king was twice struck by the same course of his opponent's lance in the face;

⁹⁸ On 21st June, Throckmorton communicated to the minister, that an overture had been made to him, for a marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Nemours; but that on the duke mentioning it to the constable, this prime minister had discouraged it, saying 'it was not meet for him. What! do you not know that the queen-dolphin hath right and title to England?' The ambassador was confidentially informed 'by personages of good haveor and reputation' that they 'have looked but for occasion; and when they see time, have at you.' *ib.* 136.

⁹⁹ See dispatch in Forbes, 146.

¹⁰⁰ On the affiancing of the duke of Savoy's marriage with the French princess, on 28th June, 'the king-dolphin's band began the justs. Two heralds which came before it were Scots, fair set out with the king and queen's arms, with a scutcheon of England set forth to the show, as all the world might easily perceive, being embroidered upon purple velvet, and set out with armory on the breasts, backs, and sleeves.' Lett. Throck. 1 July, p. 150.

¹⁰¹ See the cardinal's letter of 9 July, in Ribier, v. 2, p. 817.

¹⁰² On 30th June, 'the prince of Nevers came to the tilt with his band, where I was to see them run, and none ambassador else.' Forbes, p. 151.

the point first disarranging his vizor, and breaking ; and the fractured part immediately coming into contact with his disarmed eye-brow, and leaving a splinter in it.¹⁰³ He was carried off the field insensible, but with no certain appearance of danger.¹⁰⁴ More alarming symptoms soon succeeded ;¹⁰⁵ yet hopes of his safety were afterwards diffused.¹⁰⁶ Five thousand troops were dispatched to the sea-coast,¹⁰⁷ apparently for Scotland ; and violent counsels were suggested and resolved upon at Paris, to suppress the Reformation, and its adherents in that country.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ ' The blow first lighting upon the king's head, and taking away the pannage which was fastened to his headpiece with iron, broke the staff. The rest of the staff hitting the king upon the face, gave him such a counter buff, as to drive a splint right over his eye on the right side. The force of the stroke was so vehement, and the pain he had withal so great, that he was much astonished, and had great ado, with reeling to and fro, to keep himself on horseback ; and his horse in like manner did somewhat yield.' Lett. 1 July, p. 151.

¹⁰⁴ ' With all expedition he was unarmed on the field, even against the place where I stood ; and, as I could discern, the hurt seemed not to be great ; where I judge he is but in little danger. I saw a splint taken out, of a good bigness, and nothing else was done to him on the field ; but I noted him to be very weak, and to have the sense of all his limbs almost benumbed ; for, being carried away as he lay along, nothing covered but his face, he moved neither hand nor foot, but lay as one amazed.' Lett. Throck. ib. 151.

¹⁰⁵ ' Since the writing of this, the gates of the house, at the Turneyles, whither he was carried, are kept so straight and close, that no nobleman's servants are suffered for a great distance to come near ; whereupon I guess that after the hurt was searched and dressed, there appeared further matter than I was aware of before. The duke of Savoy, and of Alva, and the prince of Orange, were suffered to enter. This morning I understand that the duke of Savoy, the cardinal Lorraine, the connetable, and Mons. De Guise, watched all night with the king, who hath had very evil rest.' ib. 152.

¹⁰⁶ On 4th July, the dispatch was : ' The hurt was great and painful, but by the common opinion of all, the French king is in no danger of life. Nevertheless the likelihood was, that he would lose his eye. The same afternoon the constable sent to me one of his secretaries, to tell me that he was in no danger, and that there was good hope he should be well shortly, as all the surgeons had shortly declared.' ib. 154.

¹⁰⁷ Ib. 154.

¹⁰⁸ ' Upon their consultation here for matters of Scotland, the cardinal

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Henry became rapidly worse, and in a few days expired.¹⁰⁹ He had not long survived a league, which he had secretly made with Philip and the pope, to suppress the reformed religion, both in France and Europe;¹¹⁰ and but a month after his sanguinary edict, to put all who professed it to death.¹¹¹ In England, the supremacy of the pope

Lorraine, the duke of Guise, and others of that house, have persuaded as much as they could, that the way to amend the garboils there, is to cause the earl of Argyle, the prior of St. Andrews, [Murray] and the lord Dun, to be arrested; their goods confiscated, and to lose their lives; and the like to a number of other, inferiors—whereupon they have determined to use this extreme manner of reformation.' Throck. Lett. 4 July, p. 152.

¹⁰⁹ On 11 July, the connetable wrote from Paris: 'The king died yesterday, an hour after noon.' Lett. 2 Ribier, 809. Mr. de Lorges, the young lord of Montgomery, whose tilting skill and strength had been so fatal, was dismissed from his captainship of the guard, and banished the court. Forbes, p. 158. As it was one of the accidents of this dangerous sport, without the least appearance of malicious intention, no further measures were adopted against him. The queen, on 10 July, kindly commissioned a gentleman to express her concern, 'We have now sent Charles Howard in post, to visit our said good brother.' ib. 156.

¹¹⁰ It is from Kyllegrew's dispatch to the queen, of 6 Jan. 1560, that we learn this important fact. 'Upon the making of the late peace, there was an appointment made between the late pope, the French king, and the king of Spain, for the joining of their forces together for the suppression of religion. The end of this league was to constrain the rest of Christendom, being Protestants, to receive the pope's authority and religion.' Forbes' State Papers, p. 296. The following passage in Castelnau, who was also one of the diplomatists of this period, exhibits a sequel to the above: 'The interview of the queen of Spain, sister to the French king, at Bayonne, accompanied by the duke of Alva, and many great lords of Spain, (with Charles IX. and Catherine de Medicis,) and the affairs which were there treated of the next summer, put the Huguenots into a very great jealousy and mistrust, that the feast was making at their expense, from the opinion they had of an étroite ligue du princes Catholiques contre eux.' 1 Castel. Mem. p. 189.

¹¹¹ Castelnau mentions that in June 1559 the king made an edict at Escouan, compelling the judges to condemn all the Lutherans to death, and that this was registered in all the parliaments without any limitation, and the judges were forbidden to mitigate the punishment as they had done for some years before. vol. 1. p. 5. 'It was expected that this edict would occasion large confiscations, and enable the king to discharge the 42,000,000 of livres which he owed.' ib.

was again abolished, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was vested in the crown; and the statutes that revived the persecuting laws were repealed.¹¹² These were equitable enactments; but to force Catholics to attend their parish churches in a Protestant service, was an unjust imitation of their invasions of the sacred right of individual freedom of worship.¹¹³

¹¹² These were effected by the Stat. 1 El. c. 1. The book of Common Prayer, as it stood at Edward's death, was ordered to be used in all cathedrals and parish churches. By c. 2, all laws for other service were annulled. All ecclesiastical persons, judges, justices, mayors and temporal officers were to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance, *ib.*; and to compass to deprive the queen of her style or kingly name of the crown, or to destroy her, or to levy war against her, or to depose her, or to say that she ought not to be queen, or that any other person ought to be queen, were subjected to a forfeiture of property; and if done by writing or overt act, were made high treason. 1 El. c. 5. The first fruits were restored to the crown by c. 4.

¹¹³ This was ordered by the 1 El. c. 2, on pain of paying twelve-pence if absent. It is surprising that the queen, who had been compelled by Mary to attend her mass, did not feel, from her own recollections, how wrong and useless it was to force papists to be present at the reformed service.

C H A P. XVIII.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE REFORMERS IN FRANCE—MARY OF SCOTLAND'S CLAIM TO THE ENGLISH CROWN—ELIZABETH'S INTERCOURSE WITH THE FRENCH HUGUENOTS—DEATH OF FRANCIS II.

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THE reign of Elizabeth, for the first eleven years, a space of time equal to that of both her brother's and her sister's, was distinguished for its internal quietude, and for the prosperity and happiness of her people; affording in these respects a contrast so striking to the crimes, commotions, and miseries, which from the time of her mother's death to her own accession, had successively afflicted England, that we are led to ascribe the difference to the superior judgment, benignity, and rectitude of this intelligent queen. This period embraced the prime of her maturity, from the twenty-fifth to the six and thirtieth year of her life; and exhibited her, as it evolved, in general intellect, conduct and temper, a model which was interesting to the contemplation of her subjects, and was really worthy of their study and imitation. Every eye was upon her, and the hearts of most admired and applauded her. That nations tend to resemble the sovereigns whom they esteem, we perceive both from history and experience. The leading classes, who best know their prince, are the first who are affected by his example; but the assimilating propensity spreads gradually and imperceptibly from them to all the other connected orders of the social

community : and it was thus that the prevailing characters of Elizabeth's mind and actions became the standard and guides of her gratified people. A spirit vigorous, yet moderate ; firmness, without obstinacy ; prudence, without pusillanimity ; a calm vigilance and a consistent integrity ; foresight, without alarm ; activity in all the business and duties of her station, yet ever mingling its industry with a constant love of literature, and never superseding the proper intervals for intellectual cultivation : these mental qualities, tempered with habitual amenity, and animated by the sincere and grateful feelings of an intelligent piety, distinguished their queen in the perception and belief of her people. What they liked, they imitated ; till the general character of the nation was in harmony with her own ; while the resulting social comfort, content, and widely spreading individual prosperity, which were so visible all around, became the praise of England in the hearts and speech of her continental neighbours, and the foundation of a new strength and stability to its government. It was this public condition, which kept her throne safe and unshaken, amid the many future storms and secret dangers by which it was pertinaciously assailed, after the period which we have marked as the first æra and duration of its halcyon state.

Nor would the succeeding thirty-four years of her reign have been any limitation of its national serenity, if external agencies had not operated to produce the interruption. But we live in a world of moving circumstances, and of other beings as active or as restless as ourselves ; and we cannot avoid being frequently affected by the events and effects of

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co-existing things. Elizabeth soon felt this common condition of all humanity ; and found for some time the exterior perturbations to arise to her principally out of France, and from the crimes and agitations which the determined hostility of its government to the diffusing spirit of reformation was persistingly acting to occasion.

By the Spring of the year 1533, Francis I. had settled his mind into the dreadful purpose of extirpating the Lutheran opinions in France,¹ and not only so, but also of preventing them from flourishing in any other part of Europe ; a resolution which put the French government into the attitude of a latent mortal hostility against every other nation which chose to secede from the papal yoke and its connected tenets.² Two months after the declaration of this determination by Francis, the pope signed his

¹ In his edict of 18th May 1533, this applauded king declared, ' We have very much at heart, and we desire, that all heresies SHOULD BE EXTIRPATED from our kingdom, and the heretics ; and those who instruct them, *grievously punished*.' See it in Le Grand, v. 3, p. 626.

² That one of the most accomplished minds in Europe could debase itself deliberately to such brutal cruelty, we could hardly believe on less evidence than its own avowal. We have this in the letter of Francis I. to Clement VII. dated 23d June 1533. In this, after acknowledging the receipt of the pope's letter, and alluding to their intended meeting, he proceeds to say, ' Assuring your holiness anew, that the cause for which we have always desired and still desire the said interview is—to produce a good, universal peace—to arrange for defence and offence against the Turks—and equally to see what can be devised to be done TO EXTIRPATE AND ROOT OUT the iniquities and damnable sects and heresies of Luther and of others, so that they may not be able to spring up any more IN ANY PART OF CHRISTENDOM—per vedere que che si ricercherà de fare, *per estirpare e diradicare* le malvagic e dannate sette e heresie di Lutero e di altri ; accio che non possano piu pullulare in alcuna parte d'esse Christianita.' Lett. de Principi, v. 3, p. 23. The king also expresses his hope, that from their interview ' such good and laudable operations will issue to the glory and exaltation of your holiness and of the apostolic see, and, as a consequence, of all Christianity, that every one will have a just occasion to be contented with it.' *ib.*

exterminating bull, corresponding with the king's wishes and object;³ and in the November following, Francis and Clement, with congenial spirits on this melancholy subject, met at Marseilles. The king there completed the nuptials between his own son and the pontiff's niece,⁴ and made that secret compact with him, which, being pursued and adopted by other princes in his own country and elsewhere, and against other states and kingdoms which cherished the Protestant improvements, filled the most enlightened parts of Europe with terror, blood, flames, commotions and misery, for above a century, till all the reformers who could be subdued were extinguished; and until those, who proved too strong to be overwhelmed, had dearly purchased their safety by persevering exertion, by the greatest sacrifices, and amid continually renewing difficulties and ever impending danger.⁵ The pope, while with

³ The bull of Clement VII. is dated at Rome, Kal. September 1533. It is directed to all archbishops, bishops, and inquisitors of heretical pravity, in France. It recites, that the dire and execrable blasphemies of the impious Luther and others were spreading, and that 'this pestiferous poison would become more diffused, to the greatest detriment of the universal church, without our vigilance.' It then declares, that those who will not acquiesce in the sound doctrine, but persevere in their malice, *excommunicaverimus et anathematizaverimus*, and as putrid members, that the rest of the body be not affected *ABSCINDI DECREVERIMUS*.

It then recites that Lucius III. had ordained, that every clericus taken in heresy should be degraded, and left to be punished by the due animadversion of the secular power; and that every layman should be relinquished to receive the *debitam ultionem*, unless he abjured. That the licentiousness of error had since increased—and it orders that all clerks, friars, and laymen, of every class, who should teach the impious propositions of Luther, should be required to abjure; and if they would not, it calls upon them to exert themselves to enforce the due punishment, that they may defend the church against the heretics; 'For, lo! we hope at length to *EXTIRPATE* this heresy, if you make yourselves its *severiores ultores*.' Le Grand, *ib.* p. 606–614.

⁴ Hist. Hen. VIII. v. 2, p. 341–5.

⁵ That there was a treaty made between Clement and Francis at

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Francis at this meeting, issued his mandate to increase the facilities of the intended persecution.⁶ The prime minister of France soon depreciated himself by stimulating the parliament to assume a kindred degradation;⁷ and two days afterwards, Francis directed to this respected body of the most cultivated men in his kingdom that Neronian mandate,⁸ which was soon followed by a Neronian

this time, the king acknowledges in his instructions to Bellay. He states, that it concerned *not only* the matter of Henry, but also ‘generally, *all the things* which they had communicated to each other during their interviews.’ See these in Le Grand, v. 3, p. 571. What that part of their secret compact was as to reformers, we may infer from the preceding and next following notes.

⁶ This is dated at Marseilles, 4 Id. November 1533, addressed to Francis himself, reciting, ‘As you have lately explained to us that some priests, clerks, and others in sacred orders have not been ashamed to follow the condemned Lutheran heresy; and it sometimes happens that the presence of the bishops cannot be obtained, from the distance of places and the difficulties of roads, so that the due execution against such is delayed, and sometimes cannot be done,’ the pope therefore ordained that one bishop, with two or three abbots, might act. Le Grand, 615-7.

⁷ On 8 Dec. 1533, the constable Montmorency addressed his letter to the parliament, assuring them, ‘You could not do a better nor a more agreeable service to him [the king] than to execute vivement, and without favor to any one, what he has ordered you by his letter.’ *ib.* p. 605. So heartily did Francis I. enter into this humane project.

⁸ On 10 Dec. 1533, Francis issued this mandate from Lyons, stating, ‘We are greatly displeased that this cursed Lutheran heretic sect is springing up in Paris. We are resolved, with all our power and might, to suppress it, without sparing any body soever. We therefore will and mean, that so heavy a punishment be made of it, that it be correction to the cursed heretics, and example to all others. We expressly enjoin you, that, all other things set aside, you direct some among you to inquire curiously and diligently into all those who hold this Lutheran sect, and who are suspected of it, or under a vehement suspicion, and that you proceed against them, without excepting any one, by bodily arrest, wherever found, and by a seizure of the goods of those who may be fugitives, and go on to the punishment of the imprisoned, who shall be charged with blasphemy, as the case may require. We shall write to the bishop of Paris, or to his vicars, to direct two of our counsellors to enforce the process of these heretics. As this crime increases from the want of care to extirpate it at its beginning, it is necessary that this be promptly executed. We wish you to proceed to this by a strong and armed force, if that should be necessary. We send you the bulls which it

conduct, if burning fellow-creatures alive for their religious profession be as defaming a cruelty in the sixteenth century in France, as every human being has concurred in feeling it to have been, in the first age of the Christian æra in the Imperial capitol.⁹ The assimilating picture is not diminished by our recollection, that at this very juncture the two sisters of Francis, one his peculiar favorite, and some of the highest blood of his kingdom, and many of his most faithful friends, including several illustrious females, were known to have adopted the reformed opinions. This direction of the king's mind is the more extraordinary, because before this time he had talked of curtailing the papal power in his dominions,¹⁰ and even of receding from it,¹¹ and had for some time permitted his beloved sister and her religious friends to enjoy and diffuse their opinions.¹² But from the time in which his ambitious, alarmed, vindictive, or interested policy, decided to blend himself with the papacy, when Henry VIII. was abandoning it, his conduct evinced that lamentable change of mind and feeling, which made his country for several generations a region of mourning, battle,

has pleased our holy father the pope to grant to us to *extirpate* this Lutheran sect from our kingdom.' Le Grand has printed it in his History, v. 3, p. 600-5.

⁹ As Castelnau was one of what he calls, 'the party of the Catholic, Apostolical, and *Roman Church*,' I would rather insert his own words, altho they will perhaps shew that the second of these epithets has no business in such company: 'The Protestants were so odious, that those were put to death who continued obstinate and resolute in their opinions; and the tongues of some *were cut out*, for fear that in dying they should give the people an impression of their doctrines, and speak evil of the sacraments. This had continued from the year 1532, *when they began to burn the Lutherans*.' Castel. Mem. v. 1, p. 4.

¹⁰ Hist. Henry VIII. v. 2, p. 329, notes 77 and 73, p. 328.

¹¹ Ib. v. 2, p. 185, note 19.

¹² Ib. v. 2, p. 186-190.

and death. He listened to the false statements of the sedition and morals of the Protestants;¹³ he chose to believe or say that their doctrine would be the fountain of sedition and rebellion;¹⁴ and in 1540, he proved the complete depravation of his heart and reason, under the tuition of his new preceptors, in sanctioning and promoting the dreadful executions of Merindol and Cabrieres in the south of France, within three years of his own death.¹⁵

¹³ Calvin in his prefixed address to Francis I. dated 1st August 1536, mentions this: 'I know with what atrocious accusations they have filled your ears and mind, to make our cause most odious to you.' p. 1. What such calumnies were, we learn from Castelnau, extending even to abominable and promiscuous incest of parents and children, brothers and sisters. Castel. 1, p. 7.

¹⁴ See the king's opinion of their hostility to monarchy, quoted from Brantome in Hist. Henry VIII. v. 2, p. 190, note 35. Calvin complains to the king of this unjust charge: 'They invidiously describe to you what mobs, what tumults, what contentions, the preaching of our doctrine will bring with it. But, O Sovereign! let not these vain accusations move you, by which our adversaries seek to excite in you such a terror. They say that this new gospel seeks nothing else but occasions for seditions, and impunity for vice. They say we meditate only the overthrow of kingdoms, we, whose voice is never heard to be factious.' Pref. ib. But we learn from Brantome, that Francis believed the political calumny, for he mentions the king to have said, 'This and every new sect tends more to the destruction of kingdoms and governments, than to the salvation of souls.' p. 334. Henault notices that when Francis I. was one day threatening the pope's nuncio to imitate Henry VIII., the latter answered, 'Sir! you would be first to repent of it. The spreading of a new religion among the common people is soon attended with a revolution in government.' Ab. Chron. p. 373. An assertion proved to be untrue, in England, Scotland, Saxony, Hesse, Denmark and Sweden.

¹⁵ Beza, who wrote his Reveille Matin in 1573, thus speaks of them: 'The people of Merindol in Provence, who had been long imbued with the evangelical doctrine from their ancestors, were, by an arret of the parliament of Provence in 1540, condemned to be burnt as Lutherans; and because this town was said to be the retreat and den of the followers of condemned sects, the same decree ordered the houses to be demolished and rased, and the place made uninhabitable. Four or five years after this event to Merindol, [1545] those of Cabrieres and the people of twenty-two villages around were for the same doctrine pursued with fire and sword by the seigneur D'Oppeda, the chief president and *lieutenant of the king* in Provence, assisted by captain Poulain, called baron of the guard, and other captains and soldiers, who killed

Their reformed opinions, the inheritance of their Vaudois ancestors, were the acknowledged causes of the horrors there perpetrated, altho later apologists wish to impute them to seditious machinations. But the military executions are as indisputable as the participation of this extolled sovereign. The Jesuit Maimbourg admits that three thousand persons were killed, and six hundred condemned to the galleys, while twenty-four villages and nine hundred houses were sacked and burnt by the soldiery employed on the occasion.¹⁶ Francis enjoys the dismal distinction

about 800 men, women, and children in Cabrieres, in violation of the compact which Oppeda had made and sworn to them. Many other great murders and pillages were perpetrated on these worthy people.' Rev. Mat. p. 6. De Thou mentions these persecuted persons as the descendants of the more antient Vaudois. He details the shocking affair. In November 1540, the chefs de famille were condemned to be burnt, their property confiscated, and the town destroyed. An appeal was made to Francis himself. In February 1541, he granted a pardon for the past, but ordered them to abjure within three months. They adhered to their opinions. Oppeda then charged them with intending to seize Marseilles. The king, irritated by the report, and urged by cardinal de Tournon, 'ennemi furieux de toute espece de sectaires,' in January 1545 ordered the sentence to be executed. In vain the states of the empire and the Protestant Swiss cantons interceded for them; the king refused any relaxation, with this stern answer: 'As he did not meddle with their affairs, they ought not to interfere in his, nor to trouble themselves about the manner in which il chatioit les coupables.' Troops were then raised, and never was any massacre more deliberately and atrociously executed. De Thou mentions, that one monk, an inquisitor, who assisted in the execution, invented a new kind of torment on the occasion: 'He put some of them into boots full of boiling fat, and amused himself with mocking them in their agonies.' De Thou Hist. vol. 1, p. 409-423.

¹⁶ Maimbourg states their offence to have been that 'ces malheureux refuseroient de se convertir; that they had recourse to arms, faisant mille insolences, renversant les autels, brisant les images, et brulant les crucifix, and assembling to the amount of 16,000 men to surprise Marseilles.' Bayle Critiq. Generale de Maimb. 1. p. 201. Bayle denies the treason, and remarks, that the Jesuit admits that Francis became so uneasy before his death about these massacres, that he recommended his son to have justice done on their perpetrators; and that if they had been only the punishment of rebels, the king would not have felt 'ces fantomes injurieux qui troubloient son repos.' p. 205. Bayle says truly, 'les rebellions et ces ravages sont de purs artifices des Provenceaux.' p. 206.

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of being the first sovereign who committed Protestants to the flames.¹⁷ He has been vindicated, by the adduction of these atrocities, from the supposition or doubt that he had at first favored the opinions of Calvin;¹⁸ and it is a memorable instance of the profligacy of mind on this awful theme, both of him and of his son Henry, that while they burnt reformers in France, they supported them in Switzerland¹⁹ and in Germany;²⁰ evincing by this incongruity, that their persecuting barbarities had no connexion with that honest bigotry which sometimes lessens the criminality of the heart by the imbecility of the understanding.

¹⁷ It is Brantome who gives him this elevation. After mentioning that he made 'de grands feux' of the Lutherans, and 'spared few of those that came to his knowlege,' he remarks, 'and they say que ç'a ete le premier qui a montré le chemin a ces brulemens.' Vie Franc. I. vol. 1, p. 231. It is striking to read, not how coolly, but with what evident gratification Mezerai mentions these doings: 'The errors spreading, the king fit rallumer les feux pour en purger la France. Sixty were taken at Meaux, and brought to Paris; of whom 14 were burnt, some hung, and the others whipped and banished.' Hist. Fr. vol. 2, p. 1038.

¹⁸ It was on Davila's doubt whether Francis at first had permitted or despised the creed of Calvin, that Mezerai indignantly exclaims, 'What! to make six or seven rigorous edicts to stifle it! to convoke many times the clergy against it! to assemble a provincial council! *bruler les heretiques par douzaines! les envoyer aux galeres par centaines! et les bannir par milliers! est ce la permettre?*' Hist. Fr. ib. Certainly these cruelties were nothing like permission at the time of their perpetration; but they do not in the least disprove the anterior connivance.

¹⁹ Brantome justly makes this charge: 'Yet this *grand roi*, notwithstanding ces feux et brulemens, made himself the protector of GENEVA when the duke of Savoy meant to besiege it, and would have taken it.' Vie Franc. p. 231. On which Bayle truly remarks, 'He saved Geneva, the metropolis of the reformed; their mother church, which sent out her apostles and her books into France, and her counsels to every part for the maintenance of her cause. This step of Francis aggrandized the canton of Berne, the beneficial effects of which the reformation is still feeling.' Dict. v. 2, p. 1283.

²⁰ 'He rendered good services *directly* to the Protestant league of Smalcald; and indirectly caused Charles V. to humor the Protestants an hundred times, in order to detach them from the French interests.' Bayle, ib.

Francis was in too much dread of the sword of Henry VIII. and had too great an affection for his person, to enter ostensibly or actively into Pole's conspiracies for the reduction of England into subjection to the popedom.²¹ His tender mercies to Protestantism were therefore confined to his own subjects; and even among these they experienced an unwelcome limitation in the superior ranks, for his third son, the duke of Orleans, became a friend of the Reformation, and avowed to the Protestant princes of Germany, his desire to see it disseminated in France.²²

The son and successor of Francis adopted for his rule of government the same extinguishing system; Lutherans and their books were therefore burnt under Henry II., and their property confiscated and given to their enemies;²³ a truly satanic temp-

²¹ See Hist. Henry VIII. v. 2, p. 467. Notes 12-14.

²² On 8 Sept. 1543, this French prince, on sending his secretary to meet the duke of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, at Frankfort, wrote to him: 'Declare to them the great desire we have que le Saint Evangile soit preché par tout le royaume de France; la ou nous voudrions bien voir déjà quelque commencement; and because the reverence we have to the king our father, and the dauphin our elder brother, keep us from having it preached freely in our duchy of Orleans; especially as the pope, emperor, and other princes nous pourroient etre a ce contraires: We have resolved, and promise them expressly, et sans aucun respect, to have it preached in the duchy of Luxemburg, which we hope the king our father will leave us to enjoy, with the other lands which belong to us by the right of war. We wish the Protestant lords to receive us into alliance and confederation with them, offensively and defensively.' La Vasseur's Vargas, p. 24. ed. 1700. Bayle ascribes this to Henry II. but the date shews that it was written by his brother, who died in 1545.

²³ Beza, Reveille, p. 6. We have the speech of his ambassador to the pope in 1551, in Le Plat. The orator assured Julius III. that his king was 'using all his diligence for the *extirpation des heresies*, and has sent letters to all his prelates, exhorting them to visit all their dioceses, and to apply themselves chiefly a l'*extirpation des heresies*.' Mem. Trid. v. 4, p. 228.

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tation to others, to denounce and to destroy. At first, all the clergy of France, the largest portion of the nobility, and the common people adhered to the Romish church;²⁴ but the Reformation rapidly spread among the princes of the blood, the great lords, the parliamentary counsellors, and the most enlightened men,²⁵ and from them descended to the inferior classes.

But England and Germany had shewn that if the Reformation proceeded, a large portion of the church property would be taken from it.²⁶ At that time the ecclesiastical body was the richest part of the French population;²⁷ and to keep their wealth undiminished, it was necessary to stop the progress of the Reformation.²⁸ Hence they decided to do so, but could only effect it by causing the crown to adopt the same resolution, that they might have the aid of its military power. For this reason they induced it to identify reformation with rebellion; and under these impressions, Henry II. concurred in the measures

²⁴ Castelnau, p. 4.

²⁵ Castelnau particularises among this number, the king of Navarre and his queen—the prince of Conde and his princess, both of the blood royal—the prince of Poitiers—the admiral Coligny and his two brothers—D'Andelo, colonel of the French infantry—and the cardinal Chatillon. Some other lords and gentlemen began to adhere to it. p. 12, 13.

²⁶ This was so universally true, that Henault remarks it to have occurred in Sweden; when, after praising Gustavus Vasa for the achievements of a hero at this period, he adds as a reproach, this self-contradicting exclamation: 'Happy! if he had not changed the religion of Sweden, in order to humble the pride of the clergy; *who indeed were worthy of the severest chastisements.*' Ab. Ch. p. 378.

²⁷ So Castelnau states, who lived at that time. 'Le clergé de France, le premier et *plus riche* des trois états.' p. 2.

²⁸ Beza remarks that the cardinal Lorraine and his brothers had in benefices 300,000 crowns of yearly revenue, which they must have relinquished if the Reformation had gained the ascendancy. Rev. p. 14.

‘ to cut off heresies, because they always bring changes.’²⁹ On this plan, and in this spirit, he reigned and acted, with the condemnatory inconsistency of supporting the German Protestants, that he might defeat and mortify Charles V. and enlarge his own dominions.³⁰ On this political system he labored to introduce the Inquisition into France, and published that sanguinary edict, in the month before his unexpected catastrophe, to which we have already alluded;³¹ and also went to his parliament on purpose to arrest five of its members, who had liberated a reformer that had been denounced for his opinions.³² It was these evil principles of the French government, thus originating from Francis I. and thus adopted and enforced by his son Henry II. that determined the latter, after Mary’s death, to begin his plans for dispossessing Elizabeth, and for suppressing the English Reformation.

That he watched the conduct of Elizabeth on this subject with a vindictive jealousy, we perceive by his hasty application to the pope, to excommunicate her as soon as he inferred that she meant to befriend the Reformation.³³ Aware that she was threatened with dangerous attacks from him and Spain, and from the Roman pontiff, on this subject, she had proceeded with a caution that for a while prevented the surmises of the inimical from growing beyond

²⁹ So says Castelnau, with the addition, ‘ and therefore he yielded himself to those que estoient d’avis *de faire bruler les heretiques* SANS REMISSION.’ Mem. p. 6.

³⁰ See before, Chapter X. p. 310.

³¹ See before, p. 474, and p. 525 ; and Castel. p. 5.

³² On 10 June 1559. Castel. p. 5.

³³ See before, p. 480, note 53.

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a mistrusting suspicion;³⁴ and waited for her parliament to be the beginning innovators, that the meliorating changes might be the national act, and, as such, experience a national support. When the great council of the land had assembled, and began the discussion, she did not complete the deciding step of divesting the pope of the supremacy, by giving the royal assent to the dispossessing statute, until the month of May, when the treaties of peace with France had been both signed and fully ratified.³⁵

One of the first acts of the French sovereign, after he had secured a pacification which released him from the dread and danger of the combined hostilities of England and Spain against them, and in which he had obtained better terms than he had expected,³⁶ was to begin those measures for the destruction of the Reformation, and of its adherents in other countries, on which Francis I. had resolved. Hence the very person appointed to swear to the peace for the king of France in Scotland, was instructed to urge its regent queen to coincide with the French court in its nefarious exertions for this

³⁴ Hence, 'The affairs of the church continued for a while in the same condition they were in, abating persecution for religion. Mass was celebrated in the churches; the ejected clergy were not restored; the popish priests kept possession, and such as innovated any thing in public worship were punished.' Strype, 1. p. 74.

³⁵ It was introduced from the commons to the lords, on 27 Feb. but not finally passed till 29 April. D'Ewes Journal, p. 21-28. The other Acts, for annexing the abbey lands to the crown, for the introduction and uniformity of the Common Prayer, and for empowering the queen to appoint bishops—to restore the deprived clergy, and to displace others, were also passed; and on 8 May 1559, after the queen had given the royal consent to these important bills, and the chancellor had cautioned the public against religious factions and seditions, she dissolved the parliament. D'Ewes, 32-6.

³⁶ So Henry stated in a letter to one of his ambassadors.

purpose, tho such purposes would be a wilful and direct violation of the oath at the very time of taking it.³⁷ The cardinal of Lorraine had been active in making this confederation against heretics a secret article of this treaty of apparent peace.³⁸

In pursuance of these projects, Henry II. determined to put forward and to support the title of his son's wife, Mary, the queen of Scotland, to be the queen of England, instead of the heretical Elizabeth, assuming that her competition against Elizabeth would be supported by the Catholics in the island, and by the papal hierarchy of Europe. With these views, he caused Mary and his son to use the arms

³⁷ The clearest and most indisputable evidence on this point is given by sir James Melville, then at Paris, and in the confidence of the French prime minister, Montmorency: 'To swear the peace in Scotland, the constable would have had the king to send me; but the cardinal of Lorraine alleged M. de Buttoncourt, because the instructions tended to declare unto the queen regent that the first and principal article of the peace was, that the pope, the emperor, and the kings of Spain and France *should band together*, to reduce again *the most part of Europe* to the Roman Catholic religion; and to pursue and punish with fire and sword *all heretics* that would not willingly condescend to the same. Willing the queen regent to do the like in Scotland; *and to begin in time*, before the heresies should spread any further—praying her diligently to put order thereto, without any fear or respect of persons; seeing that *no country alone* was able to withstand *the whole forces of so many* confederate great Catholic princes.' Melv. Mem. p. 76, 7. ed. 1827. So far was the Reformation from injuring monarchical government, that Melville adds, 'Whereat the queen regent appeared to be sorry because *they were her best friends* for the time that were noted to be professors of the reformed religion.' ib. 77. Thus, wherever the eye turns on contemporary documents, it finds concurring evidences of the horrible determination of *extirpating* the reformers who would not abandon their Reformation, altho by this time they must have amounted altogether in Europe to many millions.

³⁸ Melville ascribes this to him: 'This advantage the said cardinal took at that time to cause the first article of the peace to be, that all Catholic princes ought to leave their partialities, and join together to suppress the great multitude of heretics, that were so increased thro their division, that it would be hard enough for the pope, the emperor, the kings of Spain and France, together with the queen of Scotland, to reduce them again to the Catholic faith.' Mem. 75.

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and title of the English crown.³⁹ As his death raised Mary and her husband to be the actual king and queen of both France and Scotland, this union of these two crowns, for the first time in human history, added to the facility of invading England from the French coasts while the Scotch advanced from the north, suddenly placed Elizabeth in a situation of great peril. The alliance between France and Spain daily becoming more confidential, from their contracted marriages,⁴⁰ the cordial concurrence of Philip's bigotry would expose the eastern English counties to be assailed also by a Spanish and German army from Flanders. The passions and politics of the house of Guise—one brother an ambitious statesman and an interested cardinal, and the four others, military nobles—their relationship to Mary; the family aggrandizement which would ensue, if they could procure for her the English crown; and their possession and direction of the cabinet administration of France,⁴¹ occasioned great danger to Elizabeth in the

³⁹ Melville notices the same cardinal to have been busy on this subject, 'to cause proclaim the queen of Scotland his sister's daughter, righteous queen of England, and to allege this queen Elizabeth to be but a bastard.' *ib.* 75.

⁴⁰ The ambassador's separate dispatch to Cecil on 4th July was, 'By all that I can understand by any means, we have great cause to suspect the French meaning to us, and the suspicion thereof on this side doth daily rather increase than decrease.' Forbes, p. 152. 'To the council he expressed, 'It is judged by all that there is a great league and friendship between the French king and the king of Spain, which is like to continue.' *ib.* 154.

⁴¹ Three days after Henry's death, Throckmorton stated to the queen: 'At this present the house of Guise ruleth, and doth all about the French king. What will succeed further is unknown, till the king of Navarre's coming.' Lett. 13th July, p. 157. 'The connetable is retired to his house. The garde des sceaux, the secretary, the almoner, are displaced.' *ib.* 158. Francis II. was only in his sixteenth year at his accession. Castelnau says, 'The clergy, the richest of the three estates, depended almost on the cardinal, and the

first years of her reign, and furnished an assurance to all expectant enmity, that she would be vigorously attacked, as soon as the assailing means could be brought confidentially and efficiently together. To the contemplation of that policy which looks only to human means and agency, her situation was sufficiently alarming. But this enlightened queen never confined her intellectual perspicacity to this narrow horizon: she knew that there was a superior government of things, to which all earthly plans and potentates are subordinate, and by which they are pre-eminently superintended, and, according to the wisest rules and principles, are, when necessary, irresistibly checked, averted, or overruled. On this protecting circumspection she fixed her mind, from the hour she took the sceptre into her hands; and she never found herself disappointed or deserted by it. The tyrannical plans of others made her life a continued war for its last thirty-five years, with the popedom, papal hierarchy, and its popish tenets, schools and practices: and the history of her reign, is the history of their ever reviving attacks. But each assault experienced in the due time its signal discomfiture; tho the plans of battle, and their instruments, were perpetually varied with the most

greatest part of the nobility on the favor and authority of the duke. Their brothers were—duke d'Aumale, grand capitane; the cardinal de Guise, a good courtier; the marquis d'Elbeuf; and the grand prior of France.' Mem. 1, 2. The duke had distinguished himself by his defence of Metz against Charles V.; by his capture of Calais and also of Thionville. *ib.* Catherine de Medicis, the queen mother, allied with them, and made the duke grand master in the room of Montmorency. *ib.* p. 3. When the parliament of Paris addressed Francis II. on his accession, he told them 'that he had given the whole charge of the state to his uncles, the cardinal Lorraine and duke of Guise.' *ib.*

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persevering ingenuity of vivacious, desperate, and obstinate hostility.

The new French cabinet of Francis II. and Mary, being under the full influence of the Guises, determined, in continuation of the late king's schemes, and for the eventual aggrandisement of their national power, that their young sovereign in his official title should write himself king of England, but defer awhile the publication of the pretension:⁴² and the English ambassador found himself so little liked by the Guise family, by the courtly circle, and by Mary, who had become an active politician, that he desired his recal.⁴³ The catastrophe of Henry II. did not abate the severities which he had begun.⁴⁴ In the same month he died, a great number of Protestants were arrested.⁴⁵ New edicts were published, forbidding, on the pain of death, all secret meetings, because the reformers assembled in

⁴² Forbes, 159.

⁴³ 'Seeing the house of Guise now ruleth, with whom I am in very small grace; and that the queen of Scotland, who is a very great doer here, and taketh all upon her, hath so small opinion of me, that I shall be able to do small service with her.' *ib.* 160.

⁴⁴ 'In the midst of all these great matters and business, they here do not stay to make persecution and sacrifice of poor souls; for, the 12th of this present, two men and one woman were executed for religion; and on the 13th, proclamation was made by sound of trumpet, that all such as should speak either against the church or the religion now used in France, should be brought before the bishops, and they to do execution upon them.' *Lett.* 13th July, p. 161. 'The abominable imputations made on the French Protestants mentioned by Castelnau (p. 7) evince the scandalous means resorted to by their opponents to obtain their destruction. They were found to be contradictory, and were disbelieved; but he says, 'it was deemed une invention propre et necessaire pour rendre les dits Protestans et leur doctrine d'autant plus odieuse.' Tho a Romanist, he admits it was like the false charges on the first Christians, but he adds, the fact remained in the ears of the common people, who thought it true.' *ib.* 'Thus the base end was gained, tho the falsehood was ascertained.'

⁴⁵ 'L'on prit grand nombre des Protestans.' *Castel.* 7.

private houses for their worship,⁴⁶ and half of all their confiscated property was promised to informers.⁴⁷ Yet the contemporary and Catholic historian says, that the more the punishments were inflicted, the more the heretics increased.⁴⁸ So powerful are the generous sympathies of human nature against the cruelties of oppression and against the attempts to suppress conscience by intimidating violence ! It is a happy law of our moral nature, that persecution spreads the persecuted belief, and multiplies its adherents, tho it may largely destroy them, and eventually disperse many to take root and to flourish elsewhere. But the melancholy system went on, till the conscientious found that they had no alternative between destruction and insurrectionary combinations ;⁴⁹ and the result was, that in twelve or fifteen years afterwards, a million of human beings fell in France,⁵⁰ the victims to the vindictive and cruel resolution of its crown and hierarchy, and of the resistance by arms to its unjust persecutions.⁵¹

⁴⁶ ' Sur peine de la vie.' Castel. 5.

⁴⁷ ' Et par les memes edits y avoit promesse aux delatours de la moietié des confiscations.' ib.

⁴⁸ ' Plus on en faisoit de punition plus ils multiplioient.' ib. p. 8.

⁴⁹ Castelnau so confesses : ' The Protestants, setting before their eyes the danger which threatened them, of losing their lives, their wives, children, and property, took occasion to league themselves with all sorts of malcontents ; saying, that they could not endure to see themselves forclos et frustrez of the power of holding honorable conditions and appointments.' p. 12.

⁵⁰ ' De façon qu'en moins de douze ou quinze ans, l'on a fait mourir a l'occasion des guerres civiles, *plus d'un million* des personnes, de toute condition, le tout sous pretexte de religion et d'utilité publique.' Castel. p. 13.

⁵¹ Without meddling with the political question of resistance or non-resistance, or of the adjudications of moral duty on a subject so awful, from the consequences of our decision upon it, we may remark, that if we oppose violence by violence, we commit ourselves to the natural issues of human means ; but if we abstain from the violent, and rely

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From the continued determination of the French cabinet to concur with the papal powers to suppress the Reformation in Europe, it was obvious that its extinction in France would be the prelude to combinations to overwhelm it in England and elsewhere; and this certainty, begun to be effected, as we have remarked, in Scotland, placed every Protestant state under the necessity of establishing alliances with each other, for their mutual succor against purposes so deadly and so formidable. Elizabeth and her cabinet were too endangered and too vigilant, to be careless on this point. Hence, a week after the accession of the new French king, it was in their contemplation to procure a common league, to be made among all Protestant princes and commonwealths, for the preservation of their religious freedom, and for their common defence.⁵² The change of policy in France had become so visible and so inimical to England,⁵³ that the ambassador at Paris urged the necessity of naval preparations, and of preventing the Scottish reformers from being overpowered by the French soldiery, and of saving England from the aggressions which would then follow.⁵⁴ The queen's council ordered a fleet to be got ready; and

upon the protection, and resign ourselves to the events of the providential administration of worldly affairs, we ally ourselves with that order, spirit, and exalted course of things, which cannot but be at all times and in the end most beneficial to those, alas! always how few! who have the rare courage of trusting steadily and implicitly upon it.

⁵² See Memorial to Throckmorton, of 17 July 1559 in Forbes, 163.

⁵³ 'Considering the state whereunto things are now come by this sudden event; the alteration of council and counsellors; the change of directions.' Throc. Lett. 18 July, p. 164. 'The French king hath already given the constable to understand that the duke of Guise and cardinal Lorraine shall manage his whole affairs.' 166.

⁵⁴ 'Methinketh it very necessary, as I sent your majesty word by

the earl of Arran to be conveyed privately, for safety, to his father the duke of Chatelherault, in Scotland, who was the next in succession to its crown, and was the avowed protector of the promoters of its religious liberty.⁵⁵ This party had now become the most powerful, and were in possession of Edinburgh; where they dissolved the monasteries, displaced the images from the churches, and adopted the Service of the church of England according to king Edward's liturgy.⁵⁶

On the same plan, of being united with all princes and nations who adopted the improvements of the Reformation, the queen, as the meditated hostilities of the French government became more apparent, began a friendly intercourse with the king of Navarre;⁵⁷ and as Montmorency might be supposed

Kylligrew, that you should arm to the sea forthwith—because they do so on this side—it is in no wise to be suffered that either the Frenchmen shall vanquish the Scots that now favor your religion, or that you suffer any such number of the French there to land, as may hereafter annoy your kingdom of England; for I am credibly informed that the French make reckoning with little difficulty, to suppress their contrary faction in Scotland; and then forthwith they mean to assail your majesty and your realm.' Throc. Lett. 165.

⁵⁵ The precautions used imply a great fear of Arran's being intercepted. Throckmorton requested the queen, 'Send hither to me Kylligrew and Tremaine, to guide and conduct him thro Germany, from the place where he is, having the high Dutch tongue very well.' p. 164. He was to pass as a merchant or scholar. p. 171. On '6 July he departed from Lausanne in post, and sent me word he would embark where he could most commodiously find passage.' Lett. 29 July, p. 183. 'In his way to Geneva, he hath endured great penury, and was constrained for fifteen days together to hide himself in a wood, and there to repast himself, having no other help but fruit, which men carried through the same desert.' ib. 173.

⁵⁶ Cecil's letter to Throckmorton, of 9 July 1559. Forbes, p. 155. 'They offer no violence.' ib. The queen dowager, and the French who led the papal party, were at Dunbar. ib. Cecil hoped that Arran would escape. 'If he were in Scotland, it were best for all purposes.' ib.

⁵⁷ Throckmorton sent Killigrew to him in Vendosme. 'The king received him very genteely. He thanked your majesty for your remembrance of him: and was glad to understand your wise, politic, godly,

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adverse to the party which had supplanted him, caused a visit of civility to be made by her ambassador to the dismissed prime minister of his deceased sovereign, who expressed warmly the high opinion which Henry entertained of the English queen.⁵⁸

While Elizabeth was thus preparing herself for the impending consequences, the new French cabinet were in anxiety about the conduct of Spain.⁵⁹ The addition of Scotland to the Gallic crown was not a pleasant incident to the court of Madrid ; and the duke of Alva's secretary was instructed to intimate to Throckmorton, that his king took it unkindly that the English queen had not yet sent any personage to him, to congratulate him on the peace.⁶⁰ But as Elizabeth meant to keep the peace she had made, with honorable steadiness, if not molested, she

discreet proceedings in religion ; and that in respect of your proceedings, and for your virtues sake, whereof he was well informed, he was desirous to enter into friendship with you, and how desirous he was to set forth religion as much as was in him.' Lett. to Queen, 15 Aug. Forbes, p. 201, 2.

⁵⁸ ' The connetable received me very courteously.—I gave him your majesty's letter : after he had read it, quoth he, ' I am much bound to her majesty—she shall always find me ready to do her service, being so qualified as no princess of a long time hath been, so that if I did not so honor and esteem her, I should show myself but a beast.' He added, ' The king, my old master, I know loved her majesty, even from the bottom of his heart, and hath divers times said these words to me, ' Mon compere ! when shall I have occasion to see that woman whom the world speaketh so much of ? ' He thought he should one day have occasion to see her. I know he esteemed her, as if God had spared him life, she should have perceived.' Forbes, p. 107. ' He desired some English greyhounds, for the hart and the wolf. I told him there were no wolves in England. Quoth he, Those which are good for the hart will serve also for the wolf.' *ib.*

⁵⁹ ' On the day after Henry expired, the French cabinet required the duke of Alva to confirm their treaty ; which he declined, on the ground that his commission had expired. The fear arose of Spain making new demands, or breaking with them.' Lett. 13 July, Forb. 157. ' The French are in great perplexity how these things will go ; and also greatly afraid both of the king of Spain and others.' *ib.* 159.

⁶⁰ *Ib.* p. 158.

made no overtures for such an alliance with Philip as he desired. This neutrality dissatisfied him; and she was cautioned to beware of his friendly professions,⁶¹ as he was forming a new league with the Parisian government, which, observing Elizabeth's negotiations in Scotland, sought to unite him against her, on the principle of his well-known bigotry.⁶² In the meantime, it desired the queen dowager of Scotland 'to conform to the proceedings' of the reformers, and 'to dissemble with them.'⁶³

In this state of approaching warfare, Elizabeth began a more direct tho secret negotiation with the king of Navarre, six weeks after her preceding overture. This prince received the communication with a satisfaction⁶⁴ which led to another private interview, in which he desired the greatest caution and secrecy

⁶¹ 'Let not the king of Spain's ambassador, resident with you, abuse your majesty with sugared words; for where I am, I see and hear great presumptions to move me to think that the king of Spain is but a hollow friend unto you, and so may do you more harm than an open enemy.' Lett. to Queen, 27 July. Forbes, p. 182.

⁶² 'The vidame of Chartres last night declared unto me, that the French did mean to break shortly with your majesty. On 24th they were advertised that there was a league in hand between you and the Scots; whereupon they have this day dispatched the prince of Ferrara to the king of Spain, and mean shortly to send the prince of Condè to conclude a new league to your majesty's prejudice and detriment: saying further, that they were in good hope that the king of Spain would endeavor himself to repress rebels and heretics.' ib. 181.

⁶³ Lett. 29 July. ib. 183.

⁶⁴ 'I spake with the king of Navarre at St. Denis, about 11 of the clock at night, by his own appointment. I said, 'My mistress is willing to join herself with you in such alliance and friendship, that the true religion be properly advanced, and that the enemies may not prevail against it, nor against either of you, as its ministers.' For answer he thanked your majesty, and that he would not fail to do the best he could. He said, 'time would not serve now to make any longer talk, as he had many eyes upon him, and so had I.' He demanded of me if I would rest that night: I said unless he willed me I would not, for fear of Spial; so I took my leave. This talk was in his garderober, where nobody was present but his secretary, who heard nothing that was spoken.' Lett. 25 Aug. Forbes, 213.

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to be observed in the intercourse with him,⁶⁵ and expressed his sentiments on Elizabeth's marriage.⁶⁶ But at this crisis of the political rupture the immediate explosion was suspended, by tidings of Elizabeth's preparations;⁶⁷ by the delay of Spain to restore the places it had to render; and by the death of the pope,⁶⁸ from his irritations and disappointment, and to the great exultation of his people.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ 'The 24th, the said king sent a gentleman to me betimes to meet him in cape, with a lacquey and a page, at the Augustine Friars, at eight of the morning, in the cloister, where he would come in the same manner. When we met, he told me that he would write to you with his own hand, for he would trust nobody but himself, and wished you would do the like to him, in French or Italian; for all princes have corrupt ministers about them. 'And if either the French or Spanish ministers should know of the intelligence between the queen and me, it should be dangerous for us both. The king of Spain and French king hath great intelligence of your doings in England; such as you would little believe. I pray you, as you are a gentleman, desire the queen to trust nobody in the matters betwixt her and me, but herself. I determine, ere it be long, to send one that I trust well to the queen, with my mind in sundry things. Send one of your most trustiest with him to secretly bring him to the queen's speech, but in such sort that nobody may know from whence he cometh, nor wherefore.' Forbes, 214.

⁶⁶ 'He desireth that you will be advised by him in your marriage. He saith, the whole family of Austriche be great papists; your marriage is the making and marring of all. Is the queen at liberty? I said you were, and not yet resolved what you would do. He told me the emperor's ambassador had here made great instance to have the Lutherans punished; so you may perceive the good devotion of the emperor and all his. 'To make an end for this time, for tho we be disguised, we may be known, let nobody know of our talk, but your mistress, and the counsellor she best trusteth.' ib. 214.

⁶⁷ 'The French are in very great fear on all sides, and do verily suppose that your majesty hath in mind to make some attempt on Calais. The admiral is sent thither. They suspect much the preparation and readiness of your ships to the sea, and also the musters of men thro your realm; whereby your majesty may consider that the only way to cause the French to keep good rule is your highness's readiness and preparation for them.' Lett. 1 Aug. ib. 184.

⁶⁸ Ib.

⁶⁹ On 1st August 1559, the French ambassador at Rome apprised his court of the pope's illness, and of its two causes: 'one dropsy in the legs, thighs, and belly; the other, his vexation and melancholy at the alienation of his nephews, at which he is so grieved, so astonished, and so confused in all that he says and does, that he seems to be a man

England called on Francis and his queen to ratify the treaty, as king, which he had sworn to as dauphin;⁷⁰ but the ceremony was deferred,⁷¹ and new indications of intended hostilities appeared, and of a projected invasion of the English coasts,⁷² of which the watchful ambassador made earnest representations to the queen and to her chief minister, and also of her danger from Mary's claim to her crown.⁷³

almost out of his senses (a peu pres hors de son sens.') On 18th August his account was, 'The pope died to-day. The people are mad with their joy at his death. After breaking into the prisons this morning, they have set fire this afternoon to the *houses of the inquisition*.' Lett. of Baber, 2 Ribier, p. 824, 8. So Throckmorton wrote: 'The people of Rome have made great mutiny, and set at liberty all sorts of prisoners, as well as such as were put in for heresy, as for debt or other causes; and to deface the old pope and all the house of Caraffa, have cut off the nose and ears of his image, and made an edict that no man keep in his house either image or arms of his house.' Forbes, 1, p. 234.

⁷⁰ Lett. 5th Sept. Forbes, p. 221.

⁷¹ 'The duke of Guise said to me, that the queen [Mary] was in another chamber, and that whatsoever the king doth, she doth the same. Whereupon I delivered the letter for the ratification of the treaty, to the king. He referred me for the matter to his uncles the cardinal and the duke, to whom he spake to bring me to the queen. We found her sitting with her ladies and gentlewomen about her. When she had read it, she answered, she would do as the king and her cousins should advise her; and as he minded to continue the amity and observe the treaties, so she would.' ib. 222.

⁷² 'From all, I gather that the French intend verily to have to do with us as soon as time and opportunity shall serve them, and to convert all their force that way.' Lett. 19 Sept. Four days afterwards he wrote, 'The French are in hand with practice for the taking of Portsmouth and Wight, and have made inquiry for charts and situation of the same, minding to trouble your realm that way by French only; while with their force of Almaines and others, they shall be busy northward.' p. 236. The king of Spain's ambassador came to visit me, and said, 'We had need to look about us, for it would so come to pass, as we should either be made a Piedmont, and be divided, or else a Milan, and so constrained to stand upon our guard until we were wearied.' ib. 237.

⁷³ To Cecil, on 23 Sept. 'I wrote to the queen, touching the Frenchmen's practice against her and the realm. I beseech you, as a great part of the charge of government dependeth upon your shoulders, so to foresee that the commonwealth be provided for. It may be too late when the enemy is at the door, to put any thing in execution, which now with less charge may be provided. I know your carefulness is

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The impatience of the Roman populace to destroy the inquisition, and to set free those who had been put there for their religious opinions, evince the public sense on the persecuting cruelty⁷⁴ of the papacy, which had now made these severities its settled and unrelenting policy; and as every pontiff would repeat the inflictions, it was of little consequence to the world at large, who would be the next possessor of a throne, which had become pledged against all freedom of thought and conscience. Yet as the same evil spirit which had produced this perversion, also made the papacy an anxious and restless intermeddler with worldly power, and therefore ever ready to favor the king who most gratified its worldly ambition, it was not

great; yet being daily troubled with the common breath of the French queen's pretence to the realm of England; her open usurping of the arms, and all other things sounding to that end, which it grieveth me to hear, I cannot hold my peace.' Forbes, 238. To the queen the next day he stated, 'They be so resolved, and make so good a reckoning in their opinion, that almost they care not who knoweth that they mind to prosecute the French queen's title to England.' p. 240. On 30th he acquainted her that the French intended to have 30 ensigns of troops in Scotland. p. 241. On 9th Oct. that 12 ensigns of foot were about to be conveyed thither (p. 250); and that 'one half of that realm is of opinion for religion contrary to the congregation, wherein the French have a great advantage if the papists declare themselves indeed their friends.' Forbes, p. 251.

On 25 Oct. he reported the marquis D'Albeuf's intimations of their intention to land forces in Scotland, 'to prosecute the French queen's right in England, when time was for that purpose. And whereas England thought to set all on a day, they would keep us well enough from that, and begin petit a petit, as they did in Piedmont, and enlarge their frontiers. Toward the Spring he should go into Scotland, and then would help to awake us.' p. 253.

⁷⁴ The bishop of Angouleme wrote from Rome: 'I live so near the edifice of the inquisition, that when it was set in flames my house was in great danger, and is not yet quite out of it. Its seigneurs asking my assistance, I went, but could not get there in time; and if I had it would have been of no use, for there were above 2,000 persons round, and the fire had been well lighted within. They are now mutilating his statues in the Campidoglio.' 2 Rib. 828.

an indifferent subject to the leading potentates, on whom the new election should fall; and their contests on this subject, by their partisans in the consistorial college, seemed for some time likely to divide the French and Spanish courts. Several cardinals were alternately proposed and rejected; and while the causes of dissension operated, the princess, who was to be the catholic queen of Spain, was kept awhile at Paris. The differences were at last harmonized. She was sent at the end of November to Spain,⁷⁵ and Philip agreed to interfere no further in the election at the Vatican.⁷⁶ But apprehensions arose among the papal party at Paris, that the queen mother, the celebrated Catherine de Medicis, was inclining to adopt the reformed opinions. To check a conversion that would have altered all the future history of France, she was lectured with a daily sermon, apparently by the management of the cardinal of Lorraine,⁷⁷ who had reported to her, as if to intimidate any change, the wilful falsehood, that the queen of England had become a Roman Catholic.⁷⁸ The French court continued to use the English arms;⁷⁹ and the

⁷⁵ Forb. 267.

⁷⁶ Lett. 6 Dec. ib. 273.

⁷⁷ It was on 23 Dec. that Killigrew transmitted this intelligence to Elizabeth: 'The two queens have daily a sermon made before them in the chapel at the court, or in their dining chamber, by a friar who can use good skill; which some think is done by the cardinal of Lorraine's means, to keep in the *queen mother*, who is noted rather to be a Protestant than otherwise.' Lett. Forbes, 274.

⁷⁸ 'We are informed that the cardinal of Lorraine hath declared unto the queen mother, that your majesty doth already repent your altering of religion, and that your highness hath both caused a new crucifix of silver to be made, and heareth mass secretly in your chamber.' Killigrew's Lett. 14 Nov. Forb. 259, 60.

⁷⁹ The king and queen made their entry on 23d November at Castel-

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Spaniards privately cautioned the new ambassadors at Paris against its endangering projects.⁸⁰ But the failing health of Francis,⁸¹ and the poverty of his finances, procrastinated further the intended warfare;⁸² and Elizabeth, tho advised to take advantage of their weakness,⁸³ explicitly and repeatedly declared to the French minister in London, that she would not be the first to begin it;⁸⁴ while her

herault, the queen, who came first, having a canopy of crimson damask, with the *arms of England, France, and Scotland*, thereon embroidered. The two gates of the tower were painted with the same arms. Latin verses in golden letters were also on them, of which two lines were—

Nunc Gallos, totoque remotos orbe Britannos
Unum dos Mariæ cogit in imperium.—Forb. 266.

So at Blois and Rennes, the arms of England and Scotland were set up together. p. 260. The arms of England were also engraved on Mary's dinner plate. p. 229. A great seal was sent to Scotland with them, with the addition to the royal title of '*Angliæ et Hiberniæ.*' ib. So in the commission of regency, and others, issued to Scotland. 269, 279.

⁸⁰ 'The Spanish ambassador shewed me that the French used all the means they could for sending men of war to Scotland, and that they meant to employ their force of Almaines in some out place of Scotland, to divert the Scots, to give the French greater commodity of landing. His advice was, that the queen should not openly break for the present with the French, but suffer them to beat themselves with the Scots for a time, and after, to take her commodity.' Lett. of Jones and Kylligrew, 10th Nov. p. 256.

⁸¹ 'It is very secretly reported, that the French king is become a leper.' Kyll. lett. 15th Nov. p. 262. In January afterwards he was so ill, that his death was rumored. Lett. 24th Jan. p. 308.

⁸² 'Presently, for want of treasure, they are not able to do any great matter, being indebted above eighteen millions, their country poor, and their noblemen and gentlemen not recovered since the last wars.' Lett. 14th Dec. 276.

⁸³ 'Their present poverty giveth men who wish them to be kept in an equality, cause to desire that the occasion offered were taken by such as have to do with them, to ask reason at their hands. If the opportunity be suffered to pass, and they to work their will with Scotland, and fill their purses, the same will not so easily be done afterwards. The common opinion concludeth, that if there be not means found to keep them occupied, and to bring them out of Scotland, England shall have unquiet neighbours of them and cumbersome. And now is the time of advantage over them.' ib. 278.

⁸⁴ Noailles' dispatch to his court, from London, on 22 Dec. was, 'The queen always declares that she will not begin the rupture, but that he who likes may cast the first stone.' At an audience last Sun-

ministers signified that they were arming, from an apprehension of what France might intend.⁸⁵ The real alarm of the English cabinet appears in the confidential orders issued to the noblemen in the northern counties.⁸⁶ The Spanish ambassador at Paris soon afterwards disclosed, that the agent, sent thither from Mary's government in Scotland, had declared to him that Elizabeth was illegitimate, that the right to the English crown was in the queen of France; and that after the death of Mary, the late English queen, she had taken the title upon her, as justly appertaining to her.⁸⁷ The Spaniard recommended, that if England decided on a war with France, it should not be on the ground of defending Scotland, but for the assumption of the arms and title.⁸⁸

A new pope was chosen in Pius IV. on Christmas-

day she said, 'Having entered into a peace, a malediction be on him or her who shall break it, or give occasion to do so.' p. 284.

⁸⁵ 'Her council say that all their preparations are only for the defence and preservation of their kingdom, but that they mistrust that the large and extraordinary forces which the king has sent to Scotland, and is still raising both in France and Germany, cannot be only for the reduction of that country, but are also meant for the conquest of this, especially as the queen so publicly pretends that this crown belongs to her, and is now every where bearing its arms and title.' ib. 284.

⁸⁶ 'A special charge' was issued on 23 December 1559, to lord Talbot, 'tending to the necessary service of the realm, for defence of the same against certain attempts of the French, *lately disclosed*, tho not published.' See it in Lodge Illust. v. 1. p. 309.

⁸⁷ Letter Kylligrew, 6 Jan. 1560. It was 'the mareschale of St. Andrew, on behalf of the queen mother,' who had come to Paris, and held this conversation with the Spanish diplomatist. p. 293.

⁸⁸ 'He wished if your majesty minded to break, that the same might be done in order; and that some man of knowlege be sent hither, to demand reason of the Frenchmen, what they meant by giving the arms of England, using its title, and planting themselves so in Scotland, thereby to cause it to appear to the world that the French did injury tho they offered no force. For, quoth he, it will not be generally liked, if the queen take upon her the defence of Scotland.' ib. 294.

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day;⁸⁰ and the French government projected to renew with him the league of Henry, for the destruction of the reformed religion.⁸⁰ In the meantime it applied for a rescript to re-establish its inquisitorial severities in France,⁸¹ and another for analogous proceedings in Scotland;⁸² and the two brothers, tho of the noblest house in France, seemed rushing to sanguinary deeds, which the basest outlaw ought to have been ashamed of. But the gentleman whom the cardinal sent with his commissions of persecution to Poitiers, was arrested on his journey, and the secret letters were taken from his bosom;⁸³ which may be supposed to have revealed to the endangered, what they were about to suffer. A gentleman was executed for his religion, in Gascony,

⁸⁰ It was the cardinal de Medicis, a relation of the queen mother of France. 2 Ribier, 840.

⁸⁰ On 6 Jan. 1560, Kylligrew wrote, 'It is said that this king mindeth shortly to send to this new pope for the renewing of the same league.' p. 296. The former league was noted in note 110 of the last chapter, p. 526.

⁸¹ Ribier has printed the letter of Francis II. to Cardinal Guise, dated 16 Jan. 1560, directing him to obtain the confirmation of the apostolical rescript which Paul IV. had addressed to the cardinals Lorraine, Bourbon and Chatillon, 'pour proceder a l'inquisition des heretiques et malcontents de la foi en ce royaume,' with the additional power for *any one* of these three who should find himself alone at court, 'pour prendre et faire proceder la dite inquisition.' v. 2, p. 841. A subtle device of Lorraine to possess himself of the power of extermination, if his colleagues should shrink from it.

⁸² 'Which the *late* king and the present had solicited from Paul IV. to be addressed to the bishop of Amiens.' ib. 841.

⁸³ Kylligrew reported on 17 Jan. 1560, 'The cardinal of Lorraine lately sent secretly a gentleman with a bag full of commissions for persecution to be done about Poitiers, and gave him certain letters, which he carried apart in his bosom. This gentleman was met by the way by four or five others, who asked him what he carried; whereupon he shewed them the bag with commissions. 'This is not that (quoth they) we look for; and therewith *taking out the secret letters in his bosom*, said, that if his master were there, they would use him otherwise; but as for him, he might pass by, for they had nothing else to say to him.' Lett. Forbes, 302.

and a public disturbance accompanied the act of horror.⁹⁴ What the secret letters disclosed to the reformed party has remained unknown, but such alarming symptoms appeared, that the cardinal suddenly assured the English ambassador at the latter end of February, that he was himself friendly to some reform,⁹⁵ and that he had ordered the persecutions for religion to cease.⁹⁶ Yet such was the dread which his preceding conduct had excited, that before this salutary change could be made known or confided in, previous tyranny had produced a reaction of evil: and within a week afterwards, he and his brother the duke of Guise were disquieted with the unexpected discovery of a conspiracy, framed to explode at Amboise, which seems to have been meant for their destruction, and for placing

⁹⁴ 'About execution done upon a gentleman in Gascoign for the word, a president was in great danger there to lose his life; and the like garboil there as was lately at Paris, which doth greatly trouble them.' Lett. 22d Feb. 331. The Parisian sufferer was 'a counsellor of parliament, who was hanged and burnt at the Greve, for professing the Protestant religion.' Henault, p. 404. On the eve of Christmas day 1559. Castel. 1, p. 5.

⁹⁵ Sir Nicholas Throckmorton on 27 Feb. detailed to the queen his interview with this prime minister of Francis II. at Amboise, who in one part of it said, 'As for their religion, I have knowlege, tho I be a man of the church, that there be many faults therein and divers abuses; which being taken away, I can like well to have things in an uniformity. And were it not to take away the occasion, that men of their own authority would seek to reform things to the prejudice of the king's authority, and to avoid rebellion at home, I could wish things to be reformed, and put forthwith in a better state than they be; for I am not so ignorant, nor so led with errors that reign, as the world judges, but that I see there be many things amiss.' Lett. Forbes, 337. Thus these men were persecuting others to death, in contradiction to their own conviction of right and truth. It is probable that every one of the hierarchy who burnt and imprisoned, from the pope to the executioner, acted with equal wilfulness against their internal conscience.

⁹⁶ The cardinal added, 'And even three days past we have set forth an edict to surcease the punishment of men for religion; and have licensed all men to live according to their conscience, so as they do not openly contrary to the law.' ib. 338.

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the feeble king under wiser and less merciless councils.⁹⁷ Their apprehensions were very great,⁹⁸ but the timely communication of it enabled them to arrest the principal contrivers.⁹⁹ New attempts hastened the executions of some;¹⁰⁰ pardon was proclaimed to the rest;¹⁰¹ but the Guises remained in fear of the ulterior results,¹⁰² and other insurrec-

⁹⁷ Throckmorton, on 7 March 1560, informed Cecil, from Amboise, 'that the duke and cardinal have discovered a conspiracy wrought against themselves and their authority, which they have bruited, to make the matter more odious, to be meant only against the king. They have apprehended eight or nine, and put some to the torture.' Lett. Forb. 353.

⁹⁸ 'Whereupon they are in such fear, as themselves do wear privy coats, and are in the night guarded with pistoliers and men in arms.' p. 353. 'The fear of this commotion is so great, that on the 6th the duke of Guise, the cardinal, the grand prior, and all the knights of the order which were here, watched all night long in the court; and the gates of this town were all shut and kept.' ib. 355.

⁹⁹ By the 9th it was 'somewhat appeased, and the king goeth abroad hunting.' p. 358. 'Eighteen men were apprehended near Tours, every of them carrying behind him on horseback a bagful of pistolets, shot and powder.' p. 364. On 14th 'a baron of Gascony, five captains, of very good skill in the wars, and 30 others, were brought to Tours.' p. 376. They said, 'They minded no hurt to the king.' On 16th, 'fifty more were taken, for the most part artificers, all of whom, but four, the king dismissed with a crown a piece.' p. 377.

¹⁰⁰ Ib. 377, 378. Among these a captain was hung with this billet, 'La Ranaudiere, called La Forrest, author of the conspiracy, chief and conductor of the rebels.' p. 380. 'Among those taken were 18 of the bravest captains of France.' p. 378. Castelnau says, that Ranaudiere was shot. p. 18. If so, it was his body which was thus exposed. Condé was charged with being apprised of it, and approving of it, provided 'le tout se fit par forme de justice.' Castel. p. 16. The Gascon baron confessed 'that he shuld have conducted such as shuld have stirred in the duchy of Berry; that Masieres shuld have led them of Gascoigne; and Ranaudiere them of Province.' Forbes, p. 381.

¹⁰¹ 'A proclamation was made, of pardon to all such as were up, so as they would retire and disperse themselves, saving to such as were preachers, and came in armour towards the king; for it was said there were great numbers ready to assemble in four quarters of the realm, which were already in small companies.' Lett. 21 March, p. 377.

¹⁰² 'The duke and cardinal live in marvellous great fear, and know not whom they may well trust.' ib. 383. Castelnau says, that he was sent by the king to learn the intention of this plot, and that he found it was only to present a petition to the king against the Guises, and to

tionary combinations were soon afterwards asserted to have occurred. So naturally does violence tend to produce violence; and so manifest is its inefficacy to prevent or remedy the evils, for the removal of which it is so eagerly resorted to.¹⁰³ The discontents continued to increase with the continued disposition to persecute:¹⁰⁴ the prince of Condè was arrested,¹⁰⁵

seize the duke and cardinal pour leur faire leur proces, sur plusieurs concussions et crimes de leze majeste.' p. 16. The duke was declared lieutenant general of the kingdom. Castel. p. 19.

¹⁰³ 'Notwithstanding all the appearance of quietness about the court, on 16th inst. there were six who had determined to have killed the duke of Guise as he should go hunting, had not one of the six discovered it. The five are fled away; which matter hath stricken a marvellous fear at the duke of Guise's heart and the cardinal's. The cardinal hath a coach in making, which shall carry in it twelve falconets, six upon a side, for defence by the way.' Lett. Throck. 22d May, p. 464. 'A personage hath told me, that before the end of June there will be 30,000 men at the least in the field, who will either put down the house of Guise or lose their lives.' p. 465. 'He saith the king of Navarre hath caused reformation to be begun thro Gascony and Guyenne, and hath abolished the use of the mass.' ib. In these latter notes we see the real causes and beginnings of the civil wars of France. Its court and Guises having determined to execute the papal system of exterminating the reformation, left no alternative to those whose conscience and reason withdrew from the religion of Rome, but insurrection or death, and evils worse than death. By this absurd conduct they made the danger and suffering the same to the subject, whether he was tranquil or whether he was turbulent.

¹⁰⁴ The pope's grant was obtained 'for taking 100,000 crowns of the spiritual revenues; so that the money be employed against the Protestants and heretics.' 'I am well informed that the French king maketh reckoning to have of his suspect towns and subjects about three millions of franks, and his charge in going up and down to punish his subjects.' Lett. Throc. to Queen, 17 Nov. 1560. Hardwicke's State Papers, 1, p. 125. The sufferings and destruction of the French Protestants, because their government would not leave the papacy, shew strongly the vast weight of obligation which the British nation owes to Henry VIII. for resolutely breaking off from it the Roman yoke. If he had not done this, and persisted amid every peril in the separation, and if Elizabeth had not continued in it, the conscientious and rational, and their reformation, would have been exterminated and extinguished in England, as they were in France, altho its people were so gallant and intelligent.

¹⁰⁵ Hardwicke, ib. p. 138. 'His process was put in the hands of the parliament of Paris, but its president and council answered, That he could not be judged of them, but by his peers, because he is of the blood royal.' p. 139.

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II But in November, the illness of Francis II. assumed
 a serious appearance, and in a short time terminated
 his earthly existence.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Hardwicke, 138. He was allowed to hunt, but as a prisoner. *ib.* Much discussion has taken place as to the origin of the term Huguenot; but Castelnau, who lived at the time of the first application, tells us, that this was the name of a very petty coin, inferior even to the Mailles, which had been in use since Hugues Capet, and that it was applied in mockery and depreciation to the reformers, after their failure at Amboise. The women said they were as worthless as Huguenots. p. 43.

¹⁰⁷ It was on 28 Nov. that Throckmorton remarked that he had been indisposed for three or four days. *Hard.* 150. 'The prince is sick and very casual.' *ib.* 154. 'Men begin to doubt of his long lasting: the constitution of his body is such, that tho he recover this sickness, he cannot live two years.' p. 156. On 1 Dec. the letter was, 'He is somewhat amended, but yet very weak, and so feeble that he was not able to keep the feast of the golden fleece, on St. Andrew's day. The physicians now mistrust no danger of his life for this time.' p. 160. Four days after this he died, 5 Dec. 1560. *Henault.*

CHAP. XIX.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND—PRINCIPLES OF ELIZABETH'S POLICY TOWARDS THAT KINGDOM—HER TRANSACTIONS WITH IT—DEATH OF FRANCIS II.—MARY DETERMINES TO RETURN TO SCOTLAND—BEGINNING OF THE CATHOLIC WAR AGAINST THE HUGUENOTS IN FRANCE.

THE same intellectual and moral causes which had produced the spirit of reform in England and upon the Continent, had been as operative in Scotland, from its bounding river Tweed to its Grampian hills, and to many districts beyond them. Several noblemen and barons, as well as burghers and the minor clergy, became favorers of the wiser opinions and retrenching corrections of the Protestant reasoners.¹ Perceiving this advancing change, when Henry VIII. had desired his nephew, James V. to meet him at York, the Scottish prelates, to avert an interview whose results were most likely to be detrimental to their worldly interests; and to draw the king's mind into a coalition with them to suppress all ecclesiastical innovations, suggested to James that convictions of heresy would procure him large confiscations; and gave him secretly a roll of the names

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¹ Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 60. Knox, after briefly noticing Risby, the scholar of Wickliff, in 1422, and Craw, a Bohemian, in 1431, who were both burnt for their antipapal tenets, begins his *History of the Reformation* with the Lollards of Kyle, in 1494, p. 2; and with Hamilton's doctrines and execution in 1527, p. 4-14. The more violent hostilities against the reformers in this country commenced in 1534, after the pope had sent thither a legate. p. 22.

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of the opulent individuals who could be charged with the mental change, and with whose estates he would thus be enabled legally to enrich himself, while their owners were burnt for their anti-catholic sentiments.² The king disclosed the communication to his treasurer; who suggested to him the danger of such an attack;³ that its proposal had arisen from the desire of the prelacy to prevent any reformation of their conduct;⁴ and that as the patrimony of the church had been originally gifts from his ancestors, he might more safely and laudably increase the possessions of the crown, which had been impoverished by the donations,⁵ by resuming them gradually as the benefices became vacant from the deaths of the existing prelates.⁶ The king heard him with so much pleasure, and expressed this feeling so strongly, that the endangered churchmen charged the advising minister with heresy,⁷ and offered James a yearly payment of fifty thousand crowns from the rents of the church, to induce him to favor them, and to risk hostilities with Henry by refusing to meet him

² Melv. Mem. 60.

³ After recapitulating the troubles of the king's minority, which the clergy had promoted, the lord of Grange proceeded: 'And now your country is not yet so well as it ought to be. It were dangerous that your nobility should get intelligence that such greedy fetches should be put into your head, as under pretext of heresy to spoil so many of them of their lives, lands and gear.' Melv. p. 62.

⁴ 'He then declared some of the grossest abuses of the Roman church, and the ungodly lives of the Scottish prelates.' ib. 62.

⁵ 'Did not one of your predecessors, St. David, (a former king,) give the most part of the patrimony of the crown to the church, erecting it in bishoprics and rich abbeys; whereby you are so poor, and the prelates so rich, prodigal and proud.' ib. 62.

⁶ Ib. 63.

⁷ 'They shewed him that lord Grange was a heretic, and that he had always a New Testament in English in his pocket.' Melv. 65.

as he had promised.⁸ In 1542 a war with England ensued ;⁹ and James V. soon afterwards died, in the bloom of manhood, leaving Mary his only child and heir.¹⁰

The reformed opinions continued to spread in Scotland, altho opposed by the usual cruelties.¹¹ Cardinal Beatoun persecuted their professors ; and after he had caused Wishart to be burnt at St. Andrews,¹² was himself assassinated there.¹³ A contract had been long negotiated, and seemed at last to have been concluded, between the princess Mary

⁸ Melv. 64. Knox, Hist. p. 28.

⁹ In 1540, Henry had sent sir Ralph Sadler to James, with some intercepted letters of cardinal Beatoun his chief connetable, which he thought shewed that the cardinal was laboring 'not only to bring into his own hand the whole spiritual jurisdiction of the realm, but under color of that, the temporal also.' Sadler's State Papers, 1. p. 6. When sir Ralph delivered these, he also suggested to James his uncle's advice, 'To increase your revenue by taking into your hands some of these religious houses as may best be spared, which occupy a great part of the possessions of your realm to the maintenance of their voluptu and idle life ; and the rest of them which be most notable to alter into colleges, cathedral churches, and almshouses, as the king has done.' ib. p. 29. James objecting to this, Sadler expatiated on the vices and uselessness of the religious houses. p. 30, 31. In 1541, sir Ralph was dispatched again, with copious representations on the misconduct of the Romish clergy, ib. 52-4 ; and James then agreed to meet Henry at York.

¹⁰ Mary was born 8th December 1542. Her father James V. died five days afterwards, on 13th December, leaving her the only survivor of his other children. Knox's Hist. 34. Mary was crowned at nine months old, on 9th Sept. 1543. Keith Hist. Scot. 32. James had lost two sons within forty-eight hours of each other. Melv. 70.

¹¹ Patrick Hamilton was consumed by the flames at St. Andrews, 28th February 1528 ; Henry Forest in the same city, in 1533 ; two gentlemen at one stake, in the next year, at Greenside ; five more, of which one was a layman, and the others, two black friars, a priest and a canon, in 1538 ; and two others at Glasgow. Keith, p. 8, 9.

¹² Wishart, 'the worthiest person of all those who supported the new doctrines in this kingdom,' was burnt at St. Andrews, 27th Feb. 1546. Keith, p. 41.

¹³ He fell on 29th May 1546, the murderers exclaiming as they put the sword to his body : 'Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of shedding of the blood of George Wishart.' Keith, p. 43.

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and Edward VI.;¹⁴ but one part of the clergy and nobility prevented the marriage, by causing her to be taken into France,¹⁵ where, after much discussion, she was wedded to the dauphin Francis.¹⁶ Some of the French statesmen had objected to it:¹⁷ and the Scottish prelates having opposed the nuptials, from their desire to have a native king, instead of a foreign sovereign who could not be resident, and over whom they would have no influence,¹⁸ the queen-dowager and regent, who had previously headed the battle of the established Romish Church in Scotland against the Reformation,¹⁹ became now

¹⁴ Melv. 71.

¹⁵ The lord prior, afterwards the well-known earl Murray, declared to Melville that he had been the chief assistant to transport Mary to France, and to break the contract with Edward. p. 82. She was taken thither in her sixth year. Keith, p. 55.

¹⁶ This marriage was celebrated on 24 April 1558. Keith, 74. Three weeks before this ceremony, the French cabinet surreptitiously procured her to sign, thus remote from her national counsellors, three documents, which, if there were any legal crime of that description from a sovereign towards the people, we might term treasonable papers. One conveying the kingdom of Scotland as a free-gift to the crown of France, if she should die without heirs; a second, mortgaging it for the repayment of a million of pieces of gold, which it was alleged had been expended in her French education and maintenance; and a third, declaring that tho her parliament might induce her to make a different disposition of the succession, her real mind would only be in the two preceding papers. Keith, 73, 74. His appendix contains the contract of the marriage, dated 19th April 1558, p. 15-18.

¹⁷ Montmorency opposed it, on the ground that it would be better to marry her to one of the princes, who could live with her in Scotland, and not to the future king of France, who could not reside out of his main country. But as Mary was the daughter of their sister, the Guises were desirous, for their own power, to see her queen of France; and their influence prevailed. Melv. 72.

¹⁸ They followed the politics of Hamilton, the archbishop of St. Andrews, who looked forward to the elevation of his nephew, the earl of Arran, to the Scottish throne. Melv. 73. Yet the Scottish parliament ordered the crown matrimonial to be sent to France, to make the dauphin king of Scotland. The act to this effect is in Keith, p. 76.

¹⁹ She had before gone to France to prevail on its king to assist her to obtain the regency; which was granted to her in 1554. Keith, p. 56, 9.

at variance with the Catholic leaders. From policy, if not from inclination, she abstained from further persecution; and exhibited so much favor to the friends of the new system, that their numbers multiplied as it became more freely preached and more safely professed.²⁰

When the peace of Chateau Cambrises was in April 1558 completed between France, Spain, and England; and the queen-dowager received the intimation that secret articles had been attached to it by the French and Spanish courts, which formed a confederation between them and the pope for the suppression of the reformers by violence; and was enjoined by the state cabinet of Francis to begin the execution of this iniquitous compact in Scotland,²¹ by pursuing and punishing all heretics with fire and sword, before they spread further,²² the regent, tho regretting the command, obediently issued a proclamation, enjoining all persons to observe the Catholic religion, to attend the mass and perform its ceremonies.²³ The nobility and estates of the country remonstrating, she shewed them the peremptory commission she had received. They pleaded her former permission, and declared their resolution not to counteract their consciences;²⁴ and her reluctant perseverance in the cruel measures she had been ordered to adopt, drove them

²⁰ 'Obliged to address herself to the barons of the reformed party, and winning two of the states on her side, she obtained her intent, which made her shew greater favor to those of the reformed religion; overlooking their secret preachings, whereby the religion increased, so that the most part of the country became Protestant.' p. 73.

²¹ See last Chapter, p. 541, note 37.

²² Melv. 77.

²³ Ib.

²⁴ Ib. 78.

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to a revolting opposition as their only safety,²⁵ and compelled her to require new forces from France, if the commanded persecutions were to be forcibly persisted in.²⁶ The French prime minister commissioned sir James Melville to visit Scotland, and learn the real state and merits of the dispute.²⁷ He conversed with the queen regent,²⁸ and the lord prior, who had been accused of aiming at the crown, under the pretext of religion ;²⁹ but when he returned to Paris with his information, which would have produced some conciliatory system, he found Henry II. dead, his son Francis with Mary on the throne, the

²⁵ 'So she began to persecute, and they to rebel, and take the field, and band themselves together under the name of the Congregation, and thereafter to break down images, churches and cloisters.' Melv. 78.

²⁶ Ib. 78.

²⁷ The constable, in the king's presence, directed him to go to Scotland, as if on a visit to his friends, and not to let the queen regent, nor the French commander D'Oysel, know of his commission ; but he was to inquire privately if lord John was really planning to usurp, or had taken arms 'only of conscience;' what promises the queen had made that had not been kept, as was alleged, and if they wished another lieutenant instead of D'Oysel. 'If it be only religion which moves them, we must commit Scotsmen's souls to God, for we have enough to do to rule the consciences of our own countrymen. It is the obedience due with their bodies that the king desires.' Henry laid his hand on Melville's shoulder, with the remark, 'Do as my gossip has directed, and I shall reward you.' Melville kissed his hand, and set off for Scotland. p. 80.

²⁸ 'I found the queen in the old tower of Falcland. The lord duke and D'Oysel ranged in battle on Coupermere against the lords of the Congregation. The queen made hard moan to me of her disobedient subjects. As I was speaking to her, the duke and D'Oysel came back without battle ; whereat the queen was very far offended, and thought they had lost a very fair occasion.' p. 81.

²⁹ Lord James explained to him, 'what liberty of conscience the queen had granted to him till Betoncourt arrived, and that she had changed her behaviour, not of her own nature, but by the persuasions and threatenings of her brothers in France.' He assured Melville that, 'To put the king out of all suspicion of his usurpation, he would banish himself perpetually out of Scotland, if they would grant him and his associates such liberty as the queen had permitted before the coming of Betoncourt, if his rents should be allowed to come to him ; and for security hereof sufficient pledges of the noblemen's sons of Scotland should be sent to France.' Melv. p. 82.

wiser connetable displaced, and all the power of the state committed to the violent and persecuting cardinal and duke of Guise.³⁰ Their determination to exterminate all Protestants, both in France and Scotland, rendered future concord an impossibility in the latter: and each party assuming an hostile attitude, made the sword the umpire of their conflict.³¹

The true welfare of Scotland lay in peace or union with England ;³² and its most beneficial policy was ably sketched by the lord treasurer, in his memorial to his consulting queen. There could be no durable peace while it was at the command of the French.³³

³⁰ Melv. Mem. p. 84. He mentions a pleasing trait of the early improvements which Elizabeth favored: 'At Newcastle, I fell in company with one of the queen's varlets of her chamber; a man learned in mathematics, necromancy, and astrology, and a good geographer. He had been sent by the council of England to draw a map of such lands as lie loose between England and Scotland, which were alleged to be fruitful soil, yet served for no other purpose than to lodge and be a retreat to thieves and limmers. For queen Elizabeth was advised by her secret counsellors to render these parts civil; and to enlarge her bounds thereby.' p. 83. Sir R. Sadler mentions Melville in his dispatch from Berwick on 16th Sept. 1559, as having come to him with a communication from Maitland, and as 'a servant to the constable of France, now passing hence towards his master.' 1 Sadler's St. Pap. 450.

³¹ The ministers of the reformers were declared rebels. Keith, 83. Knox returned into his native country, and animated the people of Perth to destroy what he termed the idolatrous worship. ib. 84. Both parties collected their armies at Cowpar, on 12 March 1559. Keith, p. 91. The congregationists took Perth by force. Proclamations, letters and conferences ensued, and the queen regent marching to Edinburgh, compelled her opponents to an accommodation, on 24 July 1559. ib. 98. But a week afterwards the reforming chieftains made a third covenant of association at Stirling. See it in Keith, p. 100. Troops afterwards arrived from France to aid the papal party, and a legate from the Pope. ib. 101, 2.

³² Cecil began his counsel on 5 Aug. 1559, with this just remark: 'The best worldly felicity that Scotland can have, is either to continue in a perpetual peace with the kingdom of England, or to be made one monarchy with England, as they both make one isle, divided from the rest of the world.' Sadler's State Papers, 1, p. 375.

³³ His remarks shew his mild but clear-sighted wisdom: 'To be in perpetual peace, it must be provided that Scotland be not so subject

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As long as its sovereign remained in France, the next in succession, and its parliament, should provide against its misgovernment;³⁴ and a council, not directed by the French, should be appointed for its administration, with a settled and apportioned revenue;³⁵ its official powers to be exercised by Scotsmen, and its beneficial stations given to no other without the assent of its three estates;³⁶ its nobility should no longer continue the pensioners of France;³⁷ and its religious reformation should be completed by its constitutional authorities.³⁸ In case the French sovereigns and their politics, as such, should oppose these arrangements, which were for the benefit of Scotland, and pursue those plans which were incompatible with the safety or tranquillity of England, the judicious and conscientious minister discussed what he truly calls 'the weighty matter;' and therefore the question, 'Whether it be meet that England should help the nobility and Protestants of Scotland

to the appointment of France, as it now is, which seeketh always to make Scotland an instrument against England. As long as it is at the command of the French, there is no hope to have accord long.' Sadler's St. Papers, 1, p. 375.

³⁴ 'Seeing that it is at the French king's command, by reason of his will, it is for the weal of Scotland, that until she have children, and during her absence out of the realm, the next heirs to the crown, being the house of the Hamiltons, should have regard thereto, and see that the crown be neither impaired nor wasted. And the nobility and commonalty ought to foresee that the laws and old customs of the realm be not altered, nor the country impoverished by taxes imprest, or new imposts, after the manner of France.' ib. 376.

³⁵ Ib. 377. Of this revenue, one portion to be allotted to the queen during her absence; another to the government and defence of the realm; and a third to be kept in the treasury. ib. ³⁶ Ib. 376.

³⁷ 'Fourthly, that no more noblemen of Scotland should receive pension of France, except it were whilst he did service in France: for otherwise the French would shortly corrupt many to betray their own country.' ib. 376.

³⁸ 'It may be provided by the consent of the three estates of the land that the land may be free from all idolatry, as England is' ib. 376.

to expel the French or no?'³⁹ He felt that subjects should not be aided against their natural princes, and that it was dangerous to do so, because a secret aid must be too small to suffice, and an open one would produce wars, whose issue was uncertain. The French and Scots might compound and join in force against England: and the pope and Catholic princes might conspire to prevent the two kingdoms from being united in the same religion.⁴⁰ On the other hand, every public state had a right to defend itself against perils seen, and against dangers advancing: and nature and reason urge all to use the same means for defence as are employed in the aggression. His conclusion therefore was, 'that England both may and ought to aid Scotland to keep out the French.'⁴¹ And upon these views, and on these principles, the conduct of the English cabinet was founded in its transactions with Scotland during the reign of its queen Mary, whose impressible or unsteady mind was led by the not unusual changes of the circumstances of human life, and by temptations not uncommon, to a variation of conduct and to a forgetfulness of moral principle, which produced

³⁹ Burnet Ref. v. 6, p. 374. Sadler's State Pap. 1, p. 378.

⁴⁰ Ib.

⁴¹ Ib. He proceeds to reason, that from the feudal homage paid by former Scottish sovereigns to the English crown, the latter was bound 'to defend the liberties, the laws, the baronage and people of Scotland, and to protect the realm against the French. Burnet, 375. Sadler, 379. After these reasons 'of right and honor,' he states that England was 'in evident danger,' and 'ought, for the protection of itself from perpetual ruin and subversion, to see that the French be not suffered to bring their armies into Scotland.' He then states the practices of Mary and her husband to deprive Elizabeth 'of her title, and to set forth their own;' their assumption of the English arms, and their styling themselves king and queen of England in their 'great seal, paintings, gravings and writings.' ib.

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a succession of evils to her at every step of her deviation from probity and good judgment; as well as great perturbation and danger to Elizabeth and England, as long as Mary lived.

The first measures of Elizabeth as to this sister kingdom, were to concert means with the Scottish regent, to suppress the outrages which were increasing in the border districts, and to have a confidential agent there, to treat on the subjects which involved the peace of the two countries.⁴² Sir Ralph Sadler, who was thus employed, thought that the lords of the congregation ought to be encouraged,⁴³ and advised the presence of the earl of Arran to be obtained, as one who would be in more estimation than his ducal father.⁴⁴ The active John Knox, who meddled too much with military and civil affairs to be the sanctified reformer of corrupted religion, and was

⁴² See her instructions to the earl of Northumberland, Crofts, and Sadler, in August 1559; and to the latter, whom she sent at that time to Berwick, in Sadler's Papers, 1, p. 387-91. He was to confer with sir R. Lee, who was superintending the expensive fortifications of Berwick, and who had desired the queen to send to him 'some singular trusty person.' p. 390. Her private instructions to him, dated from Nonsuch, 8 Aug. 1559, were, to confer and treat with any person of Scotland 'for the furtherance of our service, and of any other thing that may tend to make a perpetual concord between the nation of Scotland and ours.' ib. p. 392. On 28th August the queen regent appointed Bothwell, the father of Maitland, and sir Walter Kerr, lord Hales, and Crichton, to be her commissioners (ib. 407;) of whom the three first, on 31st, announced their appointment to Northumberland. p. 415.

⁴³ The language of his dispatch to Cecil, 20 Aug. shews that nothing premeditated was pursuing by the English government; but that they were fairly examining and judging what was best to be done. 'We have conferred together upon this secret affair, and considering the state and perplexity thereof, albeit we cannot judge what is to be hoped for certainty at their hands with whom we have to do [the lords,] yet we think it good policy, that if they may be by any means encouraged and comforted to follow their enterprizes, the same be not neglected on our parts.' ib. 399.

⁴⁴ Ib. p. 400.

therefore more fitted to demolish what was wrong, and to fight the battle of violence against the oppressor and persecutor, than to teach sacred wisdom and purified truth like the holy and inspired apostle, opened a private intercourse with the English commissioner,⁴⁵ who recommended a small advance of money to those who had most suffered.⁴⁶ Cecil desired the Scottish Protestants to consider how they could be assisted, without producing war,⁴⁷ and apprised Sadler that the French had embarked one thousand pikes and one thousand arquebusiers for Scotland, under Octavian, a Milanese veteran commander.⁴⁸

The earl of Arran was found on the continent, and safely conveyed thence, under a fictitious name, to England; and at length to his father's castle at Hamilton.⁴⁹ As he reached Sadler at Berwick, the

⁴⁵ 'At my coming hither, here was a secret messenger sent from Knox.' 'I, sir James Crofts, understand by Knox, they will require aid of the queen's majesty for the entertainment and wages of 1,500 arquebusiers and 300 horsemen; which, if they may have, then France, as Knox sayeth, shall soon understand their mind.' p. 400. Sir James answered Knox by desiring him to send H. Balnaves, or some other discreet person, to Holy Island, to be conveyed secretly to him at Berwick. Lett. 20 Aug. ib. 402.

⁴⁶ 'The bestowing 2 or 3,000 crowns to relieve them, which have sustained great losses, and spent in a manner all they had in this matter.' ib.

⁴⁷ 'The Protestants there should be thus persuaded, that considering we be in peace with their enemies, and may not conveniently break, without great injury offered to us, an evident commodity thereby ensuing, they should devise such ways, whereby they might be helped by us, and ye remain in peace as we do.' Lett. 24 Aug. p. 403.

⁴⁸ Ib. 403. Octavian soon afterwards reached Leith with his reinforcement. Lett. 29 Aug. ib. 411. With this force the queen regent began immediately to fortify Leith. ib. p. 457.

⁴⁹ In his passport, dated 31 August, he is called Mons. de Beaufort, as Randolph who conducted him, is styled Thomas Barnaby. p. 421. He reached Alnwick 6 Sept. (p. 429) and Berwick the next day. p. 435. On 10th 'he was safely delivered unto such a one of his friends as hath undertaken to convey him to his father both secretly and surely.' p. 440. And a few days afterwards he was 'safely in the

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friend of Knox arrived there from the lords of the congregation, to state, that as the queen regent had not observed the articles of their last agreement,⁵⁰ they should revive their confederation. She had set up again the mass at Holyrood house. The French remained, and more had arrived. This had moved all Scotland; and 'for these matters, he saith, they will begin again.'⁵¹ The reformation had spread more largely,⁵² and they meant to assemble at Stirling, and hoped to hear of some good aid and comfort from Elizabeth,⁵³ and that this should be in money.⁵⁴ This was granted immediately on a moderate scale.⁵⁵ The lords met at Stirling, as they

castle of Hamilton with his father, who rejoiced not a little of his coming; and hitherto he remaineth there so secret, that it was not known in Scotland that he is arrived there.' Lett. 16 Sept. p. 447. But he soon 'discovered himself;' (450) and then young Maitland, afterwards so prominent, sent Sadler word, 'That he attended upon the regent no longer than till he might have a good occasion to revolt unto the Protestants.' p. 451.

⁵⁰ By the armistice at Leith, of 24th July 1559, Edinburgh was to use what religion it pleased; no garrison should be placed there; and none were to be prosecuted for their religious tenets. Sadl. 430, note.

⁵¹ Lett. Sadl. 8th Sept. p. 431.

⁵² 'During this, meantime, they have had their preachers abroad, who have so won and allured the people to their devotion, that, he saith, their power is now double that it was in the cause of religion; and such as be not yet fully persuaded thereto, bear nevertheless such hatred to the Frenchmen, that he thinketh the whole realm favoereth their party.' ib. 431.

⁵³ Ib. p. 432.

⁵⁴ Belnaves said, 'If they might now have such relief at her majesty's hands as would keep together 1,000 arquebusiers and 300 horsemen for two or three months, besides such power as they trust to make at their own charge, they would either achieve their enterprize, or spend their lives in pursuit thereof.' p. 433. They promised that if this were granted, 'it shall be so secret, that none, except a few which be of the privy council among us, shall know any other but that the force is levied of the benevolence of the whole congregation.' 434.

⁵⁵ The force they asked would have cost 3,000*l.* for two months. The commissioners granted them 2,000*l.* p. 434. Sir Ralph having acted on his own discretion in doing this, was anxious 'to know how her highness

had projected, and the earl of Arran accompanied them to the duke his father, to make a cordial reconciliation. He concurred in all their objects;⁵⁶ and tho want of adequate financial means endangered their cause, and enfeebled their operations,⁵⁷ yet hearing that the French were fortifying Leith, they addressed to the queen regent a strong remonstrance against it,⁵⁸ and receiving no answer, agreed to assemble again in the middle of the ensuing month, and not to separate till they had obtained the points which they thought essential to their safety.⁵⁹

liketh or misliketh what we have done.' p. 435. As they were conferring, the earl of Arran arrived, and was introduced to the lords' messenger. ib. On the 13th Sept. the queen wrote her approbation. p. 446.

⁵⁶ Lett. Balnaves, of 23d Sept. p. 461.

⁵⁷ Knox, under the name of John Sinclair, stated these circumstances to sir James Crofts, in his letter from St. Andrews of 21st September, and pressed strongly for a pecuniary supply. 'For albeit that money by the adversary party largely offered could not corrupt them, yet extreme poverty would compel them to remain at home. If any persuade you that they will or may serve without support, they do but deceive you. If I did not perfectly understand their necessity, I would not write so precisely. If we lack those, Sir! whom in my former letters I expressed, our power will be weaker than men believe. France seeketh all means to make them friends, and to diminish our number. Ye are not ignorant what poverty on the one part, and money largely offered upon the other is able to persuade. Be advertized and advertize others, as you favor the success of the cause. I have done what in me lieth, that corruption enter not among them.' Sadl. Pap. 456. He adds a pleasing trait of his filial feelings: 'Procure a license for my mother Elizabeth Bowis to visit me, and to remain with me for a season. The comfort of her conscience, which cannot be quiet without God's word truly preached, and his sacraments rightly ministered, is the cause of her request and of my care.' ib. 457.

⁵⁸ Baln. Lett. p. 461. Knox has printed this manifesto in his History, dated Hamilton, 19 Sept. 1559. Her answer to the duke was, 'That it was as meet and lawful for her daughter to fortify where she pleased in her own realm, as it was for him to build at Hamilton; and that she would not stay it unless she were by force impeded.' p. 465. On 9 Oct. they requested her to dismiss the French soldiers. Her answer was, 'Your letter appeareth to us to have come rather from a prince to his subjects, than from subjects to them that beareth authority.' See both in Haynes' State Pap. p. 211, 212.

⁵⁹ 'And not to depart asunder till they accomplish the change of this authority, and have their intent of the Frenchmen by one means

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While the Protestant nobility were thus preparing for measures, half defensive and half aggressive, the queen regent's commissioners met those of Elizabeth,⁶⁰ and completed their articles 'for redress and reformation of all attemptatis on the borders.'⁶¹ But the fortification of Leith was causing great popular dissatisfaction,⁶² which the arrival of more French troops increased.⁶³ The lords suppressed three abbeys, and burnt their images.⁶⁴ They wished to keep a permanent force of a thousand men in Stirling, but were unable to do what they had now committed their lives to perform, unless they received pecuniary aid from the English government.⁶⁵ The

or other. And because we fear the fortifying of Leith in this meantime, we make to take Edinburgh, to the effect the Frenchmen may be impeded of their enterprize.' Baln. p. 462.

⁶⁰ On 7 Sept. Bothwell, R. Maitland, and Ker, addressed their letter to Northumberland, appointing to meet them at Ladykirk on Monday the 11th. Sadl. p. 430. And on the 22d the ordinances were signed at Ladykirk, which is on the north bank of the Tweed, near Norham. ib. 457, note. Their confirmation by Francis and Mary is in Rymer, v. 15, p. 539.

⁶¹ These were strict regulations for the immediate prosecution of every 'attemptat committed by the lieges of either realm.' The last article is rather curious: As 'there is divers prisoners in either realm put in irons and fetters, or cast in horrible pits or wild places, against the order of charity among Christian men, the said lords ordain, that all prisoners be honestly treated and charitably demeaned in time coming.' Sadl. p. 459. But on the first application to make such prosecutions, Bothwell 'utterly denied' his promise to do so. Earl Northumb. Lett. 12 Oct. p. 496.

⁶² 'This enterprize of Leith hath inflamed the hearts of our people to a wonderful hatred and despite of France; wherethro I think there shall follow a plain defection from Franco for ever.' Baln. Lett. p. 462.

⁶³ On 27 Sept. Sadler wrote to mention, that 'three days before, three ships had arrived, with the bishop of Amiens and 300 soldiers.' p. 464. While Cecil, on the same day, informed him that the marquis D'Elbeuf, a brother of the duke of Guise, had also sailed with other forces. ib. The French were daily looking for him, on 19 Sept. p. 451; and in the next month the duke of Aumale, another brother, was appointed to take more troops. ib. 494. On 20 Oct. Cecil wrote, 'It is most certain that there be in readiness 4,000 soldiers, whereof the chief conductor shall be Dampmartin, a man of great knowlege.' p. 506.

⁶⁴ Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dumfermlin. p. 468.

⁶⁵ This was strongly put by Sadler to Cecil, on 29 Sept. 'Consider,

possible contingencies which might arise from these agitations in Scotland, made it important to Elizabeth to investigate the ability and fidelity of the three wardens of the east, west, and middle marches.⁶⁶ They were reported to be insufficient for the crisis, and more effective commanders were recommended.⁶⁷

sir! how they shall be able to go thro with these things without help of the queen's majesty; for, altho they have good will, and be so far that they must needs go thro or else perish; yet they be very poor: and what poverty may enforce them to do, you can weigh much better than we can. About the latter end of next month they look for more aid of money, or else, Balnaves sayeth, they shall not be able to keep their men together. Knox sueth for relief of certain, which, tho he name them not, he meaneth to be, the earl of Glencairn, who indeed is a poor man; the lairds of Doun, Ormeston, and Grange and White-law: the consideration whercof we refer to your wisdom. We think that the spending 4 or 5,000*l.* in this matter shall save the queen a great deal another way; for, how near it might touch us if the French should now win the upper hand in Scotland, we refer to the judgment of her majesty. If any thing cause the Protestants to faint, it will be very poverty and lack of money.' Sadl. p. 469. On 3 Oct. Cecil promised them 3,000*l.* more money (p. 478), which in two days after Elizabeth herself sent in gold by the bearer of her letter (p. 480), changed chiefly into French crowns, as Cecil enumerates with a minuteness rather peculiar for so great a man, who had so much to think of; but that intellectual greatness arises from and requires large and exact knowlege of particular facts, in addition to its own powerful capacity of acquiring and using them; and the general habit attends it on minor as well as its major occasions. 'I was troubled in exchanging the same out of silver and English gold into French crowns. The party knoweth not but the money is for yourself, and is in silver, containing about 400 lbs. in silver. I send you the key, sealed up with the signet. I have given the bearer for his labor 6*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* for payment for his horse hire, &c. I cannot here convert so much into French gold as I would; but thus ye shall find it in the portmanteau:

In French crowns, with odd silver	-	£.1,779	15	-
In rials	-	-	1,101	8 4
In crowns, English	-	-	-	55 10 -
In French crowns of mine, in your hands			63	6 8
			3,000	- -

Yours, most assured—W. CECIL.—1 Sadl. p. 485.

⁶⁶ They were at that time, the earl of Northumberland, for the east and middle marches, and lord Dacre for the west; both Catholics. p. 460. note.

⁶⁷ Sadler declared to Cecil on 30 Sept. 'It is necessary to have them changed; for more unmeet than these be, you cannot lightly put in their places.' p. 470. He advises sir James Crofts, if he will take the

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The queen regent and the lords issued violent proclamations against each other.⁶⁸ She mistook, or misrepresented, the duke Hamilton's motive to be an usurpation of the crown, and became more determined to resist his measures; but as she had no army to compete with them in the field, she would remain within the military defence of Leith.⁶⁹ But she was declining in her health.⁷⁰ The lords advanced to Edinburgh, which was surrendered to their power, convened a parliament, and summoned the gentry in the Marches and Tiviotdale to attend in the metropolis, on pain of their allegiance.⁷¹ The queen and French withdrew to Leith. The lords and barons unanimously concurred in deposing her from her regency, and denounced her and the foreign troops as enemies to the commonwealth.⁷² They were desirous to attack Leith before more French troops should reach it; but the English commissioner

charge, for the east marches, sir John Forster for the middle, and lord Wharton or sir Thomas Dacre for the west. Sadl. p. 471. 'The revenues of the bishopric of Durham should bear the greatest part of all the said charges.' ib. 473.

⁶⁸ Randolph's Lett. 12th Oct. p. 498. He had been sent into Scotland, because the earl of Arran, whom he had so safely conducted, desired to have him with him. p. 462.

⁶⁹ 'The regent said late to a gentleman, that the congregation at the first did rise for matter of religion, but she now seeth that they shoot at another mark; and that the duke and his son mean to usurp the crown; that she would defend her daughter's right as she could, and therefore she said, that having no power to take the field, she, for the safety of the poor Frenchmen which be with her, doth fortify Leith, intending to remain there; that it is well victualled, and made very strong, and doubteth not to keep it till more aid come to her, which she looketh for out of France.' Lett. 12 Oct. p. 502.

⁷⁰ This was thus mentioned by Randolph, from Hamilton, on 12th Oct.: 'Some say she is very sick. Some say that the devil cannot kill her;' (p. 499) but by Sadler more rationally, 'She is surely in great perplexity, and also is very weak and sickly, so that, as some think, she cannot long continue.' p. 502.

⁷¹ Lett. 20th Oct. p. 508.

⁷² On 22d Oct. 1559. Lett. of the lords to Sadler, p. 512.

remarked, ‘ You know the Scots can climb no walls.’⁷³ He also thought them incompetent in means and power.⁷⁴ The poverty of the Congregation continued to prevent either distant or active operations, and it was increased by the capture of the supply which had been sent for their relief.⁷⁵ The partisans of Mary and her French husband were then but few;⁷⁶ yet her forces defeated those of the Congregation in a sally,⁷⁷ to the great discouragement of some of their party. But the larger part determining to remain firm in their undertaking, sent Maitland to solicit further aid from England, without which they would be unable to achieve it.⁷⁸ The queen regent endeavored to mitigate the opposing feeling, by proclaiming pardon to all who

⁷³ Lett. of the Lords to Sadler, p. 514. Capt. Drury also reported, ‘ There is a lack of captains amongst them, to give advice as to besieging.’ p. 567. These movements induced the queen to send 3,000*l.* more, 30th Oct. p. 531. But of Knox’s conduct her secretary remarked, ‘ Surely I like not Knox’s audacity, which was well tamed in your answer. His writings do no good here, and therefore I do rather suppress them; and yet I mean not but that you should continue in sending them.’ Lett. of 3 Nov. p. 535.

⁷⁴ *Ib.* 542.

⁷⁵ Bothwell waylaid and intercepted Ormeston with 1,000*l.* Lett. 5 Nov. 54. Sadler says, ‘ We durst as well have committed our lives as the money to his hands.’ p. 542. But the subsequent co-operation of Ormeston with Bothwell in a more atrocious deed, induces a question whether the waylaying was not a treacherous contrivance.

⁷⁶ On 5th November 1559, Sadler thus answered an inquiry on this point: ‘ There be no Scots of any name with her in Leith, but the lord Seton and lord Borthwick. The rest, as the earl of Bothwell who is on her side, and such others as seem to favor her party, remain at home by her consent until she shall require their aid. There be in Leith about 3,000 of Scots and Frenchmen in wages.’ p. 544.

⁷⁷ Two thousand issued from Leith, to collect provisions, on 6th Nov. p. 554.

⁷⁸ Sadler’s lett. 25 Nov. p. 603. He carried with him the instructions of what he was to declare to Elizabeth; which are printed p. 604–8. Sir Ralph Sadler was now himself appointed to be warden of the east and middle marches, in Nov. 1559. p. 613.

would apply for the grace, for having acted against her.⁷⁹

Both France and England now began to make larger preparations to support their respective policy in Scotland. Elizabeth sent four thousand men to strengthen her forces on the frontier district;⁸⁰ while forty vessels sailed from the French ports with men and provisions.⁸¹ The earl of Arran and lord James expressed their apprehensions at the increase of the foreign troops.⁸² New arrivals enabled and disposed the French commanders to attempt a surprise of the Protestant lords at Stirling, under Bothwell as their leader;⁸³ and Elizabeth determined to send the duke of Norfolk with her forces to their succor.⁸⁴ Knox had again represented the poverty

⁷⁹ Lett. J. Wood, 30th Nov. p. 617. The writer subjoins: 'Soon after she fell in a grievous sickness, and was despaired of all men; but is partly convalesced, without esperance of long life.' *ib.*

⁸⁰ Sadl. Pap. p. 633. Queen's lett. p. 639.

⁸¹ Cecil's lett. 13th Dec. p. 635. On 16th Dec. he proposed that lord Grey should enter Scotland with 4,000 foot and 2,000 horse, secure the Firth, and recover Leith. p. 641.

⁸² 'The cause that moveth us at this time to write unto you, is the daily incoming of the French, which putteth our towns on the coast side of Fyfe in great fear. We are also by oft advertisements informed that the French are to take some other part of the country, and fort it.' Lett. Sadler, 20 Dec. p. 647. On 22 December sir Ralph estimated the French troops then in Scotland to be 3,000. p. 651. D'Elbeuf had embarked with a large reinforcement for Scotland, but storms pursued him, and his ships were either wrecked off Holland, or driven back to France, (p. 655) except 900 men, who landed at last under Martigues. p. 662.

⁸³ Lett. earl Arran and lord James, 28 December, p. 666; and Sadler's, p. 667; also Barnaby's [Randolph's] letter from Glasgow, of 31 December, 674.

⁸⁴ Elizabeth announced this in her letter of 31 Dec. 1559, to Sadler. p. 669. The lords resolved to be ready on 10 Jan. to meet the English force they had solicited. p. 675. On 6 Jan. 1560, sir Ralph announced that 300 more French troops had arrived, and that D'Elbeuf was again on the seas, p. 679. On 11 Jan. Elizabeth ordered the duke to do what was best for her service, and apprized him that of this reinforcement,

of his confederated friends,⁸⁵ altho they were some of the chief nobility and gentry of Scotland. Before the English aid arrived, the activity, superior discipline and equipment, and devastations of the French, disheartened the reformed party; and would have ruined it if the English fleet had not entered the Firth.⁸⁶ The French were marching triumphantly to St. Andrews. They saw the floating pendants as they were plundering along the coast; and supposing it was D'Elbeuf, from France, they fired a salvo of congratulation. The capture of two of their provision vessels undeceived them, and they began immediately a painful retreat. Lord James, whose troops were unequal to a pitched battle with them, pursued them for twenty-one days, without his soldiers taking off their armour;⁸⁷ and the

1,000 French had been lost by tempest in Zealand, and that D'Elbeuf had been blown back to Dieppe, with nine ships out of eleven. Haynes, p. 223.

⁸⁵ ' Their number is now augmented; and their poverty also in such sort, that if relief be not provided speedily, I fear that more than I will mourn when we may not so well amend it. What would suffice every one in particular I cannot well assure you, but such I know their necessity to be, that some who daily fed forty or more in household, is not now able to feed two.' Lett. of Knox, 23 Oct. p. 680.

⁸⁶ See the letters of the earl of Arran and lord James. ' Our commons were wearied, and forced to leave us, and the whole multitude not a little discouraged thro the long tarry of your ships.' 15 Jan. p. 689. ' Your long tarry hath put all the commons and sundry barons in despair of your aid. If your ships be not hasted, or you cause not your land host to make a meaning forwards, to draw the enemy back from their enterprise, you shall put us and the whole cause in an extreme danger.' Lett. 17 Jan. p. 692. But on 23d, Arran eagerly wrote to his friend, ' to certify you of our good news—the ships arrived yesterday in the Firth—thanks be to God all is now well amongst these people—but it hath not been without great comber and hazard.' p. 697.

⁸⁷ Sadler, p. 698. Letter and note. When the English admiral, Winter, entered the Firth, ' he was shot at very sore by the French, lying at Insketh and Leith, so that he was in danger to have some of his ships sunk—whereupon he immediately fell upon certain French ships lying on the Fyfe side, and captured two men of war and a hoy

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Reformation in Scotland, and its national independence, were rescued from a destruction that was becoming inevitable.

From the preceding facts taken from the confidential letters and dispatches written at the time of their occurrence, it appears that Elizabeth made no unnecessary, selfish, or wilful interference with the Scottish nation. Its perturbations and conflicts unavoidably involved both herself and her nation in their vortex ; and, unless she had possessed the physical power of separating Scotland from her own realm, and of transporting it to the Archipelago or to the Pacific, she could not avoid a precautionary and preservative interposition. But when compelled to intermeddle, her objects and conduct were patriotic and benevolent to both countries, as well as indispensable to the security of her own crown. They were directed to prevent the French from being masters of Scotland, and from extinguishing the Reformation there against the will of its people ; and to preserve England and herself, and thereby Protestant Europe, from the calamities and perils which would unavoidably follow, if France and the pope should succeed in overwhelming and destroying those who in Scotland were opposing their power. These dangers were as strongly pressed upon her contemplation by her ablest commissioner on the northern borders,⁸⁸ as they had been urged by her clear-sighted ambassador in

laden with ammunition.' Haynes, p. 231. This was the act of direct warfare between France and England.

⁸⁸ Sir Ralph Sadler repeatedly intimated to Cecil the danger to England from the French schemes in Scotland. The Scottish nobility expressed it strongly in their instructions sent to the English government thro Maitland. 1 Sadl. p. 607.

France.⁸⁹ They must indeed be as obvious to all who review this period of our history, as they were to these intelligent and upright statesmen. Elizabeth interfered only to preserve both England and Scotland.⁹⁰ If Elizabeth is at all blameable as to Scotland, it is, that from the high courage of her enlightened mind,⁹¹ and from her love of peace, she was scarcely willing to be sensible of the peril. She was rather too reluctant and too tardy to intermeddle, and too frugal in her assistance, and thereby put the great cause, which the combined lords were supporting with so much worldly suffering to themselves, into a chance of discomfiture which might have been irreparable. This error was however a mistake on the side of justice and rectitude.⁹² War is a dreadful

⁸⁹ The dispatches from sir Nicholas Throckmorton, in Forbes' State Papers, shew how earnestly he pressed these considerations on Elizabeth.

⁹⁰ Cecil's letter of 12 Nov. 1559, to Sadler, written by Elizabeth's command, as signified by her own autograph to it, so characterizes her measures with the concurrence of the whole privy council, or English cabinet. 'It doth appear manifestly that the French have a full determination to break peace with this realm as soon as they may recover their purpose in Scotland. The proofs be so certain, that the same is not to be trifled with, but seriously weighed; and foreseen, to be remedied. This principle is true, that whensoever they shall make an end with Scotland, they will begin with England; and therefore it seemeth a just and sound counsel, for our own safeguard, to protract the matter of Scotland against them. And with this only meaning doth her majesty consent, moved naturally for her own defence and her realm, to further the nobility of Scotland from ruin and conquest.' 1 Sadl. 567.

⁹¹ Cecil intimated this quality in his letter of 24 Aug. 1559: 'The queen is half whole, half in doubt, of an ague. God send her as good health, *as she has a heart*.' Sadl. p. 404.

⁹² She could hardly shew the integrity of her policy more fully, than by requiring that the Scottish nobility, in their application to her for aid, should expressly state their determination to be loyal to their own sovereign Mary, in these words: 'Neither that they hereby do withdraw their hearts and duties to their sovereign lady, to whom they wish all honor and felicity;' but, 'for the weal of Scotland, to be made free from all French counsellors.'

In soliciting her protection of 'the antient rights and liberties of

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resort, which the wise or good will ever desire to avoid; nor can they seek to patronize insurrections against established governments, from which so many crimes and miseries always flow, and which cannot but create calamities whenever they occur. Such afflictions and mischiefs no one can guiltlessly be eager either to originate or to promote. The criminality of others may provoke them; oppression may make a wise man mad; but it will be always painful to the upright spirit, to be driven to repress evil by the counterpart of what it wishes to remedy; and therefore to be producing in a newer shape the infelicities and wickedness which its reason or philanthropy may be projecting to extinguish.⁹³

The important earls, Huntley and Morton, and a few other nobles, had either wavered or stood aloof so long from the rest of the combined nobility, as to create doubts and uneasiness as to their final decision.⁹⁴ But in February 1560, Huntley ‘began a

their kingdom,’ they were to subjoin, ‘allowing to them always their natural duties and obeisance to their sovereign lady and queen, in all things that shall tend to the honor of God, the weal of the realm, and to the preservation of her person from the treasons of the French against her natural country.’ p. 573.

⁹³ The English commissioners expressed this moral difficulty to the envoy dispatched secretly to them from the Congregation, in their confidential conference with him: ‘Marry! we told him, that albeit their cause was grounded upon a good and godly foundation, to extirpate idolatry, and to advance true religion; and also for the preservation of the freedom of their country, and to deliver the same from foreign government, as in conscience they are bound to do. Yet the world can make no other exposition of it, but that they be, as it were, a faction gathered together, contending against the authority.’ Sadler, p. 433.

⁹⁴ In September 1559, Huntley refused to attend the regent on her invitation; and his son joined the congregation. p. 465. He required first to know what Elizabeth meant to do. 498. In November the lords trusted him but little, and none thought well of Morton, because he had broken his promise. p. 537. Sadler thought him ‘simple and fearful;’ and Huntley ‘wily.’ p. 552. But in February 1560, he avowed the reason why he had not joined, to be, ‘that he doubted that they would

reformation of religion in his country,'⁹⁵ and many noblemen agreed to act as he advised.⁹⁶ The actual entrance of the English force ensured the safety of a co-operation, which, without their aid, presented prospects of danger which may have contributed to his long hesitation. The French in Leith were besieged, and the queen regent left it for Edinburgh castle, which lord Erskine, tho friendly to her opponents, would not surrender to them, as he had been entrusted by her to defend it.⁹⁷ The duke of Norfolk was expressly commanded by Elizabeth to make to her an explicit communication of the English queen's honorable self-defensive intentions.⁹⁸

The French made some demonstrations of invading England at this conjuncture;⁹⁹ and the English

fall into some composition with the French ;' but being satisfied that this would not take place, ' he will shew himself as forward as any of the rest. Thus much has the earl of Sunderland said on his behalf, as desired by him.' p. 703.

⁹⁵ Ib. 705.

⁹⁶ ' On the 12th of this present, all the noblemen in these parts assembled themselves at Aberdeen. The earls of Athol, Errol, Montrose, Marshall, Crawford ; and the lords Grey, Ogleby, Drummond, and Oliphant, have promised to do as the lord Huntley shall advise him.' Lett. 10th Feb. 1560, p. 705.

⁹⁷ She went there on 28th March 1560. p. 712.

⁹⁸ She directed him to authorise sir R. Sadler ' in our name to assure the queen dowager that we mean nothing more than the preservation of our own realm, which her daughter has challenged and sought many ways ; and the continuance of that kingdom in due obedience to her daughter, to be governed by its laws and without force of arms. If it be objected by the French, that they remain for subduing of the rebellion, we mean not to have the same removed, until the due obedience shall be acknowledged unto their sovereign lady, agreeable to the laws and liberties of the land.' Lett. 28th March 1560. p. 711. Her private letter of 15th Feb. to the duke of Norfolk, expressed, that except the nobility of Scotland ' shall be able themselves to expel the forces of France, that in these, our former intent must needs continue to aid them, to the clear expulsion of the French, whereby our kingdom may be more free from the invasion of France.' Haynes' Stat. Pap. 243.

⁹⁹ Sir Thomas Chaloner's dispatch from Brussels, of 5th Feb. 1560, was, ' The admiral Chastillon is at this present at Calais with twelve ensigns, and by the latter of this month they shall be thirty ensigns ;

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prepared to assist the Scots in the siege of Leith;¹⁰⁰ while the lords entered into articles of amicable arrangement with the government at Westminster, for its protecting succor.¹⁰¹ No country ever made a compact with another for better purposes, more divested of ambitious ends, or with more honorable disinterestedness. The simple object was the expulsion of a common enemy, for the preservation of their national safety and individual independence. The queen of England issued a proclamation, declaring her desire to remain at peace with both France and Scotland; but detailing the conduct of the Guises, who, for their private advancement, were obviously seeking to involve the three countries in vindictive hostilities.¹⁰² Spain admitted the end of Elizabeth to be to 'have her realm in safety,' yet requested her to withdraw her forces from Scotland.

not so much meant for Scotland, as for descent somewhere in England. Take heed to the Isle of Wight. The French will join to these eight companies of their gens d'armerie, and one thousand Swartrutters.' Haynes' Stat. Pap. 236. It is pleasing to read the ambassador's character of the founder of our Royal Exchange: 'Sir Thomas Gresham maketh such haste away for the queen's majesty's affairs, being a jewel for trust, wit, and diligent endeavour.' ib. 237.

¹⁰⁰ Council's letter to the duke of Norfolk, 12 March. Haynes, 259.

¹⁰¹ They were first made at Berwick, 27 February 1560 (Haynes, p. 253;) approved of by Elizabeth, and re-copied and enlarged, 12 March (p. 259;) and sent a week afterwards to the duke, p. 264. After reciting the intention of the French to conquer Scotland, and unite it to their own crown, Elizabeth agreed to take it under her protection only for the preservation of its liberties during Mary's marriage with the French king, and one year after, and that she should send convenient aid to expel the French there, and to stop more from coming; and on taking any forts, to deliver them to the lords, or let the Scots demolish them, and should fortify no place without their consent; and that she should never permit Scotland to be conquered by France. The Scots agreed to assist England if invaded. Haynes, 253-5.

¹⁰² See it in Haynes, 268-70, dated 24 March 1560. On 5 April, Cecil made a private 'memorial of the injuries committed by France since the last peace.' ib. 277.

The queen answered the partial requisition by desiring the departure of the French, whose continuance had alone caused their entrance.¹⁰³ Lord Grey was ordered to omit nothing for the siege of Leith;¹⁰⁴ but having more bravery than skill, the place remained untaken;¹⁰⁵ a vigorous assault failed, and the place was found not to be assaultable;¹⁰⁶ and sir Peter Carew was sent to inquire into the causes of the failure.¹⁰⁷ But famine began to distress the defenders;¹⁰⁸ and the French finding their great objects frustrated, evinced a desire for treating on a general pacification. The queen dowager's death accelerated the proposal.¹⁰⁹ Sir William Cecil went down to Newcastle with Dr. Wotton, as the English commissioners, to confer with the bishop of Valence and Monsieur Randan;¹¹⁰ and after many meetings and much disputation, the articles of peace were

¹⁰³ Minute of sir Fr. Knolles, 8 April. Haynes, p. 280. The French were borrowing Spanish ships and troops in Flanders, and had applied to the king of Portugal for some of his. *ib.* p. 286.

¹⁰⁴ Queen's letter 16 April. *ib.* 291. On 20 April lord John Grey made his remarks to Cecil upon it. p. 295. A week after, a severe skirmish occurred before its walls. 296–300.

¹⁰⁵ On 26 April, Norfolk intimated to the secretary, that tho Grey was 'forward enough, all is not in him that hath been thought.' p. 299. And on 5 May, 'Out of doubt, my lord Grey's service doth consist but on courage without any conduct. Every man that can lead a band of horse-men is not for so great an enterprise.' p. 304. By the 8 May, the duke stated, 'Out of 8,500 foot, he could only shew now 4,500. If the queen mind the winning of Leith, it is not to be done under 20,000 men.' p. 304.

¹⁰⁶ Norf. letter, 11 May, p. 305. At the assault, the *women* did us much woe.' p. 319.

¹⁰⁷ See Mem. 15 May, p. 310. His report was, that 'the assault failed, because there was not sufficient breach, and the ladders were not long enough by two yards, thro fault in not viewing of the ditches. Both Sadler and Crofts thought the breaches insufficient, and that it should not be meddled with; yet lord Grey persisted in attempting it.' Haynes, p. 346.

¹⁰⁸ Lett. 30 May, p. 319.

¹⁰⁹ In June 1560, Cecil's letter. Haynes, 324. See notes of their discussions, p. 331, and 335–41.

¹¹⁰ Haynes, 324–350.

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finally arranged,¹¹¹ and Leith abandoned, with the stipulation that its fortifications should be demolished.¹¹²

To remove the personal danger to Elizabeth from the hostile competition of Mary for her immediate crown, which established a perilous rallying point for all who chose to become disaffected in England, and for all Roman Catholics there, it was expressly agreed in these pacifying articles, that Mary and her husband should abstain from using or bearing the title and arms of the kingdom of England or Ireland.¹¹³ The English army then marched homeward. The reforming preachers were allowed to continue their labors; and when the Scottish parliament met, their confession of faith received its sanction. The former clergy were declared to be usurping ministers, and the new ones only were to have power to administer the sacrament.¹¹⁴ The Reformation in Scotland thus received a legal establishment.¹¹⁵ But Mary and her regal husband refused their ratification;¹¹⁶ and thus kept the claim to dispossess Elizabeth unrenounced, and therefore

¹¹¹ They were signed 6 July 1560. Cecil's letter, Haynes, p. 352.

¹¹² Cecil stated to the queen the substance of the peace. The most material points were: All the French fortifications to be demolished; the French soldiers to evacuate Scotland, and no more to be landed. The government of Scotland was to be in a council of twelve, out of twenty-four to be named by Parliament, of whom Mary was to chuse seven, and the estates the other five. The public offices to be filled by Scotsmen. A full recognition of Elizabeth's right to her crown, and disuse of her title and arms by Mary. Haynes, 354-6.

¹¹³ Keith, 134. He gives the other documents connected with this negotiation, 131-144.

¹¹⁴ *Ib.* 149, 150.

¹¹⁵ It was in August 1560 that these Acts passed. Keith, 151.

¹¹⁶ Keith, 154.

ready to operate to all its possible results; while it continued in the meantime its disquieting alarms.¹¹⁷

The unexpected death of Francis II. in the seventeenth year of his age, on 4th December 1560, which left Mary a widow, is declared to have been of critical importance, even not only to the French reformation,¹¹⁸ but, as to the actual day of its occurrence, to the very existence of the present dynasty of Bourbon, which was to have been sacrificed to the Romish religion,¹¹⁹ and to the ambition of the house of Guise. The states of France were then assembled at Orleans. The queen mother, Catherine de Medicis, persuaded Navarre, whom she released, to let her be appointed regent.¹²⁰ Her avowed

¹¹⁷ Sir J. Melville mentions, that after the queen regent's death at Edinburgh, 'all Scotsmen that were in France were detested, and some made prisoners. This caused me to require license of my queen [Mary] to visit other countries.' The constable gave him letters to the elector palatine, 'where I was advised first to remain to learn the German tongue. I was courteously received by this prince, and obtained such favor with him, that he sent me to France, as soon as he heard of the death of Francis, to rejoice and condole with the new young king Charles IX.' p. 85, 6.

¹¹⁸ Castelnau notices, that a 'grand dessein pour la religion was frustrated by the death of this king.' Mem. p. 57. This great design was, that 'if he had not died so soon, in a short time, as the evil [the reformation] was only in its birth, it would have been speedily stifled, and those of this opinion being reduced to extremity, would have had more to do in struggling against judges or in asking pardon, than in making war in the field.' p. 58. Such were the mild plans intercepted by the death of Francis II.; which Charles IX. his brother, endeavored afterwards to execute.

¹¹⁹ Melville, who was at Paris immediately afterwards, and was so much trusted by Montmorency, declares 'that the king of Navarre (the father of Henry IV.) and his brother the prince of Condé, were under arrest, and in three days more would have been executed; that scaffolds had been prepared, and that Montmorency, who had been sent for to court, 'looked for no less,' and therefore made short journies on the road, under pretence of sickness, in order to procrastinate the time.' Mem. p. 86. As he was 'in great favor with the king of Navarre,' p. 87, his statement comes with unusual authority.

¹²⁰ Melv. 86. 'As nearest of blood, it fell to him to be tutor and

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antipathy to the Guises, occasioned these noblemen to leave the court and form combinations against her; while she publicly attached herself to the patrons and cause of the French reformation,¹²¹ and was meditating an alliance with the Protestant princes elsewhere.¹²²

The queen of Scotland sank by the death of her young husband into a state of insignificance. Catherine greatly disliked her. She considered herself to have been contumeliously treated by Mary, while she was the reigning queen; and displayed towards her such 'rigorous and vengeable dealing,' that she was compelled to withdraw herself from the court, and was advised by those who had been in Scotland, to return thither, with the hope of succeeding to the English crown.¹²³ The lord prior visited her in France, and assured her that he would serve her

governor to the young king and country; but he gave over his place, and was content to be but his lieutenant.' *ib.* There was no formal appointment by the states, of Catherine to the regency; but Navarre declined it, and recommended the government to be left under her care. *Castel.* 66. On 8 December a letter was written in the king's name, that he had requested her to undertake the administration with the aid of Navarre. *Henault*, 412.

¹²¹ Melville, whom the queen sent back to the prince elector with a reward of a thousand crowns for himself, affirms, 'The queen mother appeared to be a gaitwart, to profess publicly the reformed religion, thinking it the meetest way to retain the government and guiding of the king of Navarre; and the meetest faction to gainstand the house of Guise, who were banded with the pope and the king of Spain.' p. 87.

¹²² 'The said queen had in her head to band with the princes Protestant of Dutchland (Germany,) and with the queen of England and with count of Egmont, prince Orange, count of Horn, and such as had in the low countries embraced the religion reformed.' *ib.* 87.

¹²³ *Melv.* 88. They advised her 'to accommodate herself with her own subjects; to be most familiar with her James; to use the secretary Leddington and lord Grange in all her affairs, and to repose most upon those of the reformed religion.' *ib.* These sagacious counsellors were D'Oysell, Martigues, the bishop of Amiens, and other Frenchmen who had lately come from Scotland. *ib.*

faithfully;¹²⁴ and she resolved to pass into her native country, and reign there as its acknowledged and rightful queen.

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On this determination she sent M. D'Oysell to obtain a passport for her free passage thro England. As her presence there or in Scotland would increase the danger of her pretensions to the English throne, unless she confirmed the treaty which abandoned them, it was promised her on the condition that she ratified this compact.¹²⁵ On hearing this provisional caution, she expressed to the English ambassador strongly her resentment, that the safe conduct had not been instantaneously granted.¹²⁶ She censured the queen for allying with the Scottish lords;¹²⁷ intimated

¹²⁴ Melville went to meet her from Nancy, with a letter from the duke Casimer, the second son of the elector palatine, offering to march to her 10,000 men, 'in case any in France would do her wrong or injury.' p. 89. He then wanted Melville to go and propose him to Elizabeth for her husband. p. 90.

¹²⁵ See Throckmorton's letter of 26 July 1561, in Cabala, p. 345. She rose from her chair when he was introduced to her at the cardinal Lorraine's, and dismissed D'Oysell, whom she had been talking to, made him sit down by her, and had all others retire farther off. ib. 346. He told her, 'If you can like to ratify the treaty, as you are in honor bound to do, her majesty will not only give you and yours free passage, but also will be most glad to see you pass thro her realm, that you may be accommodated with the pleasure thereof, and such friendly conference had betwixt you, as all unkindness may be quenched.' ib. 346.

¹²⁶ She said, 'Mons. l'Ambassadeur, I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported; but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions as the queen your mistress was content to have, when she talked with M. D'Oysell. There is nothing doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself as to require of the queen that favor which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey, than she doth me of hers. I may pass well enough home into my own realm, I think, without her passport or license, for though the late king, your master, used all the impeachment he could to stay me, and to catch me when I came hither, yet you know Monsieur l'Ambassadeur! I came hither safely; and I may have as good means to help me home again, as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends.' ib. 346.

¹²⁷ 'It seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobe-

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that she could do the same in England against Elizabeth,¹²⁸ and uttered some warm personal feelings,¹²⁹ but persisted in not confirming the compact until she had consulted her own council in Scotland.¹³⁰ In this conference she exhibited no deficiency of ready ability and copious elocution, and obviously took some pleasure in displaying both. It was a lecture of her excited sensibility to the absent queen, which, from her own experience, she could not doubt would be fully reported to the personage it was aimed at.¹³¹ The

dient subjects, than she doth of me their sovereign, who am her equal in degree, tho inferior in wisdom and experience. Let your mistress think that it will be thought very strange amongst all princes and countries, that she should first animate my subjects against me ; and now, being widow, impeach my going into my own country.' Cabala, p. 346.

¹²⁸ ' I ask her nothing but friendship ; I do not trouble her state, nor practise with her subjects ; and yet *I know* there be in her realm that be inclined enough to hear offers. I know also, they be not of the mind she is, neither in religion nor other things.' *ib.*

¹²⁹ ' The queen your mistress doth say that I am young and do lack experience. I confess I am younger than she is, and want experience. But I have age and experience enough to use myself toward my friends and kinsfolks friendly and uprightly ; and I trust my discretion shall not so fail me, as that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than it becometh of a queen and my next kinswoman. Well ! Monsieur l'Ambassadeur ! I could tell you that I am as she is, a queen, allied and friended ; and I tell you also that my heart is not inferior to her's, so that an equal respect would be had betwixt us on both parts ; but I will not contend in comparisons.' *ib.* 346.

¹³⁰ ' Here are none of the council of my own realm, nor none such as is thought meet I should be counselled by. The matter is great : it toucheth both them and me ; and is so great a matter, it were meet to use the advice of the wisest of them.' *ib.* 346.

¹³¹ In the latter part of her remarks she rather kindled into some warmth. ' The queen your mistress saith, that I am young. She might as well say that I were as foolish as young, if I would, in the state and country that I am in, proceed to such a matter of myself without any counsel. What was done by the king, my late lord and husband, must not be taken to be my act. Neither in honor nor in conscience am I bound, as you say I am, to perform all that I was commanded by my lord and husband to do. And yet I will truly say unto you, I did never mean otherwise unto her than becometh me to my good sister and cousin ; nor meant her no more harm than to myself. What is the matter, pray you, that doth so offend the queen, your mistress, to make

ambassador answered her guardedly,¹³² till, upon her again implying that she had never wronged Elizabeth, and therefore wondered at her coolness,¹³³ he felt himself bound to put it to her own feeling, if it could be true that she had given no cause of offence, when by assuming the English queen's arms and title, she had made public pretensions of her own right to be on that throne, which Elizabeth was thereby represented as unjustly possessing.¹³⁴

But the request of Mary for this passport had not been refused from any desire or plan to intercept her. In addition to the uneasiness from her retaining her claims to the immediate crown, the English council sought also to avoid any misconstruction from it by the nobility of Scotland, that Elizabeth was sending or upholding Mary against them.¹³⁵ It

her thus evil affected to me? I never did her wrong; nether in deed nor speech. It would the less grieve me if I had deserved otherwise than well.' Cabala, 346.

¹³² 'I answered, Madam! I have declared unto you my charge, commanded by the queen my mistress; and have no more to say to you on her behalf, but to know your answer for the ratification of the treaty.' ib. 347.

¹³³ 'But I pray you, tell me how riseth this strange affection in the queen toward me? I desire to know it; to the intent that I may reform myself if I have failed.' p. 347.

¹³⁴ 'Madam! I have by the commandment of the queen declared unto you the cause of her miscontention already; but seeing you so desirous to hear how you may be charged with any deserving, as one that speaketh of mine own mind, without instruction, I will be so bold, Madam! by way of discourse, to tell you.' He then mentioned her taking the arms and title, which she had *never done* in the reign of the preceding queen; adding, 'If any thing can be more prejudicial to a prince than to usurp the title and interest belonging to them, Madam! I do refer it to your own judgment.' ib. 347.

¹³⁵ This is the obvious meaning of Cecil's letter of 14th July 1561: 'O'Doyzell hath been well and gently used; yet so many reasons have induced us to deny the principal request [the safe conduct] that I think it shall be both of the wise allowed, and of our friends in Scotland most welcome.' He then mentions that the expectation had so much

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was thought better to let her sail unmolested, but without the direct approbation of the English government.

Accompanied by her six uncles and most of the great personages of the court, she went to Calais in August 1561, where two galleys waited to convey her and her noble train. After resting a few days at this town, she took a regretting leave of all her splendid company, except her relations, and embarked. But as the oars of the galley-slaves began to sweep the waters, she saw a ship founder on the coast, from mistaking the current, and most of the mariners drowning in the waves: 'O heavens!' she exclaimed, 'what an augury for my voyage is this!' A wind soon arising, the sails were spread, and the rowers reposed. Then leaning her arms on the poop of the vessel, near its helm, she burst into a flood of tears; looking earnestly at the port, and exclaiming in a doleful tone, 'Adieu! France! farewell! farewell!' She repeated these words at many intervals for several hours, till night came on, when she was intreated to retire and take her refreshments and rest.¹³⁶

excited Bothwell, Huntly, and others of Mary's party, 'that it could not be agreeable for us to feed them in their humors; and *by this our denial*, our friends in Scotland *shall find us to be of their disposition*, and to stop them in their humors.' Hardw. State Papers, 1, p. 172, 3.

¹³⁶ Brantome. His further picture is interesting and authentic, because he was then with her: 'At these words her tears redoubled. 'Yes, at this hour, my dear France! I am losing the sight of you, since the darkening night, jealous of my pleasure in looking at you as long as I could, is now spreading a black veil before my eyes to deprive me of this happiness. Farewell, then, my dear France! You depart from my view; I shall never see you more.' Saying this, she turned from it, remarking that she had done the contrary to Dido. That queen, when Eneas left her, could only gaze upon the sea, but for herself she could only look towards the land. She wished to lay down without any repast, and would

Regrets like these seem unreasonable to our calmer consideration in a woman of sense, who was exchanging one country, in which she could now only be a subject, for another, of which she was the rightful, and in which she might be, the idolized queen. But Mary was the child of present sensation, liking only the gaieties and luxuries of the court she was leaving; and had none of that poetry of imagination and feeling which so often, with their vivid emotions, inspire and delight the impressible age of twenty in every class of life. It is the usual characteristic of an active or exoited mind, at this period of its ardent ignorance of all that is to succeed, to look eagerly on its worldly future, and to paint the prospect lavishly, with the anticipating visions and hopes, the day-dreams and the prophecies of its desires; its ambition, and its ever-rambling fancy. Happy infatuation! which makes the humblest life,

not descend to her apartments below, but had a couch set for her on the deck, and there resting a little, with many sighs and tears, she ordered the steersman, as soon as daylight returned, if he could yet discern the French coast, to wake her, without fear, in order that she might look at it again. Fortune favored her in this wish, for the wind having dropped, and the oars being resumed, they did not make much way that night, so that France was still visible in the morning. The helmsman roused her with the news. She sprang up, and began again to contemplate the shore as long as she could, till the galley moved beyond it into the ocean. She then burst out, 'Adieu! France! it is done now. Farewell! France! I think I shall never see you again.' She then wished for the appearance of the English fleet, which they dreaded, that they might have a reason to put back. But nothing prevented our arriving at Leith.' One of her attendants, the Chastellart, who became in Scotland a victim to his passion for her, delighted Brantome with this 'gentil mot,' as he saw them lighting the ship lanterns: 'Ah! there is no need of flambeaux to illuminate for us the sea. The bright eyes of the queen are resplendent enough to irradiate with their sweet fires the whole of the surrounding ocean, and even to set it into flames if it were necessary.' Brantome. So that the flights and contortions of the metaphysical poets had real prototypes and examples in the living ravings of some of their fantastic contemporaries.

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for a transient season, a fairy state of ideal luxury and of enrapturing expectation; until disenchanting experience clouds the bright scenery of our fond vanity or ingenious theories; and saddens with its corrective realities, our deluded judgment and disappointed heart. But Mary had none of these intellectual visitations. Before she had reached the term of her minority, she had enjoyed all that grandeur, revelry, dress, and pageantry could yield. Fancy had been long extinguished by the fulness of premature gratifications; and she felt that the usual sources of human joys could give her nothing more splendid or more stimulating, than those which she had been for some years possessing. The simple; the literary; the moral great and the rich sympathies of an unspoilt heart had not been cultivated by her, beyond the petty love poetry of the day, and were neither valued, nor understood. A French court had become her earthly heaven; and to quit the saloons and equipages and courtesies of Paris, was to abandon that paradise to which her heart was wedded, and with which all her pleasurable associations had long been intermingled. Hence the less civilized Scotland, with its ancient spirit; its bold and active chieftains; its mountain scenery, its border lawlessness; its sterner morals, plainer habits and ruder characters, presented to her dissimilar taste and inclinations, a dreary and repulsive prospect, which even the pride of ascending an undivided throne, and the satisfaction of wielding its constitutional power and bounties as she pleased, did not make more attractive. As if she had imbibed that German presentiment of impending evils, which

wilfully creates the phantoms that distress the moody thinker, she sailed from France to her native land with repugnance and regret, because all that she had hitherto liked could not accompany her; and because she could not or would not rouse and elevate her mind to the new and animating, altho less soothing, gratifications which she might soon extract from the admiration and homage and national concerns of an honest and applauding people. It was because she came with these adverse feelings—with this enervated taste—without a soul for more real greatness—without a desire for better things—without any enthusiasm for future fame, or any aspiration for a grand personal character, that she too soon deviated into that course of common frailty, of female weaknesses, of real or imputed crime, of degradation in potential rank, and of personal dishonor, from which all the afflictions of her maturer life, and its unhappy close, successively resulted. The higher principles and more disciplined spirit of Elizabeth might have given to Mary the intellectual dignity, the firmer virtues, and the more consistent prudence, for which the English queen was then so much extolled. Ever interesting, with all her faults; important, from her kingdom, birth and pretensions; loving spirit in others; capable herself of occasional energies, and fond of martial scenery; Mary had enough of queen-like qualities and of native talents to have raised herself to an equality with the eminent characters which command our admiration in human history; but, nursed in flattered greatness and regal indulgences from her childhood, she sank into a vacillation between good and evil, and into a slavery to

BOOK II. her least-becoming passions, which might not have occurred if she had enjoyed the benefit of those improving adversities, amid which Elizabeth was educated, and to which this queen may have owed the largest portion of that mental sagacity, that moral fortitude, and that usual rightness of feeling, which upheld her throne, and disconcerted her persevering and inveterate enemies.

The ships of Elizabeth met the vessels of Mary as they sailed by the eastern coast of England towards the North Sea, and saluted them, but, after stopping them to ascertain that they were not pirates, and finding her on board, amicably dismissed them.¹²⁷ Their voyage closed in a fog as they approached the Firth of Forth.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ 'The queen's ships that were on the seas to cleanse them from pirates, saw her, and saluted her galleys; and staying her ships, examined them of pirates, and dismissed them gently.' Lett. Cecil, 26th Aug. 1561. ib. 176.

¹²⁸ Brantome describes the fog as arising 'un jour avant' the day before they reached Scotland, and as lasting all the day and night until the next morning at eight o'clock, when she approached Leith; but could not see it till the mist dispersed, and were forced to cast anchor while it lasted. So that there was no fog to hinder the English ships from seeing her in the middle of her way, during the first four or five days, of the six or eight days which her voyage occupied.

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